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LESLIE'S HISTORY

OF THE

GREATER NEW YORK

BY

DANIEL VAN PELT

V. I.
VOLUME I

NEW YORK TO THE CONSOLIDATION

THE

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PREFACE.



WHILE a preface is never very eagerly looked for or carefully scanned by the general reader, still, from a perversity of human nature, writers will have something to say in advance about their work. We may begin by stating that these volumes were not written with any vain expectation of adding to the information of persons already specialists in the history and antiquities of our city. We have simply followed the course of events as already indicated in the pages of many industrious historians, who have so thoroughly investigated the field that but few new facts could hope to be discovered. Yet we will not hesitate to claim that a few such bits of history which have escaped others have happily drifted our way, and been given a place in these pages. But we have mainly had in mind throughout the busy men in all trades, pursuits, professions, who have been compelled to neglect the opportunities for becoming perfectly acquainted, to the minutest details, with the interesting annals of our city. It has been our aim to make it possible that these should obtain from our book what may be called a good "working" acquaintance with facts and events most worth knowing, grouped in a way to hold the attention and to impress the memory. We have thought it necessary in order to attain this object to confine ourselves strictly to matters germane to our city's history and life. We have not traveled to European courts to hold converse with reigning monarchs, nor examined the details of bedrooms in princely castles, whereby some recent writers have sought to elucidate the annals of New York. We have not, like some, exhausted the biography of provincial governors, nor dwelt on the chronology of sister colonies. On the contrary we have endeavored to lay all possible emphasis upon such things as bear directly and vividly upon the development of our city from the tiny hamlet of bark huts of 1614 to the magnificent metropolis of 1898.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.



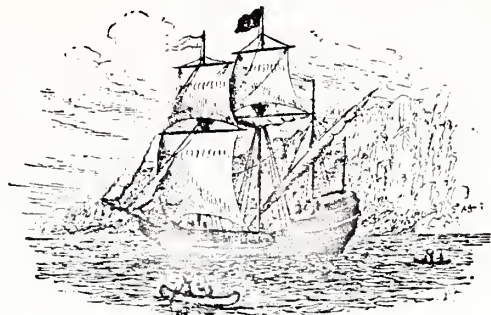
CITY beautiful for situation!" Was there ever a city in all the world to which this familiar biblical phrase is more truly applicable than to our City of New York? For the beauty of its situation consists not only in the charm of the scenery: one or two other cities may share or outrival our own in this respect. But it appears also in the adaptedness of her situation to all the purposes, requirements, necessities, conveniences of a great commercial center. Was there ever such another combination of advantages to invite and secure the growth of a metropolis? The broad outer and inner bays opening wide their arms to welcome commerce and afford a safe harborage from the boisterous ocean. The wide and deep river, almost like an arm of the sea, penetrating far into the heart of the interior; matched by a parallel waterway scarcely less wide and deep, and communicating with the sheltered Sound; the two affording a quadruple water-front of unequalled capacity for the accommodation of shipping. Were there ever such conveniences put in readiness for municipal exigencies as the smaller islands in bay and river? Liberty Island is just the place for the colossus that graces it; it could not have a more advantageous location. Ellis Island is an ideal spot to establish the gate through which is to pass for scrutiny the great army of immigration; lest a too indiscriminate influx of foreign population should harm us rather than benefit. How fitly does Governor's Island stand on guard over against the city, as if meant by a presaging mind for erecting fortifications, and for putting all the military array that may be necessary near such a center of population, neatly by itself, and out of the way of business and traffic. Observe, too, how finely have Blackwell's and Ward's and Randall's islands served for the sadder necessities of charities and correction. Where could these unfortunates have been so safely or so healthfully housed, as they are now, walled in by water and fresh air rather than by brick and mortar? And, again, reverting to the conveniences for trade and commerce, added to the remarkable double water-front of the portion of the city on Manhattan Island, there is, as already intimated, the quadrupling

of that signal advantage by the wharf and dock-lined shores of Brooklyn and Jersey City, so that actually the artificial water arrangements deliberately constructed by the ingenuity of man in the city's prototype and erewhile namesake, Amsterdam, are not so convenient and appropriate to the uses of commerce as those which nature has provided for New York. By this multiplying of facilities, and the very symmetry and harmony of accommodation for all the needs of municipal existence, no wonder the great city has grown to be what it is. Nature could not have more clearly expressed its design to produce the results here so gloriously apparent, if it had written on sky or land the mandate: Build me a city here.

And this chief city of the American hemisphere, now, in its enlarged being, only second in size of the world, has a history second to none in romantic interest. The romance begins with the story of its discovery. Now and then a glimpse had been caught of what here lay hidden from the eye of civilized man. In 1524, John Verrazano, an Italian, sailing in the service of France, dropped anchor in the Lower Bay. Seeing what seemed a river issuing from between two little hills, he sent a boat to explore it. When but a hurried visit had been made to the inner bay, its islands scarce discerned, a threatening storm forced the exploring party to rejoin the ship, and their ship weighed anchor and stood out to open sea. The next year, 1525, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese sailing for Spain, visited our waters. He, too, must have seen the tide rushing out between the Narrows, for he told the Spanish mapmakers to place a river upon their charts just about where flows the Hudson, and to call it San Antonio, because he saw it on the date sacred to that saint. But it is doubtful whether Gomez obtained more than a distant view of the Narrows, as neither the maps nor the descriptions that depended upon his information furnish the least hint of a bay or of any other particulars of a scenery so remarkable as that of our river. It was, therefore, none the less as a discoverer that early in the next century, eighty-four years after Gomez, Henry Hudson, an Englishman sailing in the service of Holland, entered our Lower Bay and sought shelter within the point of Sandy Hook. And when he supplemented this achievement by exploring the river which has since immortalized his name as far as the head of navigation, Hudson's title to discoverer will certainly admit of no further dispute.

It was on Wednesday, September 2, 1609, at five o'clock in the afternoon, as the mate's logbook minutely informs us, that Hudson's ship, the Half Moon, dropped her anchor inside of Sandy Hook. We can easily picture to ourselves what parts of Greater New York the eyes of captain and company rested on. Twelve miles to the north and northeast of them, across the entire breadth of the bay, a silvery line of beach at Coney Island and Rockaway Beach marked the limits of the blue-green waters. Beyond this low-lying shore, higher banks

might have been seen culminating in the eastern portal of the Narrows. Opposite rose the loftier hills of Staten Island. As the Half Moon entered the Narrows, and the eyes of her mariners rested upon the waters and their shores within, it is more difficult for us to imagine how these now so busy haunts of trade and traffic, built upon by thousands of dwelling-houses or ware-houses, by long lines of smoking factories, and the huge business palaces, where every form of mercantile and professional activity goes on—how these must have looked in the virgin solitude and stillness of the pristine wilderness. But it would have been, on the other hand, simply impossible for Hudson and his companions to foresee that these wide-stretching shores of bays and rivers would one day be occupied by one vast municipality.



THE HALF MOON IN 1609.

After lying at anchor in the Lower Bay for ten days, Hudson ventured to steer the Half Moon up between the Narrows, on September 12. The mate's logbook records a journey of two leagues, or six miles. If that measurement began at the Narrows, the Half Moon must have dropped anchor about opposite Castle William, between Governor's and Liberty islands. Drifting with the tide, eleven and a half miles were made up river on September 13, and this would have carried the explorers about as far as Spuyten Duyvil Creek, the boundary of Manhattan Island. On the 14th a big stretch of thirty-six miles took them far beyond Yonkers, and the utmost northern limit of the Greater New York. We do not just now care to follow Hudson all the way up the river, sailing until he could go no farther, and was forced to conclude he was not upon a strait like Magellan's at the south. He turned to go down on September 23. On October 2 the Half Moon cast her anchor opposite Hoboken. On October 3 her people were waiting in the Upper Bay for a storm to pass over, within the shelter of the heights of Long and Staten islands; and finally, on October 4, the Half Moon cleared the harbor; the first ship to sail from New York direct for Europe—the precursor of an innumerable fleet, and of craft as strangely different from her as human imagination could then well conceive.

But it becomes time now to inquire who sent Henry Hudson and the Half Moon to these shores? New York cannot afford to speak disparagingly of Arctic explorations. It shall appear later that her sons have not been wanting in zeal and generosity in furthering such

enterprises. And it is well that this can be said of her, for the discovery of her delectable situation was the result of an intelligent interest in Arctic exploration on the part of a few citizens of Amsterdam, Holland. Exactly three hundred years ago, during the winter of 1596 to 1597, the first party of Europeans that ever spent a winter in the Arctic regions, went through its terrible experiences on the island of Nova Zembla. They were the ship's company of a Dutch vessel from Amsterdam, under the lead of the famous William Barends. Returning to tell of their desperate straits and narrow escape on October 29, 1597, it was not easy to induce another party to brave such misfortunes. Yet at last, in 1608, interest in Arctic exploration had again been revived to such a degree by the agitation of a few enthusiasts, that the Dutch East India Company, now six years old, and reveling in a return of seventy-five per cent. on their investments, were pre-



CITY AND HARBOR OF AMSTERDAM.

vailed upon to set aside a single vessel for the purpose of discovering a short and easy passage to their East Indian possessions by way of the Arctic Ocean, north of Europe and Asia. But no captain of the Dutch merchant or naval service had at that time gained any experience of navigation in those frozen waters. Henry Hudson, an Englishman, on the other hand, had obtained some fame by voyages to the White Sea and further north. He therefore came to Amsterdam, either soliciting such employment, or on the invitation of those who were interested in the subject of the northeast passage. Even then the astute representative of Henry IV. of France in Holland had nearly captured the explorer and his expedition, had not the Dutch merchants found it out and promptly closed the bargain with Hudson on January 29, 1609. A few months of preparation followed, and early in April, Hudson set sail from Amsterdam in the Half Moon, a crazy little craft for such a business, as we would think now, of less than a hundred tons burden.

His aim was to sail past Nova Zembla, past the north coast of Siberia, then through Bering Strait into the Pacific, and so southward to the Dutch Indies, the islands of Java and Sumatra, and the others. Whether of design or by adverse circumstances, the attempt in the direction of Nova Zembla and the northeast was abandoned before the Half Moon had reached the North Cape. It is uncertain whether Hudson was authorized to change his course without returning to Amsterdam for orders. At any rate, he did so, telling his crew that he had orders to try the northwest passage also, but at the same time quietly keeping in mind a hint he had received from the famous Captain John Smith, of Virginia, either by word of mouth or from his maps. This was to the effect that somewhere about latitude 40 degrees north there was a strait conducting through the western continent to the Pacific, just like Magellan's Strait at the southern extremity of America. It was for this reason Hudson imagined he was exploring a strait when he was sailing up our river, and certainly its features in the lower portion, even as far as Albany, need not have discouraged that idea. But the true character of the waterway revealed itself at last, and the disappointed mariner was fain to return home, having neither a northeast nor a northwest passage to report, nor a convenient strait in the temperate zone. Arriving at Dartmouth, the nationality of the Half Moon's captain was made a pretext for the detention of the ship and her entire company. But in the spring of 1610 the Half Moon was released and allowed to return to her owners, Hudson finding it expedient to remain in England, and sending only his reports and charts of the new countries.

The information brought by the mates and crew of the Half Moon was of no use to the Dutch East India Company. Their charter, granted as early as 1602, carefully defined the regions in which they might operate; and these confined them to the East Indies, the southern and eastern coasts of Asia, and the east coast of Africa. The west coast of Africa and the western waters of the Atlantic were not to be made the scenes of their great enterprises.

But the information conveyed by those who had shared in the eventful cruise of the company's vessel fell upon the ears of a very wide-awake people. The Dutch of that day were the Yankees of Europe. They had won for themselves a free republic, whose independence was virtually acknowledged by the King of Spain (who had owned and oppressed their provinces) when he was forced to conclude a truce with his former subjects in 1609, five days after the Half Moon sailed from Amsterdam. In 1579 they had formed a confederation of seven provinces or states, calling themselves the United Netherlands, or the United States of the Netherlands. In 1581 they had declared their independence. In 1609 they had become so powerful and rich, and the contest had so impoverished and exhausted Spain, that the latter begged for a cessation of hostilities and negotiated for that on

terms of equality as nations. Yet not till 1648 was the war for independence finished, completing a period of eighty years. Right in the midst of war commerce flourished amazingly; inventions of all kinds astonished the world; among them the telescope and microscope, and a whole host of agricultural devices for securing winter food supplies for man and beast. Indeed, what an Italian said of the Dutch in the 17th century reads almost as if taken from some page descriptive of the Yankees of a later age: "They have a special and happy talent for the ready invention of all sorts of mediums, ingenious and suitable for facilitating, shortening, and dispatching everything they do."

Among such a people, full of the commercial spirit, of restless energy, and prompt in execution, the tale of discovery in America made by a vessel owned by natives of their own country, thus giving them title to its discoveries according to the laws of that day, was bound to bear instant fruit. Even before the Half Moon had returned to Holland, on the strength of the rumors preceding her release by the English, a small company of merchants had already been formed and were prepared to dispatch a ship to the regions whence she had come. The Half Moon herself necessarily entered again upon the service of the East India Company, and is recorded upon the company's ship-book of 1615 as lost ("not heard from") at the same time that a companion ship was wrecked upon the island Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. But a part of her crew were prevailed upon to return to our waters, while Hudson's Dutch mate was made captain of the vessel now sent out.

For several years in succession one or more ships were annually dispatched to the countries opened to Dutch enterprise by Hudson's discovery. An expedition went forth in 1611 which got stranded somewhere upon the coast of Norway. But in 1612 we first learn of two navigators who cut quite a prominent figure in these early visits to the vicinity of Manhattan Island.

These men were Captains Henry Christiaensen and Adrian Block. They first went to Hudson's river in 1612 in a vessel of their own, but not commanded by themselves. They secured a cargo of peltries and carried to Holland two sons of Indian chiefs, one of whom, a few years afterward, murdered Christiaensen upon an island of the Hudson. In the next year, 1613, each of the two friends took command of a separate vessel—Christiaensen of the *Fortune*, and Block of the *Tiger*—and again sailed in company to Manhattan Island. This expedition proved an eventful one in many particulars. In the first place Christiaensen determined upon a departure from the usual plan. Instead of returning to Holland the same year, he resolved to spend the winter on Manhattan. A number of rude huts were built of branches and bark upon the spot afterward occupied by the Macomb mansion. Washington's residence during the latter portion of his stay in New York as president. This interesting site is identified to-day as that of

39 Broadway, doubly memorable, therefore, in its connection with Washington, and as the spot where stood the primitive abodes of those pioneers of civilization who became the first residents of our metropolis. It is worthy of note in addition that now the offices of the Netherlands-American Steamship Line are to be found at that address. A bronze tablet appropriately calls attention to the historic interest of the spot.

But while Christiaensen was making this bit of history for posterity to celebrate, Block was furnishing another. His ship, the *Tiger*, while lying at anchor in the Bay, was entirely destroyed by fire. It was a serious calamity in such a place. But nothing daunted these indomitable Yankee Dutchmen. In spite of a deficiency of proper tools, and without any seasoned timber, Block and his men went to work and built a shallop of sixteen tons burden, to which they gave the name of the *Oornst*, or the *Restless*. It may have been in the spring of 1614 that this small vessel was completed. Block at once put it to use exploring waters they had not ventured upon before with larger vessels. He sailed up the East River, braved the horrors of Hell Gate, penetrated beyond the headlands of Throgg's Neck and Whitestone, and thus found himself, to his surprise, upon the broad bosom of the Sound. Its existence had not before been suspected, as the coast-line of Long Island had been merged upon the maps of that date with that of the mainland of New England. It is fortunate that of Block's commendable adventure, which included the discovery of the Connecticut River, there remains to immortalize him at least the name of one island.

Meanwhile a perfect ferment of interest in the regions opened to trade and exploration by Hudson had been kept up in the mother country. Others beside Christiaensen and Block were sending out vessels. And in March, 1614, the States General or Congress of the Dutch Republic raised the excitement to fever heat by a remarkable action. They published a placard or decree, offering a charter of exclusive privileges of trade to any person or number of persons who should discover new countries,—to the extent of four voyages to the same; and on condition that information of the regions discovered or explored be given to the States General fourteen days after return therefrom. In July a number of merchants, located in six different cities of the Republic, sought to secure this charter on the strength of Hudson's discovery, which had not been followed up by any application of this sort, and since whom no new discoveries had been made. It is possible they might have obtained it, but while the matter was pending Block arrived in Holland, about October 1, 1614, and on October 11 he was at The Hague before the States General, with a map showing decidedly new discoveries in addition to those made by Hudson. He was thus entitled to the charter promised by the States General, and in connection with several other persons, merchants and

navigators, including his friend Christiaensen, they formed the New Netherland Company, to whom, thus named, the charter was issued under the date October 11, 1614. It was thus that the country of which New York is the heart and center first received the name New Netherland, in honor of the Republic of the United Netherlands, to whose enterprise it owed its discovery and exploitation. By a curious coincidence, as Brodhead reminds us, in the same month and year the



PART OF BLOCK'S "FIGURATIVE" MAP, 1614.

term New England was first applied by Prince Charles of Wales (afterward Charles I.) to the adjoining regions.

We naturally look for an increase of activity upon Manhattan Island as the result of this charter. It has been supposed, and is actually so stated by some of the earlier historians of New York province, that a fort was built here in 1615; there is mention in some original documents of one or more little forts built on our island even before 1614. But the evidence in support of these statements is not very convincing. There is, however, no doubt that forts were built near

the site of Albany,—first the one called Fort Nassau, on an island in the river, and later one called Fort Orange on the main land. The Delaware, or South River, was also explored by the Dutch traders, and a fort built there to protect their interests. But no good ground exists for believing that a fort was built on Manhattan Island till several years later. Still, it may well be that Christiaensen surrounded his little cabins with a stockade, and this may have given rise to the story of the fort of 1615.

As we approach the period when Manhattan Island with all New Netherland became the property of the great Dutch trading company known as the West India Company, an account of the origin of that formidable institution properly claims a goodly portion of our attention in a history of our city. It has been noted that the Dutch East India Company, to whom we owe the voyage of Hudson in the "Half Moon," was established and chartered in 1602. Almost at the same time began the agitation of the question of creating a West India Company. In 1604 one William Usselinx was requested to draw up a subscription paper, setting forth the purposes and advantages of such a company, to be circulated among the merchants of the Dutch Republic, in the hope of inducing them to make investments for that purpose. This Usselinx was a native of Antwerp, who, with thousands of other inhabitants of the southern or Belgian or Walloon Provinces of the Netherlands, had been compelled to seek refuge from religious persecution and civil oppression in the republic of the Seven Northern Provinces, where the power of Spain and Rome was successfully defied. From his first entrance into his adopted country he had advocated the establishment of a strong financial corporation, similar to that exploiting the East Indies, for the fitting out of armed vessels to attack the fleets of Spain and make conquest of her possessions in the American hemisphere. The paper he prepared met with the approval of those who had commissioned him, and the first step toward obtaining government recognition of the scheme was taken by laying it before the Board of Burgomasters of Amsterdam. From these it was sent up to the Legislature or "States" of Holland Province, whence finally it was to be referred to the States General of the Republic. But even then, many years before the Twelve Years' Truce, which went into effect from 1609 to 1621, the question of a truce was already under debate, and the creation of the West India Company with such a plan of operation as was proposed for it, was altogether too distinctly a menace to peace to make it a safe or politic measure. So, naturally enough, the scheme went no further than discussion, and languished for a number of years.

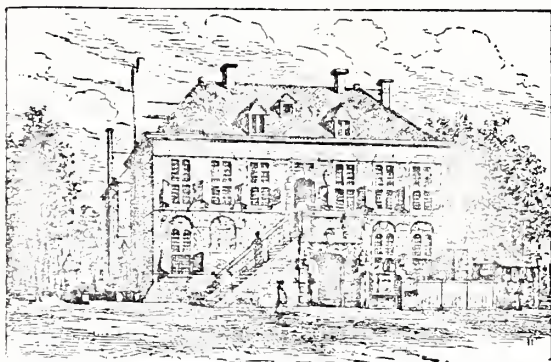
There must have been a revival of it, however, when the news came of Hudson's exploit. Not less were the subsequent voyages and the rich returns of peltry inducements to awaken serious attention to the advisability of a West India Company. We have seen that a charter

was given to a New Netherland Company, but this does not seem to have quite discouraged private undertakings. At last the condition began to prevail which had compelled the establishment of the East India Company. A multiplication of private rivalries and of more than one small company materially reduced the profits of each expedition, and would soon result in the abandonment of all voyages to these regions. To fit out ships not only for peaceful trade, but also to be prepared for the necessities of war, was something that no merchant or company of limited means could keep up for a long time and yet realize desirable profits. It needed combined effort, a "trust" or monopoly absorbing all competition into one mighty association, which should, by its vast capital, be enabled to fit out its vessels properly, and then be in a condition to control the market for its goods, so as to get encouraging returns for their outlay. This was the mercantile principle upon which men proceeded in the formation of the great trading companies of England and Holland in the 17th century. The East India and West India companies were simply gigantic trusts.

While events were thus moving steadily in favor of the abandoned scheme of Usselinx, as the result of Hudson's discovery and of the ruinous rivalries of small traders, they were doing quite as much for his measure in the political sphere. The end of the truce was approaching, and already was the Thirty Years' War begun in Germany, when the New Netherland Company's charter had run out its allotted three years. A petition for its renewal was refused, for now the statesmen of Holland were ripe for the larger project. In September, 1618, the question of a charter for a West India Company was up before the Provincial States or Legislature of Holland, and in November it had come before the States General. Even yet it was expedient to proceed cautiously, for the truce was still in effect. But when it was over and the Eighty Years' War for Dutch independence was resumed in 1621, the country was ready with a most formidable instrument of warfare, in addition to that which they had possessed before the truce; for on June 3, 1621, the charter of the Dutch West India Company was finally signed. Then this association, already by anticipation fully organized in all its branches, entered at once upon operations against the enemy in America, his most vital quarter, where exhaustless mines of the precious metals constantly supplied him with the means of war.

It will not be amiss to give the details of an organization which for so many years owned the territory now covered by Greater New York, and upon whose will or policy depended, for weal or woe, the management of the affairs of the people who were its first inhabitants. Its capital was to be a sum of not less than seven millions of florins (\$2,800,000). It could not begin operations till that sum had been subscribed. When the books were finally closed they recorded

a capital of precisely 7,108,161.10 florins (\$2,843,264.44), a great sum for those days. The merchants or shareholders constituting the company were divided into five "chambers," determined by their residence in various parts of the Republic. These were the Chamber of Amsterdam; of Zeeland; of the Meuse, embracing persons residing in the cities of Dort, Rotterdam, and Delft; of the North Quarter, embracing the cities of North Holland outside of Amsterdam, and of Friesland. The Chamber of Amsterdam, containing the heaviest subscribers, was entitled to twenty directors; Zeeland to twelve; each of the others to fourteen. A person, to be entitled to election as director, must, in the Amsterdam chamber, hold six thousand florins (\$2,400) worth of shares. In the other chambers the amount making one eligible as director was placed at four thousand florins (\$1,600). Each of these



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE IN AMSTERDAM.

five bodies met independently in the various sections where they were located, but the management of the whole company was intrusted to a general executive board of nineteen members, eight from the Chamber of Amsterdam, four from that of Zeeland, and two each from the remaining ones, the nineteenth being the appointee, and at the same time a member of the States General of the Republic, who must report its proceedings to that body. The official title of the executive board came to be that of the "Assembly of the XIX."

In order to understand the history of our city for the first half century of its existence it is necessary to obtain a clear idea of the powers and privileges granted to this formidable company. For a period of twenty-four years after July 1, 1621, it was permitted, "to the exclusion of all other inhabitants or associations of merchants, within the bounds of the United Provinces," to send ships for trade to the countries of America and Africa bordering on the Atlantic Ocean, and those also of America on the side of the Pacific. Within the regions thus carefully defined the company was granted the privilege (which also the East India Company possessed within its sphere) of effecting "treaties and alliances with princes and potentates." Here, too, forts might be erected in defense of trade or for carrying on war; troops might be levied and armed, and war vessels equipped and manned. Governments might be established in conquered or purchased territories, but "the Governor-General must be approved and commissioned by the States General, and swear fealty to them as well

as to the Assembly of the XIX." The company was also "conceded the privilege of exporting home manufactures and of importing the products of the countries along the Atlantic, free of all duties, for the space of eight years." Such, then, was the body to whom now reverted by chartered rights the possessions in the new world which had fallen to the citizens of the Dutch Republic by the discovery and exploration of Hudson, and by the trading voyages of Christiaensen, Block, and other enterprising men. New Netherland was henceforth to be governed by an association of merchants to whom belonged many sovereign powers; a sort of *imperium in imperio*. It was rather a republic within a republic, the one strictly commercial in its aims, yet endowed with important political and civil functions; the other strictly the supreme civil power, but knowing that its very life depended upon the commercial activity of its people, and therefore ever ready to stimulate such activity by the grant of the most extraordinary privileges and prerogatives.

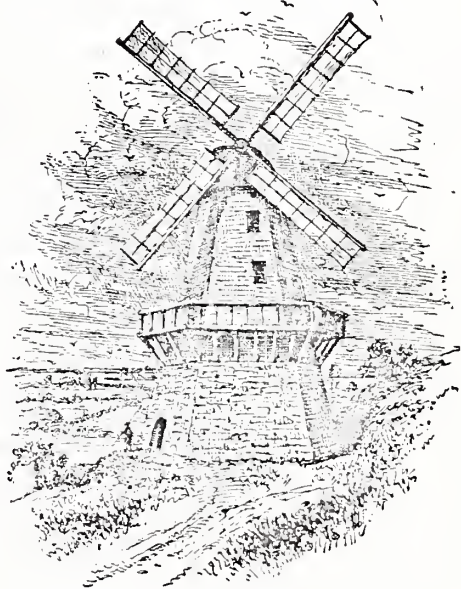
Simultaneously with the creation of the West India Company war between the United Provinces and Spain was resumed, and war was at first the company's principal business. It sent out fleet after fleet, splendidly equipped, and commanded by famous admirals, to the coasts of Brazil, and actually wrested that colony from the Portuguese, whose country had been conquered by Spain in 1584, and whose colonies were thus a fair prey for the Dutch in both the East and West. In 1636 the company had gained so many provinces of Brazil that they induced John Maurice, Count of Nassau, nearly allied to the House of Orange, to accept the position of Governor-General, which he held for about eight years. In the West Indies, too, conquests were made, and many islands there to this day are among the colonial possessions of Holland. How severe were the blows dealt to Spain by the warlike company, and what were some of its sources of large and quick returns on the investments necessary to equip its armaments, may be understood from the famous capture of the Spanish "Silver Fleet" (in 1628) by the world-renowned Dutch admiral, Piet Heyn. The booty secured for the company by their doughty officer "was worth no less than eleven and a half millions of florins (\$4,600,000)." The prizes brought home to the company's wharves by other and smaller fleets or privateers, commissioned and fitted out by them in the same year, amounted to more than four millions of florins (\$1,600,000). It is no wonder that the company felt justified in declaring a dividend of fifty per cent. in 1629, and one of twenty-five per cent. in 1630.

Exploits like this, however, that fascinated the popular mind, and realized the wildest dreams of profit, were not the kind to advance the interests of the section of country in which we are mainly interested. It was tame work colonizing and developing the resources of Manhattan Island and vicinity, compared with conquering Brazil and

capturing silver fleets. There were no immediate millions in prosy colonization. And so but a sorry corner was given to this part of the company's obligations in the charter. Even the article that referred to it was very general in its phraseology, and had no special application to New Netherland alone. It read: "Further (they) may promote the populating of fertile and uninhabited regions, and do all that the advantage of these provinces, the profit and increase of commerce shall require." Brief as is this language, there was enough of it to express the vicious principle underlying colonization as conducted in those days. It was the advantage of *these provinces* that must be held mainly in view—that is, the home country must receive the main benefit from the settlements wherever made, and commerce must be made profitable. The welfare, present or prospective, of colonies or colonists, was quite a subsidiary consideration. This accounts for much of the subsequent injustice, oppression, and neglect which made life in New Netherland anything but agreeable, and finally bade the people hail the conquest by England as a happy relief.

Slight as was the requirement to colonize, and smaller the taste for it among so many more alluring occupations, yet it had to be done; and when complaints were made about the neglect of it, the company stirred itself to fulfill its stipulations in this respect. And thus we are brought to the earlier attempts to begin colonial life upon the banks of the Hudson, and within the territory of the Greater New York.

The difficulty was to obtain colonists. There was no reason why Hollanders should leave their country permanently, and cultivate wild tracts on distant, savage shores. Nobody was denying them the right to worship God as they chose; no royal hand was pressing the last cent out of them for senseless taxes. These republicans were their own masters, and while they taxed themselves heavily to maintain a long-continued war, it was a war for independence already practically secured, and they were accumulating wealth so fast that they did not feel the drain. But just be-



A DUTCH WINDMILL.

cause of the civil and religious liberty enjoyed within the borders of the Dutch Republic, it became a place of refuge for many people of other nations driven from their homes by religious persecution or

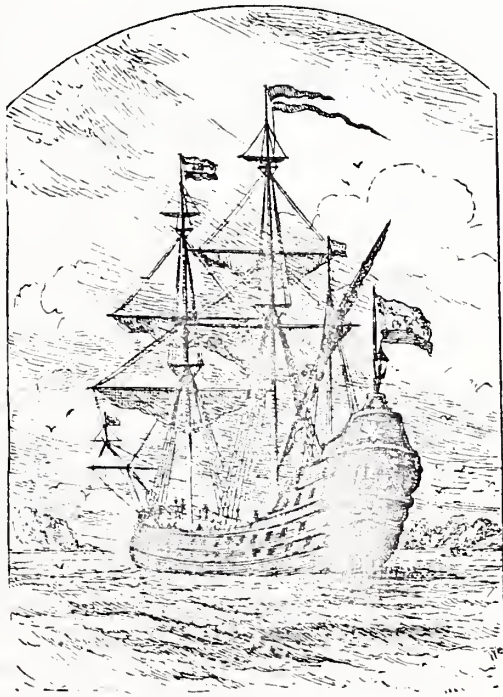
political oppression. Thus the country swarmed with Walloons from the Walloon (the Gallic or French-speaking) provinces of Belgium. Here the hand of Spain and of Rome was still heavy upon the people, and Protestants were compelled to seek safety among their brother Netherlanders of the north, whose seven provinces held together and continued the battle against Spanish dominion and Romist persecution, when the league of all the seventeen provinces fell to pieces. We shall soon have to refer to these Walloons again, but we must first observe another class of refugees in Holland who came strangely and interestingly to the foreground in this early history of the settlement of New York.

In 1620 the New Netherland Company was not yet extinct. The West India Company was still within a year of its formal creation, and thus this and other associations trading with America still had a corporate existence. So we find among the archives of the larger and later corporation a document, dated February 12, 1620, which is a petition addressed by the directors of the New Netherland Company to Maurice, Prince of Orange, Stadtholder or Chief Executive of the Republic. In this they say: "It happens that there is residing at Leyden a certain English preacher, versed in the Dutch language, who is well inclined to proceed thither [*i.e.*, to New Netherland] to live, assuring the petitioners that he has the means of inducing over four hundred families to accompany him thither, both out of this country and England, provided they would be guarded and preserved from all violence on the part of other potentates, by the authority and under the protection of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General, in the propagation of the true, pure, Christian religion, in the instruction of the Indians in that country in true doctrine, and in converting them to the Christian faith, and thus through the mercy of the Lord, to the greater glory of this country's government, to plant there a new commonwealth, all under the order and command of your Princely Excellency and the High and Mighty Lords States General." That the directors were in earnest about this appeal, and very much wished to secure these desirable colonists, is shown by the fact recorded by the latter's annalists that they made "large offers," including free transportation in the company's ships, and cattle enough to supply each family. All they wanted of the Dutch government was "two ships of war," to convoy an expedition necessarily so costly, in order to protect it against the risks of war or piracy. But the States General, on consulting with their Boards of Admiralty, or Navy Department, found they could not spare the two ships of war on an uncertain quest, with war already started on their borders, and soon to be resumed by themselves at the now near expiration of the truce. So the scheme of the Netherland Company was abandoned, and the Pilgrims did not settle on Manhattan Island. That was reserved for a far future day, when their

descendants began to see the brilliant openings to fortune afforded to their keen wits and shrewd practices in the growing metropolis. Yet in some minds must have lingered the idea that the Pilgrims did not abandon the hope of settling on the Hudson; for one or two writers have lately worked themselves into a fury against Captain Jones of the *Mayflower*, stating that "Dutch employers" (of whom he had none) basely bribed him, which was the reason that he refused to take the vessel to the mouth of the Hudson, but was determined to land somewhere near Cape Cod. From the account given a few sentences back it would seem that these Dutch merchants would have been more likely to bribe Captain Jones to take the *Pilgrims* to Manhattan Island than to keep them away from there.

So much, then, for this class of refugees, enjoying the protection of Holland. It is now necessary to turn to another. In April, 1622, a petition came before the States General again, stating that some sixty families of Walloons, residing in Amsterdam, were desirous of going to America and settling in the countries belonging to Holland by virtue of discovery. As nothing was said about furnishing ships of war, which could not be spared any better now than before, no hindrance to the proposed emigration was furnished by the Dutch government. Preparations for the expedition, therefore, proceeded, and in March, 1623, everything was in readiness. A large ship for those days, appropriately christened the *New Netherland*, of two hundred and sixty tons burden, and therefore more than three times the size of the *Half Moon*, was provided for the accommodation of thirty of the families, who were to precede the rest. An armed yacht, the *Mackarel*, accompanied the larger ship. It was commanded by Captain Cornelius Jacobsen May (whose name is still attached to Cape May), who was to be also the governor of the colony when on land, and to make his headquarters on the Delaware after he had deposited portions of his company at various points on the Hudson River.

We must confine ourselves obviously to an account of this earliest serious attempt at colonization in New Netherland, only so far as it



SHIP NEW NETHERLAND.

has relations to the territory embraced in Greater New York. A contemporary Dutch historian is the sole authority for a rather striking incident in the waters of our inner bay. As the New Netherland and her armed tender entered the Narrows they were surprised to behold anchored in the bay a French vessel, evidently upon an errand similar to their own. The little Mackarel bore down upon the stranger, and quite unmistakably impressed upon the Frenchmen the expediency of following her out to the ocean, and sailing away from these parts altogether, without any purpose of returning. The New Netherland then prepared to ascend the Hudson, but first deposited several families upon some of the neighboring shores. Just where they were landed we can only conjecture by putting together a number of statements as to the movement of certain families. From the formal deposition of one Catelina Trico, before Governor Dongan as late as 1686, based upon her personal recollection as a passenger in this ship, we learn that eight men were placed on Manhattan Island. It does not seem a very large number to be left alone among the Indians. It is possible, therefore, that there already was a settlement here as a result of the many trading voyages. Yet some of the Walloon families must have been set down on Staten Island too. For we are all familiar with the story of Sarah, the first girl of European parents born in New Netherland, and the first child thus born in Greater New York. She was the daughter of Simon de Rapallo (or Rapalje, as the Dutch spell it), and was born on June 6, 1625, at the Wallabout—i.e., the Waalen Boght, or Walloon Bay, now a part of Brooklyn. Now that name is significant; it must have been derived from a settlement of Walloons, also on this shore of Long Island. But then, again, we are informed that before Simon Rapalje fixed his abode at Wallabout he had been a settler on Staten Island; so there, too, some of the Walloons from the "New Netherland" must have been dropped.

To the pages of Wassenaer, the only contemporary Dutch historian who devotes much attention to events in America at this time, we are again indebted for a most valuable piece of information as to an event occurring in 1624. Colonization of New Netherland was now a fixed purpose, and the settlement upon Manhattan Island must have begun to attract the interest of the directors of the West India Company. One of them, Peter Evertsen Hulst, proposed to send thither a body of colonists, not of the human species, but of exceeding great value for purposes of permanent settlement, nevertheless. He provided at his own expense three ships, and the government furnished an armed yacht to accompany them. Two of the ships were fitted up to receive over one hundred head of cattle. "A special deck was constructed for their stalls, which were kept thickly sanded," and every other device was ingeniously applied to insure that amazing cleanliness which is the marvel of Dutch stables to-day. Great tanks of water

were placed beneath this deck on each ship. On the third ship was stowed the needed supply of fodder, while it also carried six families numbering forty-five persons, who went over as colonists. The cattle, consisting of beeves, hogs, and sheep, were so well cared for that only two died on the passage. On arrival before Manhattan they were landed on Governor's Island to prevent their being lost in the interminable woods. As they could not be adequately or conveniently supplied with water here, it was necessary to transfer them to Manhattan Island, where twenty died from the effects of grazing on poisonous weeds. It surely was an achievement for which Director Hulst deserved great credit and gratitude, for the possession of these creatures must have been of immense comfort to the colonists. It is to be noted with some satisfaction that in this particular the Dutch beat the Yankees of New England, since not till 1627 were any cattle



THE PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND.

brought to Plymouth. No doubt the awful death rate of the first winter of 1620 to 1621 might have been greatly reduced, if not prevented altogether, had the Pilgrims been possessed of cattle.

Important and inviting as must have appeared the situation of Manhattan Island, the two governors that preceded the final and permanent establishment of colonial government were directed to make

the Delaware their headquarters. Captain May was succeeded after only one year of service by one William Verhulst, who also ruled but for one year. An island in the Delaware called Verhulsten island, seems to be a memento of his presence in New Netherland, and argues that he too was ordered to make this part of the province the seat of his authority. The time seemed now to have come for establishing a more elaborate system of government for the colony, which evidently had been showing symptoms of a possibly satisfactory return on their investments to the directors of the West India Company. And when this determination was arrived at, there could be no question where the seat of the new government should be placed, what spot most conspicuously invited the planting of a commercial center.

The colonial government determined upon for New Netherland was to consist first of a chief executive, the Director-General (*Dirckteur Generaal*). He was to be advised by a council of five members, who were also to exercise judiciary functions, to sit as a court for the trial of offenses. Their power of punishment, however, did not go beyond the imposition of a fine, and all capital cases must be transferred to the courts of the mother country. There was also to be a secretary of the council, who appears to have been the person in most need of an education for the proper performance of his functions, supplementing especially the lack of legal knowledge apt to characterize the council members. Finally, there was to be a *Schout*, or *Schoutfiscaal*—that is, a treasurer. The last-named office reminds us that the colonial government intended for the whole province was really somewhat modeled after the Dutch municipal system. Later we shall have occasion to enter more fully into the details of those corporations. Here it will suffice to say that a Dutch city was in earliest times governed by a chief executive, called a *Schout*, whose office most resembles that of what we call a sheriff. The Burgomasters and Schepens constituted the legislative and judiciary branches; and the Schepens (from *Scabini*) were always of an uneven number, five, seven, nine, or more, according to the size of the town. Thus, in the colonial government now provided for New Netherland, we may already recognize an incipient stage of municipal existence for the settlement on Manhattan Island.

The first Director-General appointed by the West India Company was Peter Minuit. It has been supposed he was a German, because he hailed from the City of Wesel on the Rhine. But as we learn that he was a deacon in the Dutch Reformed Church there, we at once see that he must have been a member of the colony of Dutch refugees from persecution who made Wesel their home in the days of Alva. It was here in 1568 that the first synod of the Holland churches was held, and enough of the refugees would naturally establish themselves permanently to constitute a church. The director's name, too, does not necessarily indicate a German origin, but is decidedly Dutch.

The five members of the council were Peter Bylvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wissink, John Jansen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmensen—all good solid Dutch names, and indicating that those who bore them were not only Dutchmen, but the sons of Dutchmen. The secretary was Isaac de Rasières, evidently a Walloon, not to be wondered at when so many of that people made up the colony. Lastly, the Schout-fiscal, or treasurer, was John Lampe, which might be either a Dutch or a Walloon name.

Peter Minuit and his council (without the secretary, who went in a later vessel) sailed from Amsterdam in the *Sea Mew* on December 19, 1625. Detained by ice in the Zuyder Zee, the harbor of Texel was not finally cleared till January 9, and on May 4, 1626—an eventful day, therefore, in our city's history—the *Sea Mew* arrived before Manhattan Island.

The first act of the colonial government, under the express direction of the authorities at home, was one of which the great commercial metropolis of America may well be proud; a prime incident to record among her annals. It was well that her foundations were laid in honest dealing with the ignorant; in justice and integrity, when the law of nations was one of might only, with no regard for right, untutored savages being a party to the transaction. Indubitable evidence of what took place so early in our city's history is at hand. Any one may go to the archives at The Hague in Holland, and, upon request, with cordial courtesy will be shown a letter, dated November 5, 1626. It is the identical missive that was sent by a Mr. P. Schaghen—the member of the States General attending the "Assembly of the XIX." of the West India Company—to his colleagues in The Hague, announcing that a ship had arrived the day before, bringing news from Manhattan Island. The all-important item reads: "They have bought the island Manhattes from the wild men for the value of sixty guilders; it is 11,000 morgens in extent." Thus for \$24 the island, roughly estimated as containing over 22,000 acres of land, was duly and regularly purchased by the Company. It has been the fashion to ridicule this honorable transaction; to sneer at it as practically a cheat, because of the enormous disproportion of price to the value of the possession. Even royalty has been represented as attempting (it must be said not very successfully) to sharpen its wits upon the incident. But what were a few thousand acres of land to the Indians roaming over miles of it continually, compared with the glittering glory of utensils and trinkets and gaudy dress-stuffs or blankets, to the value of more than four times \$24, as money counted in that day. It was an honest, honorable transaction, worthily inaugurating the trade and traffic of America's mercantile and financial capital; satisfying the instincts of justice and equity in the savage breast; and setting an example that was not conspicuously followed until the days of Penn in Pennsylvania, and of Oglethorpe in Georgia.

4 oct 5.

7 november 1626
Recept Hooghe Moghende Heeren

Ghe is ghefick t'c. op twoupen van Amsterdam
aenghekomen ende is ds 23^{de} septem. met reide rade
lant ghegheft met de Heere Manivitius. rapporte
dat ons volck dank kloe is in velding l'p
gans houwz ghesz ooc lundez aldak g'bant
gibbz t'glant mankatter van de veldz ghekoest, voon
de vaxde van 60 onb. is groot 11000 maxz
gibbz alle l'roz gult meiz g'gheft, ende gult
augusto gemaed. Dank van geyndte munstkele
van zank-houz, als taxus, hogge, gaxst, gatie
louwzijt. Anaxizant, boontjib in vlab.

Het Cargaen van t'vz schip is

7246 l'pke vellez
178 $\frac{1}{2}$ ottke vellez
675. ottke vellez
48. minche vellez
36. Catkops vellez
33 minche
34 Hatto vellez.

Wel gheken balck, in Noten gont.

Ghe mede

Zooze mogghen gheke, zyt ds Demoghi
in veldz l'pke.

In Amsterdam den 5^{de} novem^{er} 1626
Groe Hoo: Moo: Dienstwillighe



The first act having been properly to acquire the land upon which they were to settle, active preparations went on immediately to occupy and improve it. By the middle of May the farmers had broken ground and sown their grain; and before the ship carrying the news of the purchase sailed to Holland, the harvest was safely and abundantly gathered. But while the relations with the Indians were begun upon a footing of friendship, it was necessary to provide against emergencies in case of neighbors so uncertain. Our Dutch contemporary historian again places us under obligation by recording that the expedition included a military engineer, and he even gives us his name as Kryn Frederickse. Under his directions the lines for a fort were soon laid out, on the spot that may be indicated in a general way as the block bounded to-day by Bridge, Whitehall, State (or Battery Park) streets and Bowling Green. Earthworks rudely thrown up along the lines marked out were at first the only fortifications, but in the course of a few years these were faced with mason work of good quarry stone on the inside. At the same time a storehouse was put up of stone, or of brick baked on the spot; but it is difficult to tell which, as the Dutch word "steen" may denote either one or the other. This necessary building was erected toward the east of the fort; a street called after it, Winckel Street, is no longer in existence, but it ran parallel to Whitehall and Broad streets, and about half way between. A mill, whose motive power was a literal horse, was also constructed, perhaps of boards, and it is Wassenaer again who tells us that the upper loft was used for religious services.

An interesting episode in the city's early history was a sort of formal embassy from Manhattan Island, or Fort Amsterdam, to Plymouth Colony. The sturdy Pilgrims could not forget that they were Englishmen; so, in spite of their feelings of gratitude to the Dutch for having sheltered them so long from their sovereign's wrath, at Leyden and elsewhere, they could not refrain themselves from calling in question the title of the West India Company to regions that were considered to be a part of Virginia, and therefore claimed to be England's property. One or two communications by letter between Governor Bradford and Director Minuit proving unsatisfactory, at Bradford's request a responsible member of the government was dispatched to Plymouth for a personal conference. The person selected was Secretary de Rasières. He had arrived in July, 1626, in the ship *The Arms of Amsterdam*, which in September returned to Holland with the news of the purchase of Manhattan. In the spring of 1627 he set out on this important mission, attended by a party of soldiers with a trumpeter, as a guard of honor. He embarked in the good ship *Nassau*, which threaded its course safely through treacherous Hell Gate, and smoothly over the broad bosom of the Sound, and landed its passengers and the goods intended for presents and traffic at the head of Buzzard's Bay. A boat was sent

from Plymouth as far as it would go up the creek running into the peninsula from Cape Cod Bay, and in it de Rasières took passage. Under the gay sound of trumpet and drum the Secretary made his entry into the Pilgrim's stronghold, doubtless met near the famous Rock by Captain Myles Standish and his company, drawn up in approved military style. Thus mutual explanations were made in a friendly spirit, and an *entente cordiale* established between the great powers occupying isolated portions of the American wilderness. Those were the days when the Dutch could still teach the Yankees a trick or two; and one result of de Rasières's visit was the adoption by the Pilgrim Fathers of wampum, or beads, as currency, in negotiating with the Indians, a medium long before in use between the Dutch and their savage neighbors.

Whatever were the relations with other colonies, whatever was doing in other portions of New Netherland, the supreme interest for us centers upon that tongue of land, that lower extremity of Manhattan Island, where we recognize in embryo the beginnings of the second city in the world. And we are fortunate in being able to bring much of the life and situation of those primitive days before our minds, upon the most authentic information.

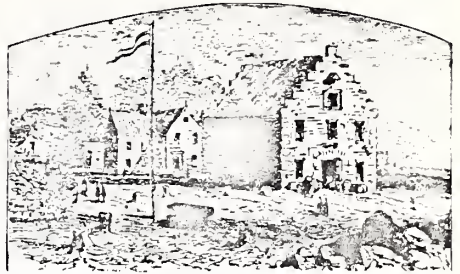
Among these beginnings it is not improper to notice that of church organization. This was only two years behind the establishment of colonial government. Religious services, however, were provided for at the very commencement. In the Director's company arrived two lay readers, or Visitors of the Sick (*Krankenbesoekers*), Sebastian Jansen Crol, and Jan Huyck or Huyghen, the brother-in-law of Peter Minuit. These conducted services in the upper loft of the horse-mill already mentioned, leading the singing, reading the creed and commandments, and occasionally a sermon from some printed volume. But in 1628 arrived the Rev. Jonas Michiels (Latinized into Michaelius). He was a graduate of Leyden University, ordained to the ministry in 1600, and for several years was pastor of the churches of Nieuwbokswoude and Hem, in the Classis of Enkhuizen, North Holland. He had had considerable experience of colonial life before coming to Manhattan. In 1624 he was sent out to the recently conquered city of San Salvador in Brazil. In 1625 we find him on the coast of Africa, in Guinea, the chaplain of the fort erected by the West India Company there. In 1627 he was back in Holland. But it was high time a minister should be sent out to Fort Amsterdam, for it was the practice both of the East India and West India Companies to provide each of their colonies with a clergyman and schoolmaster. So the West India directors now requested the Rev. Mr. Michiels to serve in that capacity in their settlement on the Hudson. He sailed from Amsterdam on January 24, 1628, and arrived on April 7th. His wife and three children accompanied him, two of them little girls of a very tender age, and so hard were their experiences

on board ship that Mrs. (or Juffrouw) Michiels died seven weeks after arrival. The domine met with the kindest reception from the rather rough settlers. He at once organized a church. Crol having gone to Fort Orange, Director Minuit, who had been a deacon in the Dutch church of Wesel, and his brother-in-law Huyghen, who had been an elder of the Walloon church there, were duly elected elders of the Church of Fort Amsterdam, or Manhattan. This being done the Lord's Supper was celebrated, and several were received into the church by certificates of membership from churches in the mother country. A few who had forgotten or lost these papers were received on the testimony of others that they were members, the somewhat unsettled condition of things making impossible the strict observance of all the usual formalities. Thus fifty communicants partook of the Sacrament, and constituted the first regularly organized church society on Manhattan Island or in Greater New York. It has developed since into the well-known corporation, the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York City, still flourishing and prominent in the ecclesiastical circles of the metropolis. This first church in the new world was included and enrolled among the churches of the Classis of Amsterdam. It is worthy of note that the Collegiate Reformed Church was more democratic in its beginnings than it became since and is at present; for while now the Consistory, or Board of Officers, is a self-electing body, allowing no vote to the congregation, these elders were chosen by the people. That this was a settled policy and not a compulsory expedient at the beginning, admits of easy proof, for Pastor Michiels was "intending the coming year, if the Lord permit, to let one of them [the officers] retire, and to choose another in his place, from a double number first lawfully proposed to the congregation." The preaching was of course in Dutch, yet sometimes to please the Walloons he would give them a sermon in French. There was hardly one among them that did not sufficiently understand the Dutch language; but in the worship of the heart the mother tongue has ever a sweeter and a dearer sound.

If we could have placed ourselves at that early period upon some neighboring height we would have seen before us the little fort, only partially finished. Near it on the east rose the modest but substantial Company's *Winckel*, or storehouse. Still further east (perhaps somewhere on Mill Street, now South William) stood the mill that was also a church. Ere long the horse-mill for grinding corn was supplemented by a windmill for sawing wood, and it may have stood on the rise of ground which runs up Broadway from Bowling Green. The little cabins or houses of the settlers were scattered in irregular groups among these larger structures; and even thus early the record of New York's conflagrations had begun. One winter's night, when the fierce cold had tempted a householder to pile on the logs and urge

them to too fell a blaze, the puny tinderbox of boards and bark had taken fire, and sent the flames through a whole group of like dwellings. All the settlers, however, did not live under the shadow of the fort. Some of the Walloons came in on Sundays from quite a distance, perhaps from Staten Island and the Wallabout, perhaps even as early as this from Harlem plains or from beyond the Harlem River.

It cannot be said that living was luxurious at Fort Amsterdam. The widowed domine could obtain no maid servants to attend his two little daughters, and his boy-servant was of so little use to him that he lent him to the farmers, who were short of hands. Butter and milk could be obtained only at a high figure, for they were scarcely sufficient to supply the needs of the farmers' families themselves. Thus most of the food wherewith the denizens of Manhattan had to content themselves was hard and stale, doled out often like rations on shipboard and in insufficient quantity, so that hunger could not have been an unusual experience. Beans, gray, hard peas, barley, dried codfish—behold the bill of fare for the precursors of the patrons of Delmonico and Sherry and Taylor.



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S STOREHOUSE.

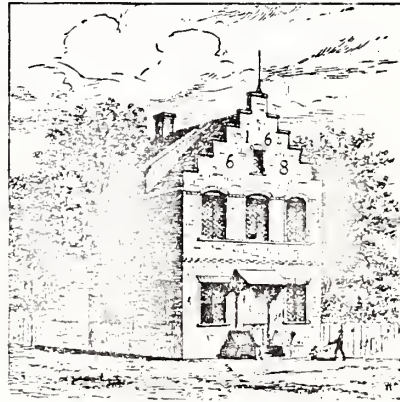
The land seemed to be all that could be desired. It yielded abundant harvests from year to year; but the soil needed much tilling and clearing and manuring. The climate was marked then as now by sudden changes of temperature, the sun being very hot as compared with Holland, and the winters far more severe and quite as long. At that season everybody clad himself in rough skins, and wood was plentiful enough to prevent suffering. But the farmers were handicapped by the lack of horses and cattle. Laborers, too, were few, and often labor was difficult because of insufficient or unwholesome food. These difficulties continued longer than they might perhaps, because the council were men of little experience in public affairs, and had no intelligent view of the situation and of its remedies. There seems to have been also a lack of definite regulations on the part of the West India Company as to what was to be done in the emergencies likely to arise in so wild a region.

By the side of agriculture, industry and manufacture, more of a piece with our city's doings in these later days, seem also to have made a fair beginning. Wood was cut in such abundance that there were not ships enough to carry it away, and a windmill was erected to cut it into timber. Brick yards were established, but the brick baked was of a poor quality. Oyster shells were burned for lime, and kilns for the purpose sent up their smoky volumes. The manufacture

of potash was attempted, but it did not work well. Stone was quarried for the fort. And the briny water of the surrounding bays and rivers was exposed in pans to the excessive heat of the sun, for the making of salt.

A curious picture is afforded of the intercourse of the settlers with the natives. They are not spoken of in complimentary terms by Domine Michiels, although the point of view of the theologian may have made their conspicuous deficiencies so tempting a confirmation of the Calvinistic dogma of total depravity that he was led to insist on evidences of it a little beyond the facts. The interchange of ideas between the races must have been rather defective, for the Indians did not seem anxious to have the newcomers learn their language. They would half utter their words, or break their sentences in two, and call a dozen things by the same name. Thus often a Dutchman would imagine he had learned the language pretty well, when to his surprise he would be as much at a loss to comprehend his savage neighbor as before he began. So, in the end, the settlers were content to communicate with the Indians only on the subject of trade, where signs with the fingers did more than words. Perhaps the Indians were not so stupid after all, and had their own purpose in making it impossible for the strangers to understand what they were saying to each other.

Peter Minuit does not cut a very prominent figure in the annals of these early days. Yet he seems to have been a man of efficiency, and diligent in the performance of his duties. One or two enterprises that he was directly connected with deserve notice, but these unfortunately led to his recall. The abundance of the timber was of course conspicuous. In 1630 it occurred to two of the Walloon colonists that it would be a good thing to give the home country ocular proof of it, and also of the great size of the pieces that could be cut, by constructing a vessel phenomenally large for those days. Minuit approved of the scheme, and pledged the funds of the Company in aid of it. So in that year there was built on the shores of Manhattan one of the largest ships the world had then ever heard of. It was of twelve hundred tons burden, and was named the *New Netherland*. But it was a sort of white elephant; indeed it proved to be, as to its comparative size, and its uselessness and ill fortune, the forerunner of the *Great Eastern*; and as the Company did not enjoy such employment of their funds, it counted as a charge against the Director-General.



AN OLD DUTCH HOUSE.

Another complaint against him, quite as unjust, grew out of the creation of the Patroonships, so well known to history. In 1629 it was felt that something must be done to stimulate the colonizing of New Netherland. Hence large tracts of land were promised to any person, or company, who would send out fifty or more colonists. These tracts, counted by the square miles instead of acres, were to be the property of such person, or company, who was called the Patroon of the settlement—in short, a sort of feudal lord. In the vicinity of New York this offer bore fruit in the establishment of the Patroonship of Pavonia. This embraced at first only the territory now covered by Hoboken and Jersey City; but soon the Patroon added Staten Island to the other tract, and thus invaded the territory of Greater New York. Manhattan Island was expressly excluded from the offers of the Company. But parts of Westchester County, now in New York, were afterward thus held.

Now it seems that while the scheme of the Patroonships was awaiting the approval of the Dutch Government, several of the directors of the West India Company took advantage of their being “on the ground floor,” to walk into the privileges promised before outsiders had a chance. They had selected through agents the choicest spots, and were ready with their claims the moment the government approved the measure. This shrewdness on the part of a few disgusted the directors of the Company who had not been quite so alert, and their annoyance vented itself upon the Director-General. It was supposed he had favored the schemes of the successful Patroons, although he had been helpless in the matter, and had simply obeyed the instructions that had come. The States General, disapproving of the excessive land-grants, and holding Minit responsible for their enormous extent in every instance, demanded his recall. So in 1633, accompanied by Treasurer Lampe, and also, it is supposed, by Domine Michiels, Peter Minit embarked in the *Endracht*, and returned to Holland.

The North River

From a Colored Map locating the present Streets, by
HENRY DUNREATH TYLER
46 Wall St, New York.

Map
of the
ORIGINAL GRANTS
of village lots from the
DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY
to the inhabitants of
NEW-AMSTERDAM,
(now NEW-YORK).
lying below the present line of Wall Street.
Grants commencing A.D. 1642.
Located from historical & legal records.

By Henry Dunreath Tyler

New York 1897.

The East River

The Great Highway (Now Broadway)



West India Company's
Garden.

Batthart Supersent
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Jan Jansen Pieters Farm (Now Wall St.)

Don't Street Pieters Farm

Carol Jan Brijgh

Cont Jan Brijghorn

Thomas De Stille

La Montaigne

Claes Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

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Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Jan Brouwer

Augustus Heermans

Jan Jansen Pieters Farm

Carol Jan Brijgh

Cont Jan Brijghorn

Thomas De Stille

La Montaigne

Claes Brouwer

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CHAPTER II.

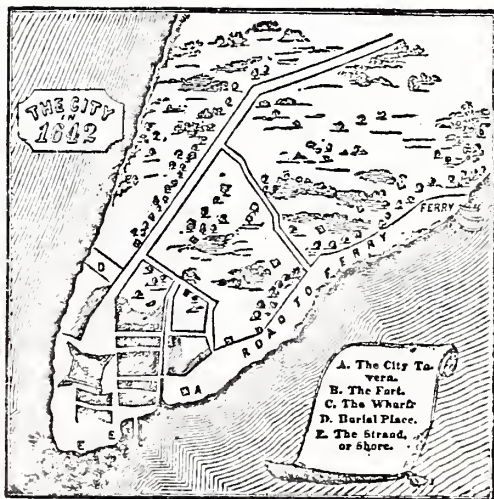
UNDER THE DUTCH FLAG.



THE first of that dynasty of Dutch colonial potentates immortalized by the pages of Diedrich Knickerbocker, was not the man whom we have just seen departing from these shores, but Walter Van Twiller. Doubtless for the arrival of that astonishing vessel the *Goede Vrouw*, and for the settlement in the mud of Communipaw, and for the exploring voyages of Oloff Van Kortlandt, the Dreamer,—the learned Knickerbocker had access to documents which have unfortunately escaped us. But as the only historian of repute who wrote and published before Knickerbocker, begins the story of Dutch colonial rule with Van Twiller, and has only some slight suspicions of Minuit, we may make a shrewd guess as to the sources whence old Diedrich drew his stores of information when it came to real history. It would be well, therefore, while we continue to laugh over his diverting pages, to be somewhat cautious about receiving their testimony regarding facts and conditions therein described.

Already in the preceding chapter we have given a glimpse of the Dutch which hardly tallies with Knickerbocker's account of them. By him—Lowell remarks, with a dash of indignation in his words—by him, “the ships of the greatest navigators in the world were represented as sailing equally well stern-foremost.” It was a pity that in the service of humor Irving should have allowed himself these unrelieved misrepresentations; for they fell too cordially into line with the scorn which the republican

Dutch had long suffered at the hands of those who hated their principles. “For more than a century”—to cite Lowell again—“the Dutch were the laughing-stock of polite Europe. . . . Meanwhile, dur-



EARLIEST MAP OF NEW YORK.

ing that very century of scorn, they were the best artists, sailors, merchants, bankers, printers, scholars, jurisconsults, and statesmen in Europe." It was this habit of scornful contemplation of the Dutch which made Irving's *jeu d'esprit* so inopportune, and caused a rollicking piece of humor to become a most harmful and almost irreparable defamation of the Dutch. The world of letters was too ready to accept caricatures as facts with regard to them.

Walter Van Twiller, the second Director-General of New Netherland, arrived at his post on Manhattan Island, in the "Salt-Mountain" (*Zout Berg*), in April, 1633. His council was composed of four members: Captain John Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andrew Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. John van (or de) Remund, had succeeded to Rasières as secretary, so that this official again, as well as the last named of the council, represented the Walloon element in the government circle. The secretary under Minuit received the munificent salary of \$15 per month, and no doubt this was Remund's stipend also under the new administration. The Schout or Sheriff, whose main province of authority was to be Manhattan rather than New Netherland, was Conrad Notelman. The presence of a military man, Captain Hesse, in the council, was accounted for by the fact that a company of one hundred and four soldiers came over in the same ship with the Director. This was a rather formidable proportion of army to citizens, when we reflect that only a few years before, at a time of temporary panic, when nearly all New Netherland was gathered under the walls of Fort Amsterdam as chickens are gathered under a hen's maternal wings in the hour of peril, the whole number of souls did not exceed two hundred and seventy, or six less than were in the ship with Paul when it went to pieces on the island of Malta. This earliest census of Greater New York, dated 1628, is worth remembering as we count our present millions.

There must have been Dutchmen and Dutchmen in Van Twiller's day, as there are Dutchmen and Dutchmen, or Yankees and Yankees, to-day, or any time. That is, there are always exceptions to the rule. And Van Twiller was of a kind to almost justify Irving's wildest caricatures. He gave evidence of his fitness to figure as clown in any book that wished to make him one, only a few days after his arrival at Manhattan. On April 13, 1633, an English ship, the "William," guided by a Dutchman who used to be in the employ of the West India Company at Albany, or Fort Orange, came up the Bay, and coolly proceeded to go up the river. Of course she was hailed and ordered to stop. Her crew was summoned on shore to give an account of themselves. The captain claimed that the Hudson's river and all adjoining territories were English property, and the ship had a perfect right to trade there. This was denied. But on being permitted to return to their vessel, the captain defied the director's protest, and gayly sailed northward out of sight. Then did the val-

of the William. A more effective method to secure that end was followed at the instance of a quite different stamp of man, who had arrived at Manhattan almost simultaneously with the director. This was Captain David Pietersen de Vries, one of the Patroons of the Swanendael Estate on the Delaware, a man of great capacity in affairs and decision of character, whose frequent appearances upon the stage in this early history of the colony were invariably creditable to himself and of the greatest benefit to the community. By his advice a force of soldiers was sent after the intruding stranger, and thus their impudent trade with the Indians upon Dutch territory was effectually stopped.

It cannot be said that the Province of New Netherland had hitherto yielded the West India Company any very large profits. In the year preceding Van Twiller's arrival, the largest figure in the exports of furs had been reached—143,125 florins. But imports of various goods and wares for the support of the colonists and to purchase peltries to the amount of 31,320 florins, offset the other; while in 1631 there had been no exports at all, and the imports at the cost of the Company had amounted to 17,355 florins. De Laet, the historian of the Company, and one of its directors, sums up the exports and imports for nine years from 1624 to 1632, and makes the total of the one 454,127 florins, and of the other 272,847 florins; leaving a net gain of 181,280 florins, or \$72,512, a little over \$8,000 per annum.

Surely this was nothing to boast of by the side of the millions yielded by the single happy capture of a silver fleet. But the well-lined coffers of the Company, as a result of these more brilliant exploits, enabled them to put funds into Van Twiller's hands for the purpose of making things more comfortable and attractive on Manhattan Island, thereby inducing larger colonization, and securing eventually more satisfactory returns. At once upon Van Twiller's arrival, preparations were begun for completing the fort. Its walls were now strongly faced with stone on the inside. Barracks for the soldiers were built along the west wall, and a commodious house for the Governor along the east wall, inside the quadrangle. The principal gate was on the north, guarded by a small redoubt called a horn, where Bowling Green is now. There was a small gate on the water-side, for the river came close up against the fort, all that ground now forming Battery Park having been since filled in. A saw mill was erected on Nooten (now Governor's) Island. A windmill also was placed upon the southeast corner of the fortifications, thus strangely combining the pursuits of peace and war; though it may well be that the mill also effectively served the purposes of war. The savages must have looked with awe and alarm upon the strange object with its wildly gyrating arms.

An interesting feature of the present administration was the division of the territory of the lower portion of Manhattan Island into

farms, carefully measured and numbered. These farms bore a name in Dutch which has become quite familiar in our city's history, and still designates a famous and somewhat unique thoroughfare. The Dutch name was "Bouwerij" or "Bouwerei," meaning land to be cultivated; but the form of the word has been anglicized phonetically into Bowery. There were six of these "bouweries." A tract called the "Company's Garden" stretched from the fort to about Wall Street on the west of Broadway, a very narrow strip, as the ground covered by Greenwich and Washington Streets was not yet "made." Beyond this garden lay farm No. 1, reaching perhaps about as far as Chambers Street. No. 3 went up to the borders of the later Greenwich village, and No. 5 must have included the territory thus designated subsequently. On the east side of a road which afterward became famous as our Broadway, lay farms 2, 4, and 6, of which No. 4 embraced the spot then sometimes called the "plain of Manhattan," subsequently better known as the Commons and City Hall Park. Thus were the farms laid out; but they were by no means all occupied. It is upon these silent solitudes of tangled forests, and weedy creeks, and sluggish ponds, with only here and there a furrowed field, or rolling pasture, and scarce a house anywhere, that now are seen the huge "cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces" of business. As more colonists came out, and occasional vessels arrived with cattle and horses, the agricultural returns were increasingly encouraging. Besides ordinary farm products, canary seed was experimented with, even the Arms of Amsterdam, in 1626, carrying specimens of that article. But there was undoubted success attained in the cultivation of tobacco. Two Englishmen from Virginia, George Holmes and Thomas Hall, introduced its culture, and they were given a generous reception among the colonists. By a somewhat artificial expedient Fort Amsterdam, as the settlement was called, was made the beneficiary of the fur trade going on throughout the whole province. It was given the *stapel-recht*, or "staple-right," which Holland's earliest Count Dirk had bestowed upon his capital city of Dordrecht somewhere about the middle of the eleventh century. That is, all the peltries gathered throughout New Netherland by Dutch vessels had to be brought to Manhattan, there to be weighed or priced, and some kind of duty exacted before final shipment. De Laet's records show that in 1633 peltry exports had fallen off from the previous year to only 91,375 florins' worth. But in 1635 they had again run up to the value of 134,925 florins (\$53,770); but, as is seen, even this was less than the exports of 1632. Hence the West India Company continued to complain of their unprofitable venture in the untoward climate of North America, compared to what they drew from the more genial coasts of Guiana and Brazil.

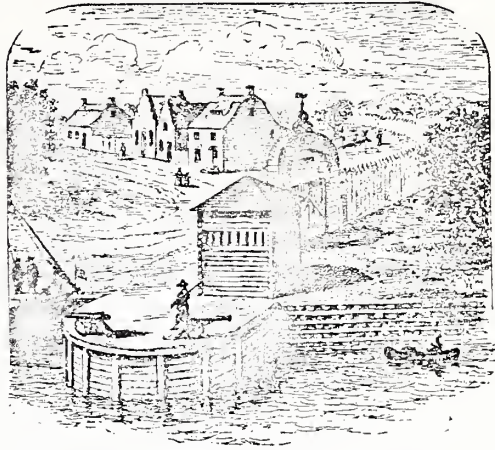
In the same ship with Director Van Twiller arrived the Rev. Everardus Bogardus (in Dutch, Evert Bogert) to be the pastor of the

church already organized, and the first schoolmaster, Adam Roelandsen. There may not have been a very great number of children on the island, or perhaps their desire for learning was not consuming. At any rate Schoolmaster Roelandsen found it expedient, in addition to his pedagogical duties, to assume the conduct of a "bleekery," or bleachery; that is, a washing establishment, such as are carried on upon a large scale in Holland by reason of the enormous quantities of linen possessed by every household. The school was undoubtedly held in connection with the church, and probably in the same building.

For a church edifice there now soon arose, in the wake of that activity in building which came with the advent of the new Director. It cannot be said that a large expenditure of money was permitted for this sacred purpose, as compared with those for civic structures. "Rude materials" it is told us, very likely plain boards, were used in its construction. What its shape was is not recorded, but it was later compared to a barn by Captain de Vries. It stood where now we find 33 Pearl Street. Gradually clusters of houses followed the lines of the fort or the contour of the shore. The river front came up as far as Pearl Street in that early day, and the block from present Whitehall Street to Broad, was called "the Strand" (or "the Water" sometimes). Among the rude neighboring houses or cabins of the congregation rose now this modest ecclesiastical edifice, the first to grace or bless Manhattan Island. Perhaps a "pastorie" or parsonage was soon built for Domine Bogardus, on Whitehall near Bridge, or Bridge near Whitehall, depending upon what part of the lot the house was put. Bogardus was a widower, however, at this time, and may not have been in a hurry for a house. We shall find as the years go on that the Domine was not of a mild temperament. He felt called upon to pay his compliments publicly to Director Van Twiller, rebuking him for alleged malfeasance in office. He called him a "child of the devil" (*een duyvel's kind*), and promised to give him a shake from the pulpit. And under Kieft things came to a pass much worse. It is rather sad to note these unfriendly relations between the civil and religious powers, as compared with the excellent harmony and co-operation existing under Minuit.

Walter Van Twiller was not altogether undeserving of the threatened pulpit shake-up. He was given to land speculation on a large scale. The scale was only large in the way of acres then: could his transactions have been transferred to these days, it would have been enormous also in the way of dollars. He made use of his official position to get possession of Pagganck, or Nut Island (now Governor's); and to match this insular property he quite symmetrically added to it a few other islands in the East River. Some of his council followed so excellent an example and voted themselves a goodly portion of Greater New York. Fifteen thousand acres on Long Island, now

including the Town of Flatlands, a part of Brooklyn, were thus divided between them. It was a strange fact that while the six company farms were poorly stocked and hardly profitable, Van Twiller and his henchmen were signally prosperous as farmers. Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had succeeded Notelman as Schout, remonstrated with the Director-General; so he was dismissed from his office, minus arrears for salary, and shipped to Holland. But this act of discipline proved a sort of boomerang for the Director. His official irregularities, his frequent debaucheries, his exceedingly questionable private life, were plainly laid before the West India Company by Van Dincklagen. Indeed, the case against Van Twiller appeared so clear that he was dismissed from his office. He



WATER GATE, FOOT OF WALL STREET.

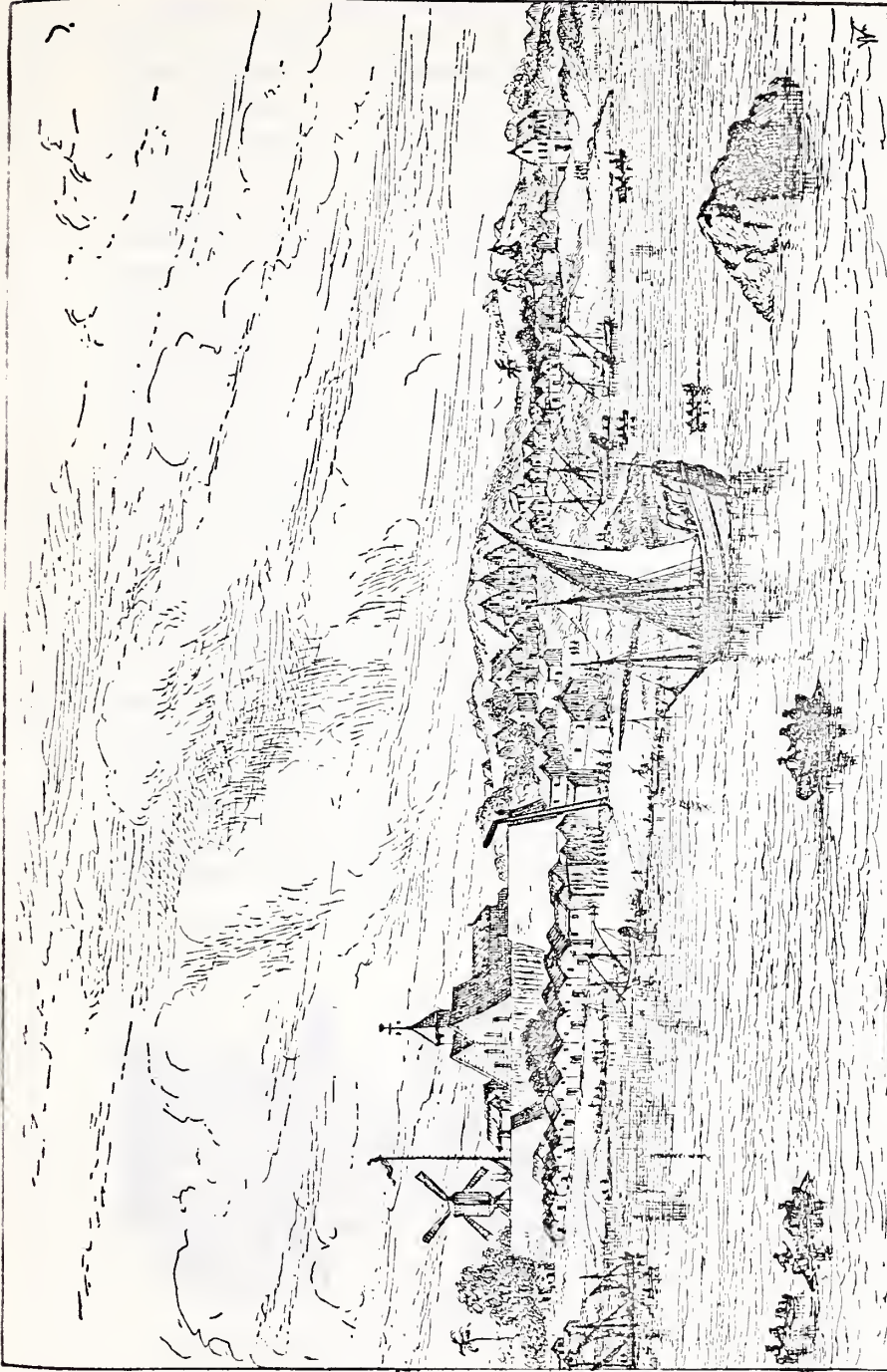
seemed to care little for the disgrace, remaining in the colony to make the most that he could of his lands, possessing, besides his islands in the East River, a colony on Staten Island, and a tobacco plantation and dwelling house on Manhattan. He also dealt in cattle, with great success; for in the general dearth of cattle he profited largely by letting out his own abundant and excellent stock to his neighbors.

William Kieft, the next Director-General of New Netherland, reached Manhattan or Fort Amsterdam on March 28, 1638. Of his antecedents very little is known, and that little not of a savory character. Once a bankrupt in business, and accused, though not convicted, of having defrauded captives in Turkish power of their ransom, it is hard to understand why the West India Company sent out a person of a reputation so shady to be the chief personage in their colony of New Netherland. They must have held the enterprise there in supreme contempt, especially when almost at the same time they sent out as their Governor-General in Brazil no less a person than John Maurice, Count of Nassau, a cousin of the Prince of Orange. Tradition has it that Kieft was a man of small stature. His mind was no larger than his body; he was self-willed and vindictive, and by his cruelty, born perhaps of timidity, he brought shame and disaster alike upon the Dutch name and the Dutch possessions. He came prepared to exercise to the full the petty tyranny in which such a soul as his would particularly delight. His council consisted of a single person, Dr. John de la Montagne, who had fled to Holland from persecution in his native France. To make this arrangement more farcical

still, he gave one vote to the doctor and claimed two for himself. It seems impossible that the West India Company should have ordered or sanctioned a scheme of government so ridiculous as this. There was a provincial secretary, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, and a Schout-fiscal, as before. But Kieft was determined to be sovereign in the colony. "I have more power here," he said at one time, "than the Company itself; therefore, I may do and allow in this country what I please. I am my own master, for I have my commission not from the Company, but from the States-General." The prospects of the infant colony could not have been of the brightest, with such a man to direct their affairs.

Yet there was much to raise people's expectations at the beginning of the reign of William the Testy. Kieft was a man of energy and business activity. Among the first things he did was to put in good order the Company's bouweries, and as the promise of better terms and vigorous management was made widely known in the home country, a number of colonists of the better class began to come over. These leased or purchased tracts of land in various portions of Greater New York. Ex-Director Van Twiller, pocketing the disgrace of his removal, added to his former plantations by leasing Company's farm No. 5, embracing the later Village of Greenwich, a tract called by the Indians Sapohanican. Not to be behind his chief, Andreas Hudde, the ex-councilor, not satisfied with the part ownership of Flatlands, secured the lease of two hundred acres of land in the northeast corner of Manhattan, or part of the present Harlem. In the vicinity, or in that part of Harlem lying between Eighth Avenue and the Harlem River, was Councilor La Montagne's plantation of "Vredendael" (Peacedale), and Secretary Van Tienhoven leased and operated a farm on the Harlem exactly opposite, thus near Motthaven. Joachim Petersen Kuyter had another plantation bordering on the Harlem, which he styled Zegendael (Blissvale), and Jonas Bronck opposite him, cultivated a tract running from the Harlem to the Bronx River, naming it "Emmäus." Meanwhile de Vries had come to the colony again late in 1638, and started a colony on Staten Island for the Patroon Cornelius Melyn, who arrived with Kuyter in 1639. De Vries also settled on a farm on Manhattan about two miles north of the fort. Coney Island was embraced within a lease then given, and later Kieft purchased from the Indians for the Company a tract of land reaching from Coney Island to Gowanus, opposite Governor's Island.

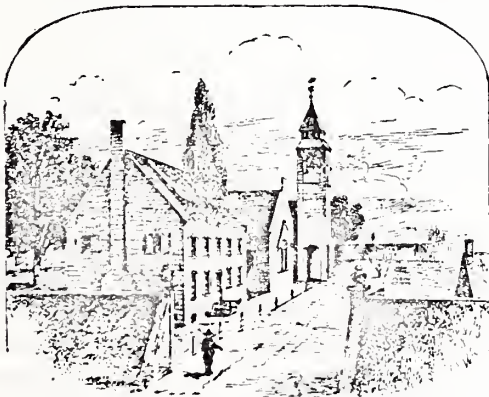
Last, but by no means least, must be mentioned Adriaen Vander Donck, who came to Manhattan from Rensselaerswyck, a doctor of laws, and a Jonkheer, or Yonker, a kind of squire or knight. For important services rendered he acquired, in 1646, as Patroon, a large tract of land running north along the Hudson from Spuyten Duyvil Creek beyond the present Yonkers (which derives its name from him).



NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1656.

and back to the Saw Mill River. Thus another portion of Greater New York was occupied, and a man of importance, who made his presence notably felt in later years, was added to the population gathering around the fort.

Before the Indian wars which devastated the Greater New York territory from one end to the other during Kieft's term had reached their height, several remarkable settlements had taken place within that territory. These were made by various people of the Anabaptist persuasion, who were subjected to fierce persecution in the colonies controlled by the Puritans. In New Netherland they received a hearty welcome. They were permitted to lease or purchase land on favorable terms. Prominent among the leaders of these companies were two ladies, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and Lady Moody. Mrs. Hutchinson came first to Massachusetts in 1634, but in 1638 she was forced into exile. Then for a while she sought refuge in Rhode Island, but after her husband's death she came to New Netherland, feeling more secure from the arm of Puritan persecution there. In 1642 she and her adherents settled at Pelham Neck, where the Hutchinson River still flows in that extreme northeast corner of the annexed district, to remind us of her presence. A year later Lady Moody settled at Gravesend, Long Island, lately incorporated into Brooklyn, now quite at the southern limit of Greater New York. She had sought freedom of opinion in religion near Salem, Mass., and was for a time a member of the Congregational church there. But her convictions regarding infant baptism could not be tolerated. So she broke up a very flourishing and well-appointed settlement, and transferred it to Kieft's domain, the tract now called Gravesend being assigned to her. A strongly fortified house marked the center of the new plantation, about which clustered the houses of friends and dependents. There was a stockade surrounding these dwellings, and the farm lands lay outside. Lady Moody took no chances on the In-



CHURCH AND GOVERNOR'S HOUSE
IN FORT.

dians, and it was well she was so prudent, as she soon had reason to find out. In 1642 a company of Anabaptists, under the leadership of Rev. Francis Doughty, received a grant or lease of land at "Mespeth," or Maspeth, Long Island; after the Indians had wiped out this plantation, some dispute arising between the minister and his followers as to the proprietary rights to Mespeth, Mr. Doughty and others, in 1645, took up land where the Village of Flushing is now

located. And finally, in 1643, John Throgmorton and thirty-five Anabaptist families received permission to settle in that part of The Bronx Borough which includes Throgg's Neck, a name derived from that of the leader of these refugees.

As shall appear later, Kieft was not much of a religious man, and it may be his indifference to religion that made him so tolerant of all sects. For, in addition to the above instances, which may be set to his credit or discredit, as it may please the reader, it is to be remembered that it was during his administration that notable protection was afforded to the Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Jogues and Bressani. The story of Jogues's heroism and sufferings and final murder by the Mohawks in 1646 is a familiar one. In 1643, sadly tortured and mutilated, he was rescued and ransomed from the fierce savages at Rensselaerswyck, near Albany, and brought down to Fort Amsterdam. Director Kieft treated him with the greatest consideration, gave him money, and sent him to France free of charge, in one of the Company's ships. Father Jogues has left on record his impressions of life on Manhattan Island. It is from him we learn that no less than eighteen languages could be heard in the colony; and he was astonished at the variety of creeds represented and tolerated there on equal terms. Father Bressani was ransomed from the Iroquois for a good round sum, just as he was about to be burned at the stake, in 1644. He too was sent to France, via Holland, free of charge. These incidents are certainly among the pleasantest to record, and reflect credit on Kieft and the Company from whatever point of view we choose to look at them.

We must now turn, however, to the darker side of William the Testy's administration—the story of the long and cruel Indian wars. It begins with a tale of unprovoked murder and its revenge, inevitable according to the savage code. Away back in 1626 three servants of Director Minuit, all of whom are said to have been negroes, were at work on the edge of the pond called the "Collect," in later times. It was located at the bottom of that depression in Centre Street, sloping down from Broome Street on the north and Reade Street on the south, the Tombs prison until lately occupying its site. While engaged in cutting wood, an Indian man and boy appeared on the scene, the boy being the man's nephew. They were carrying a lot of beaver skins to be traded for trinkets at the fort. The negroes, tempted by the valuable furs, killed the adult Indian, but the boy escaped. He vowed vengeance, and quietly bided his time. Fifteen years after, an Indian suddenly entered the shop of Claes Swits (or Smits), a wheelwright, living far out near Turtle Bay, or in the vicinity of Forty-fifth Street and the East River, attacked the occupant with a tomahawk while his back was turned, and murdered him in cold blood. The assailant was the nephew of the Indian killed in 1626, and belonged to the tribe of the Weekquaesgecks. The tribe having been summoned to surrender the murderer, refused to give him up.

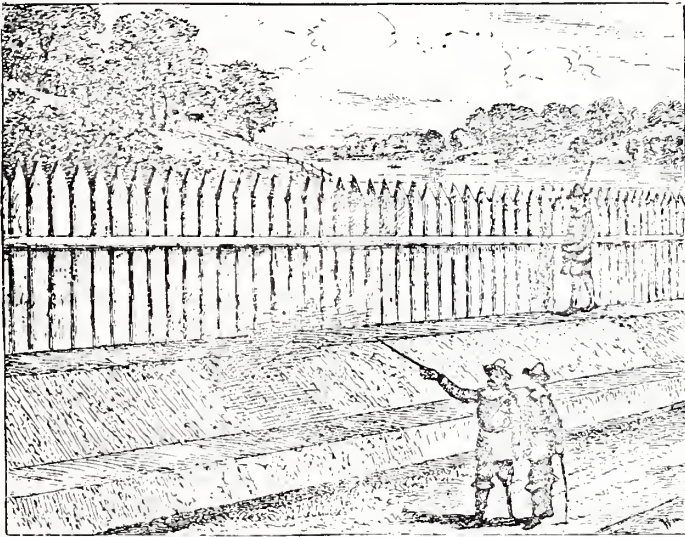
It would not do to leave so bold a murder unpunished, for the effect of this would be to multiply such events indefinitely, a condition fatal to the plantation of the territory. So nothing remained but to de-

clare war against the savage foe. For this important step, however, Kieft was not prepared to take the responsibility upon himself and the council so peculiarly constituted. The situation, therefore, actually forced him to make a concession that temporarily converted the colonial oligarchy he had fondly planned to establish into the freest kind of democratic state. All the heads of families were summoned to meet on "Thursday, August 29, 1641,"—a date worth noting—"for the consideration of some important and necessary matters" pertaining to the common weal. Out of this assembly twelve men were chosen, with De Vries as chairman, who should be allowed to settle the question of the expediency of making war on the Indians. We find upon the list of names those of Jan Jansen Damen, who later had a farm running from Broadway to the East River, just north of Wall Street; also Joachim Kuyter, of Zegendael on the Harlem, and Joris (or George) Rapalye, of the Wallabout, or Walloon Bay. By the advice of De Vries, who had had some experience in Indian warfare, and knew both how to intimidate and to pacify Indians, the committee of twelve recommended that efforts should be further made to induce the Weckquaesgecks to give up the offender. But the committee went a little beyond the purpose of their appointment, for they thought that this was too good a chance to let go for bringing the arbitrary Kieft to terms in the matter of popular rights. They demanded an increase in the council from one to five members, the four additional ones to be selected from the twelve. Kieft reluctantly yielded, granting the council thus enlarged judiciary powers, and only occasionally a voice in public affairs generally. Protection too gained its first foothold on Manhattan Island, New Englanders being forbidden to sell cows and goats in New Netherland. Thus Walter Van Twiller could not be underbid in his sales of these useful chattels, and the prevention of their increase by importation would not be lessening his terms for hiring them out.

In March, 1642, the Weckquaesgecks, having still failed to surrender the murderer of Smits, war was declared. A force of eighty men under one Ensign Van Dyck, marched against their villages in Westchester County, with orders to destroy by fire and by sword. But somehow the army lost its way in the woods and the darkness, and failed to reach the Indians. Nevertheless, the demonstration had the effect of a very wholesome fright. A conference was held at Bronck's house and peace effected on the promise that the murderer would be surrendered. Although the promise was not kept, yet this peace concluded the first episode of the war.

Isolated murders kept on occurring at various points in the vicinity of Manhattan Island, exasperating the not too placid temper of William the Testy. It must have been on this account that he was provoked into an act of atrocity quite worthy of his savage neighbors themselves. The Indians in the territory of Greater New York and

in New Jersey belonged to the general family of the Algonquins. During a raid of the Indians of the "Five Nations" of the Iroquois family, carrying their ever-victorious arms down toward the mouth of the Hudson, a number of Algonquin tribes took refuge among the Dutch settlers. One party fled to De Vries's plantation on Staten Island; a second encamped on Planck's farm at Paulus Hook, opposite Manhattan, in New Jersey; and a third crossed the North River, not stopping till they had quite traversed the island, and huddled together in terror among the woods on Corlaer's Hook, jutting into the East River opposite the Wallabout. Kieft was informed of the incursion of these Indians. It is possible he may have supposed their purpose was hostile. At any rate, he gave orders to attack the camps



PALISADES ALONG WALL STREET.

at Paulus Hook and at Corlaer's Hook. On the night of February 27, 1643, eighty men, women, and children were ruthlessly destroyed on the Jersey shore, and on that of the 28th a similar outrage caused the destruction of forty men, women, and infants at Corlaer's Hook. These unpardonable acts could only have one result. They kindled the flames of war and vengeance among all the surrounding tribes in Jersey, in Westchester County, on Staten Island, on Long Island. Kuyter's farm and buildings were destroyed on the Harlem. Bronck was probably murdered there. Anne Hutchinson's settlement was raided, the good woman herself killed, and her little eight-year-old daughter captured. Throgmorton and his friends suffered great loss of lives and goods. Mr. Doughty's plantation at Maspeth was entirely swept away, and only the excellent precautions taken by Lady Moody at Gravesend enabled her to repel successfully three fierce attacks by Indian warriors. Efforts to restore peace were repeatedly made by

the now thoroughly frightened Kieft, but mostly in vain. A congress of sachems met at Rockaway at one time, and the fearless De Vries, who possessed the confidence of the Indians, went out to represent the director. While quiet was thus restored at one point, hostilities would break out again at another. An expedition was sent to Staten Island under Eusign Van Dyck, and one to Westchester under Captain John Underhill. They did good work at fighting the Indians, and inspired them with a wholesome fear. But peace was not finally established on a firm basis until August, 1645. On the 25th of that month a solemn assembly of citizens and Indian chiefs met within the walls of Fort Amsterdam and signed a treaty. The terms were that all cases of injury to person or property on either side were to be laid before the respective authorities. No armed Indian was to come within the line of the settlement; no colonist was to visit the Indian villages without a native to escort him. In celebration of the peace, and in recognition of an overruling Providence who had thus caused the reign of terror to come to a happy end, Director Kieft proclaimed a day of thanksgiving. On September 6, 1645, it was recommended that "in all places where there are any English or Dutch churches, God Almighty shall be thanked and praised."

In the midst of the stress of the Indian wars Kieft had been compelled more than once to resort to the people of the colony for advice and support. The "twelve men" having been soon sent about their business, after securing the concessions they demanded, a new representative body had to be elected. This consisted of eight men. "The good people of the Twelve," and "the good people of the Eight" were municipal institutions of Holland dating back to the 14th century; and thus in these bodies called into existence by the emergencies of the Indian war, we recognize the first traces of municipal government in Greater New York. The eight men continued to watch the interests of the people after the war was over. They protested against excessive duties levied by Kieft to meet the expenses of the war, but he treated the representatives of the commonalty with disdain. Then the eight men, under the leadership of Patroon Melyn, of Staten Island, drew up a formal complaint against Kieft's arbitrary and oppressive measures, reciting also that his cruelty had provoked the disastrous Indian troubles, and charging that by his connivance they were prolonged. This complaint was sent to the West India Company, and produced a profound effect. Indeed, so deeply discouraged was the Company by the state of affairs in New Netherland that it was seriously debated whether it were not better to transport the colonists in a body back to the Fatherland, and abandon the unprofitable enterprise altogether.

The year 1642 was made memorable by the erection of two important buildings. At that time trade with the neighboring colonies, both of the south and east, seems to have been quite brisk. Fre-

quently ships came into the harbor carrying merchants who needed to be politely entreated in order to secure business for the colony. They were usually entertained at the director's house. But this beginning to prove something of a burden, Kieft determined to erect a building such as graced every important town of Holland—a Stadt Herberg, or city tavern. That which had served Amsterdam in this way stood upon the Harlemer Street, and had been assigned to the use of the West India Company for offices and directors' rooms. A goodly building was accordingly erected at the head of what is now Coenties Slip. It was built of stone or brick, two or three stories in height, with a high sloping roof, in which were placed two or three tiers of dormer windows. The site is marked to-day by a bronze tablet in the wall of the building occupying it now. It is of special interest, as it became the town hall in the days both of Dutch and English municipal government.

In the same year was built the "church in the fort." One day De Vries remarked to the Director that it was a shame the people at Fort Amsterdam should worship in a church building "as mean as a barn," while the New England villages all possessed handsome buildings. Kieft asked how much the captain would be willing to subscribe toward a proper edifice. De Vries at once promised to pay 100 florins, if Kieft would give as much. Kieft agreed to the bargain.

and then resorted to a curious expedient to get the remaining funds that were needed. A wedding was soon to take place. Sarah, the daughter of Anneke Jans, was to be married to Hans Kierstede, the surgeon or physician of the post. Anneke Jans was the widow of Roelof Jans, to whom had been granted, in 1636, the Company's farm No. 1, or part of it, a tract of sixty-two acres running north of Warren Street, now owned by Trinity Church. In 1638 she had married the Rev. Everardus Bogardus, and thus the wealth and social position of the parties made the wedding a prominent one. It would bring together all the notable people of the colony, and Director Kieft formed a shrewd plan for getting subscriptions for his church. When the potations had been indulged in more than once, and the company was in a mellow mood, Kieft suddenly came forward with his proposition and asked for subscriptions on the spot, exhibiting his own and De Vries's, heading the list. Some of the subscribers looked



STUYVESANT PEAR TREE.

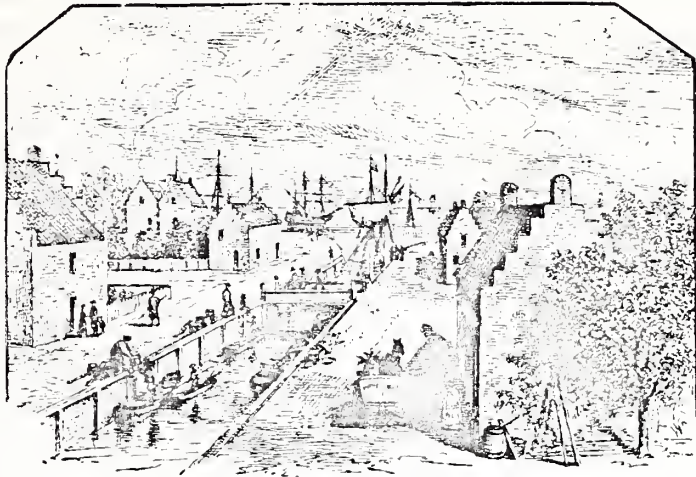
rather dubiously at the amounts opposite their names when the fumes of the liquor had subsided, but Kieft held every one strictly to his word. A stone church at a cost of 2,500 guilders (\$1,000) was put up within the quadrangle of the fort, to the south of the governor's house, and against the east wall, an inscription over the front door informing the reader that Director Kieft had caused it to be built for the congregation.

The proximity of the church to his residence did not prevent subsequent hostilities between Kieft and the pastor. Bogardus took to denouncing the present director as he had the former one. His temper was none of the best, and Kieft accused him of being too fond of wine. The quarrel grew from bad to worse. Kieft would order the drums to be beaten during the services, or cannons to be discharged by the soldiers. He encouraged the soldiers to play noisy games in the quadrangle, and otherwise to annoy and insult the church people. Kieft accused Bogardus before the Classis of Amsterdam of drunkenness and improper conduct, and in 1638 the Classis seriously thought of recalling him. It was about this time Domine Michaelius was requested to again assume the duties of pastor at Fort Amsterdam. But nothing came of the matter then. Finally, when the complaints against Kieft compelled the Company to remove him, Bogardus was also summoned to Amsterdam to answer the charges against him.

Toward the close of Kieft's term the population in and about Manhattan Island had grown to about one thousand souls. The houses were as yet mostly of very primitive construction; generally of wood, and, what seems strange, with wooden chimneys. These and the roofs of reed or straw, must have made fires frequent and disastrous. There was as yet not much regularity about the disposition of the houses into streets: the fort formed the nucleus, and rows of houses in its vicinity or along the shores would naturally prove the beginning of the streets we discover there later, some of which are yet easily identified. In Kieft's time several small plots for residences, fifty feet or more in width, were sold below Wall Street. A line of planks or pickets already indicated the location of the future Wall Street. There was a ferry to Long Island and a road to it from the fort. On the map of 1642 a road leads into the country along the line of Broadway, and a by-road runs down to the East River from the other about where Maiden Lane is now. As we have seen, ere Kieft was recalled, nearly all the territory covered now by Greater New York had begun to be settled.

Kieft remained on Manhattan Island for a short time after the arrival of his successor. This was in order to stand trial in a case brought against him by Patroon Melyn, of Staten Island, and Joachim Kuyter, of Zegendael on the Harlem, both members of the "Eight Men." The new Director sentenced to severe penalties the accusers instead of the accused, whereupon they appealed to the authorities in

Holland. The ex-Director, his accusers Melyn and Kuyter, and Pomine Bogardus all took passage in the *Princess*, sailing on August 10, 1647. It is said the *Princess* had a large quantity of iron pyrites on board, which Kieft imagined was gold, and thus proved, indeed, to be the fool's gold it is sometimes styled. The *Princess* lost her bearings in a fog, ran upon the rocks on the coast of Wales, and Kieft, Bogardus, and eighty of their fellow passengers perished. Melyn and Kuyter were saved, and Kuyter even recovered the



CANAL IN BROAD STREET.

box containing the papers in their case against Kieft. Kieft's last words were an acknowledgement of his wrong-doing toward his accusers, and a request to be forgiven; so that nothing in his life became him so well as his leaving of it.

The same good ship that met with so sad a fate, accompanied by three others, had brought to Manhattan colony Kieft's successor, the last of the Directors-General who kept aloft the flag of the Dutch Republic over Fort Amsterdam. How familiar is the figure of Peter Stuyvesant, compared with those of his predecessors! Of Minuit's incumbency we were not even sure until about fifty years ago. Walter Van Twiller, rotund and roystering, William Kieft, spare and testy, short of body as of temper, live thus only in our imaginations, and we know of them only from books. But Stuyvesant still seems a living presence in our city. His portrait adorns private homes and halls of learning; his effigy, wooden leg and all, figures here and there upon our streets. Every one has trod the thoroughfare leading to his farm or Bowery, still bearing that name to indicate the connection. And there are not a few who have gazed upon the pear tree planted by his own hands, which stood until thirty years ago upon the corner of Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street. His fine, strong, resolute face, and especially his wooden leg, adorned with silver bands, stand vividly before our minds the instant his name is mentioned. He does not, therefore, seem nearly so distant from our own day as the men who preceded him; he belongs to our city by a closer proprietary right than any of the others.

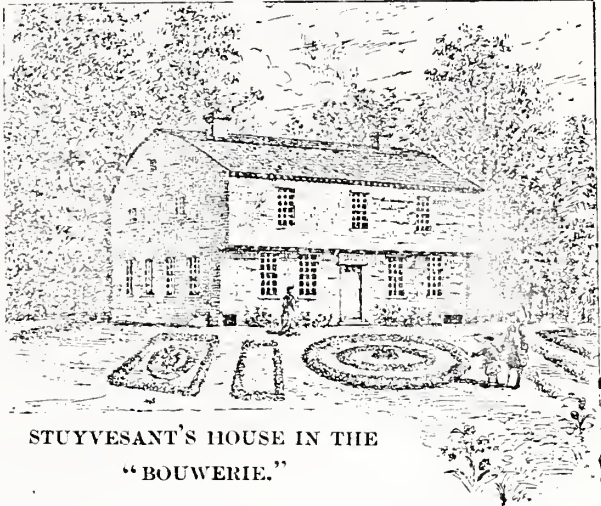
We are told it was a bright warm day in May, the 27th of the month, 1647, exactly two hundred and fifty years ago as we write these words, when Director Stuyvesant and his party landed on Manhattan Island. The people had become so tired of Kieft that they were prepared to welcome any one who replaced him with enthusiasm. But apart from this, the man who towered in stature and dignity above the retiring official beside him was of a far superior stamp in every way. He was of a good family in Holland, the son of a clergyman. He had attained honorable distinction in military life, having lost a leg in the service of the Republic. He had held colonial office before, having been governor of Curacao and other islands of the Dutch West Indies. His private character was above reproach, his sense of honor of the highest, his honesty of purpose and integrity in the administration of affairs not to be doubted for a moment. He might be despotic in temperament and disdainful of popular rights, but in the midst of all the troubles he encountered not a word could be said reflecting upon his personal character or official conduct.

A circumstance deserving of notice is that the Director-General was accompanied by his wife. We read of no Mrs. Minuit, or Mrs. Van Twiller, or Mrs. Kieft; and if they had been it seems as if history would have had some record of them. But it is pleasant to observe that Stuyvesant brought a lady into the governor's house. Indeed he brought more than one. His sister had married Mrs. Stuyvesant's brother, Samuel Bayard, who had died. And Mrs. Bayard, with her three sons, Peter, Balthazar, and Nicholas, destined to play important parts in the subsequent history of the city, sometimes creditable, sometimes not, had accompanied her brother and sister-in-law to seek a home with them in wild America. These were ladies of refinement and some education, and their arrival augured well for an elevation of the tone of society at Fort Amsterdam, of which it was doubtless somewhat in need.

As Stuyvesant was to retain his command over Curacao and the West Indies, the office of Vice-Director had been created. The duties of that position were intrusted to the able and upright Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, who had served the people of the colony by opposing Van Twiller and causing his removal. He had been quite as useful in exposing the injurious nature of Kieft's administration, and had therefore been largely instrumental in ridding the people of him also. He was to manifest equal independence, and an intelligent regard for popular rights, under the arbitrary government of his present chief.

The need of money has always forced the tyrant's hand to yield concessions to popular liberty. And Stuyvesant proved no exception to the rule. He began on the very day of his arrival and reception to intimate plainly by words in what spirit he expected to govern. Before the first three months were over, he gave evidences by action of his ar-

bitrary notions. Melyn and Kuyter, who had brought charges against ex-Director Kieft, were denounced as traiters. Stuyvesant chose to declare that it was treason and rebellion to bring an accusation against a magistrate, no matter how good the grounds for it. Hence these gentlemen found the tables effectually turned, and instead of securing the conviction of the guilty Kieft, they were themselves sentenced to banishment and heavy fines. The rights or wishes of the people stood but a poor chance of recognition on the part of a ruler who cherished sentiments of this sort, and acted upon them so vigorously. And yet before another three months were gone, we find an assembly of "Nine Men," representing the settlements on Manhattan and Long Islands, in session, and



STUYVESANT'S HOUSE IN THE
"BOUWERIE."

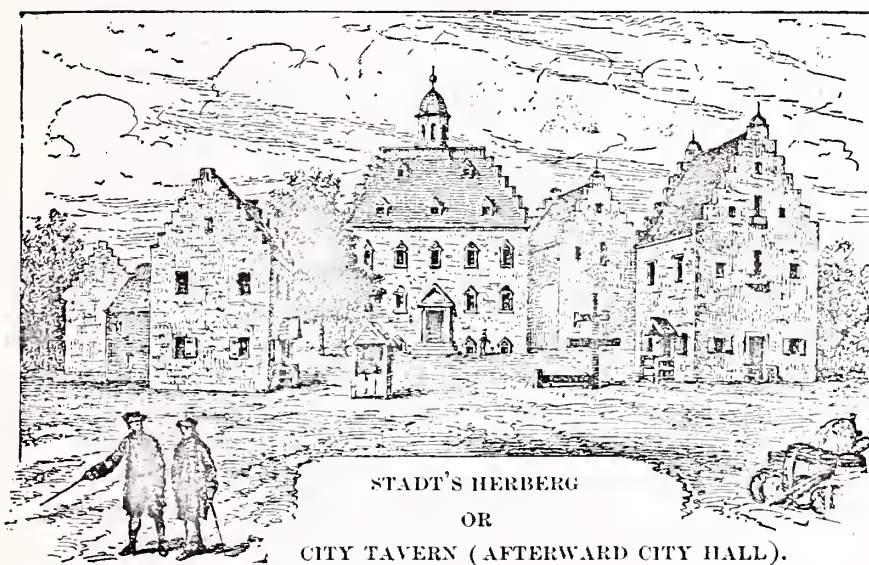
solicited by Stuyvesant for assistance in defraying the expenses of repairing the fort. He had found it impossible to get funds otherwise than by calling this assembly, so thoroughly was the principle of taxation only by representation ingrained into the nature of Dutch Republicans. But, although the Director had been compelled to call the "Nine Men" into existence, it can easily be understood that he did not cordially approve of the institution. Neither could harmony be expected in the dealings between the two. Stuyvesant disregarded their demands, and set aside their recommendations, and they on their part kept on with more urgent demands and stronger remonstrances. In the midst of the turmoil the hands of the enemy were signally strengthened by the return of Melyn and Kuyter, their sentence completely reversed by the authorities at home, and bearing in triumph a summons upon Stuyvesant to appear in Holland to answer grave charges of misconduct in their trial. They contrived to have this summons read in church, where it had the effect of a thunderbolt out of a clear sky upon the unsuspecting Governor. The Nine Men now drew up a memorial or remonstrance, presumably from the pen of Adriaen Van der Donck, of Yonkers; and delegated the latter with two others to go to Holland to present the remonstrance in person. Stuyvesant, on his part, showed his fighting mettle. He caused Van der Donck's arrest without a moment's notice, seized his papers, and upon the testimony

derived therefrom proceeded to condemn him. Vice-Director Van Dincklagen protested against this despotic measure, but it was of no avail. Another memorial was drawn up, and Van der Donck sent with that to Holland. It gave an elaborate account of conditions in America, and a succinct history of colonial affairs up to date, 1650, more or less partial, as may be expected. Still, the States-General learned enough to make up their minds that some changes in administration should be made. They determined to separate the functions of provincial and local government. It would be well enough to let Stuyvesant rule the province, but it seemed best to give the government of the people in his immediate vicinity more into their own hands. This could be effected in no better way than by making a city of Fort Amsterdam. In the civil policy of the Dutch Republic the city was the seat and source of all political authority. The Provincial States or legislature of each province was the creature of the town councils, whose delegates composed its members. In turn, the States-General or Congress of the Republic was the creature of the several Provincial States. No measure of any importance could be passed upon in the States-General without first having been referred back to the Provincial States, and by these to the several town governments for express instructions.

From this it will be seen that there was great significance in the purpose to bestow municipal being upon the community clustering about Fort Amsterdam. The form adopted was that common among the Dutch towns, the officers consisting of two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout. The burgomaster of a Dutch city to-day is exactly equivalent to a mayor, and only one functionary bears the name. But at the time of the Dutch Republic there were never less than two. This twofold headship was the relic of an ancient custom, dating from the time of the counts of Holland, when one burgomaster represented the feudal lord, and watched over his interests, and the other was the people's representative, and guarded their liberties or privileges. The schepens (from the Latin *Scabini*) possessed mainly judicial functions, sitting as a court, the legislative department belonging rather to the burgomasters, of whom there were often four or more in large cities. The schout, somewhat equivalent to the English sheriff, was the executive officer, at this time subordinate to the others, but in earlier periods the supreme functionary, ruling in the place of the count. In the beginning these municipal officers were chosen by the people, more or less directly in conjunction with the feudal lord. Later the trade guilds became the electors, but finally the councils became self-perpetuating close corporations; or at best the electors were confined only to the body of ex-officers, called the "Wisdom" or "Prudence" or "Riches," or simply the Old Council, or ex-Council. But the corporation as such, and however elected or constituted, was a little sovereignty by itself, treating with other like

sovereigns in the province or in the Republic by means of plenipotentiaries in the provincial or general assemblies.

Thus Fort Amsterdam now became New Amsterdam, one of the sovereign cities of the Dutch Republic. It is somewhat hard to comprehend, however, since this arrangement was intended to neutralize Stuyvesant's arbitrary assumptions of power, why the Company or the States-General should have allowed him to make all the appointments, giving the people themselves no choice in the matter. The Director appointed as the first burgomasters Arendt van Hattem and Martin Krigier; as schepens, Paulus Van der Grist, Maximilian van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Peter van Couwenhoven, and William Beekman. The Company had prepared a very unkind cut for the Director



by ordering him to appoint Joachim Kuyter as schout. But before the time came for carrying the new state of things into effect, Kuyter had been murdered by an Indian, and Stuyvesant appointed his friend and supporter, Secretary Van Tienhoven, to the office. Jacob Kip became Town Secretary. By proclamation of the Director the new order of things went into effect on February 2, 1653. The old city tavern, built eleven years before, was remodeled and made the Stadt Huys, or Town Hall. The council met on Mondays from nine to noon, but sometimes, under press of business, would devote a few hours of the afternoon to it. Later, in consideration of the fact that most of the officers were tradespeople whose time cost money, burgomasters were assigned a stipend of 350 guilders (\$140) per annum, and the schepens one of 250 guilders (\$100). The people had now their own rulers, distinct from the provincial government, but frictions were nevertheless continually occurring between the citizens and the Di-

rector regarding the election or appointment of this or that officer, or other complex questions of authority.

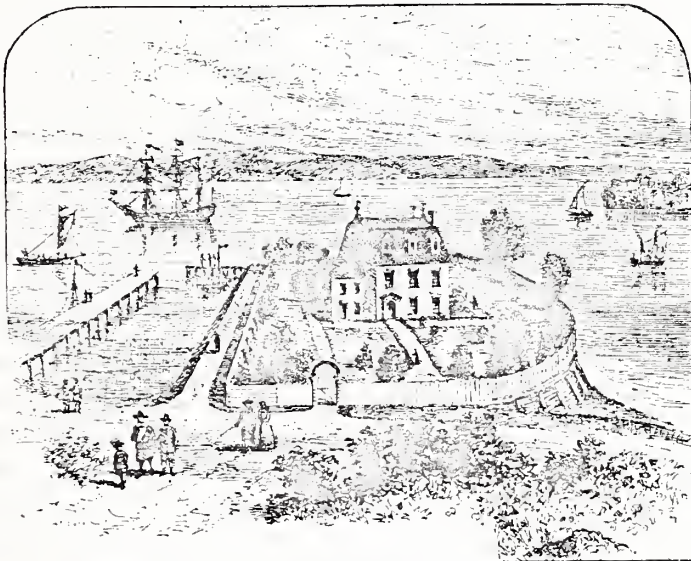
An expedient naturally suggested itself to Stuyvesant by the fact that New Amsterdam was now a city. In Dutch cities of the older time, when the people still had a voice in electing their magistrates, they were restricted in the way of candidates to office to those who paid a certain amount of taxes, or owned a certain amount of property. Stuyvesant proposed now to divide the population of New Amsterdam into two classes. Those who were willing to pay fifty florins (\$20) would be enrolled as greater burghers; all those who would pay 25 florins (\$10) were to receive the privileges of small burghers. On a list of 1657 appear twenty great burghers and two hundred and four small burghers. By this arrangement Stuyvesant raised a good round sum for the repairs on the fort. But the small number who applied for greater burgher rights made it impossible to confine to their ranks alone the choosing of magistrates for the city.

As if by the irony of fate, the sway of the most despotic of colonial governors saw the establishment of an assembly of the most democratic character. On November 26, 1653, there gathered in the City Hall at the head of Coenties Slip, nineteen men representing the city and eight village communities, all situated within the bounds of Greater New York. Its purpose ostensibly was to concoct measures of defense against the Indians; but other matters of public interest were not excluded from their deliberations. Stuyvesant was invited to partake of a parting banquet, but he refused to have anything to do with them. Yet so strong was the clamor of the people for the reassembling of this body that, in order to avoid the odium of having it meet in spite of him, he was fain to call its next meeting himself, thus giving it legal sanction. It met in the City Hall on December 10, 1653. The two burgomasters and Schepen Van der Grist represented New Amsterdam; there were three delegates from Breuckelen, two from Flushing, two from Newtown, two from Hempstead, three from Amersfoort (Flatlands), two from Midwout (Flatbush), and two from Gravesend. Perhaps it was a little ungracious, after forcing Stuyvesant into calling it together, to make its main business the preparation of a paper memorializing the States-General complaining of the unbearable tyranny of the Director. But whatever its proceedings, we agree with Lossing in viewing this assembly as of the greatest interest as "the first real representative assembly in the great State of New York." To us of Greater New York it is still more significant as unconsciously foreshadowing the municipal assembly which is to gather its members from the very boroughs (and one or two more) which sent their delegates to beard the lion in his den in 1653.

Events of a general nature transpiring outside the bounds of the city have no claim to our particular attention. The Director was more

successful in coping with these than in repressing the republican instincts of his own people. The English kept up their game of harassing New Netherland, and claiming title to part or all of it. But Stuyvesant, by calm remonstrance and amicable conference, succeeded in keeping them at arms' length. A dispute as to boundary lines was settled by arbitration, the arbitrators on the Dutch side being two English citizens of New Amsterdam, whose appointment occasioned bitter complaint against the Director. When the Swedes in the Delaware section of New Netherland became too aggressive, an expedition of seven armed vessels quickly averted all controversy, the Swedish settlers retiring gracefully before the superior force. Stuyvesant had some difficulties with the authorities at Fort Orange or Albany, and he made a personal visit to that region. The English on Long Island too continued to annoy Stuyvesant, as they had done Kieft.

Previous to 1640 a number of Yankees from New England had crossed the Sound and purchased lands from the Indians at the eastern extremity of the island. By every right that discovery could give, the whole island was the property of the Dutch. But the Long Island settlers had little



"WHITE HALL," STUYVESANT'S TOWN HOUSE.

regard for that right; they kept pressing westward, and threatening to invade the Dutch villages, and the English patents granted by the Dutch. Both Kieft and Stuyvesant used diplomatic arts and military demonstrations to arrest their progress. But they could not be driven off the island, and retained their positions at Southampton and Southold, a constant threat to the peace of the island, and a potent instrument in the final dislodgment of Dutch power.

There is also a brief story of Indian massacre and war during the term of Stuyvesant. The savages and colonists in the main got along pretty well. But it is no wonder that once in a while a settler would lose patience and commit an act likely to excite such inflammable neighbors. Yet the act that brought the final catastrophe can hardly be justified. Hendrick Van Dyck, Fiscal to Stuyvesant's council, had

been retired to private life not long after the opening of the new administration. Even while the squadron conveying the Director was still on the high seas Stuyvesant had taken some dislike to him, and publicly insulted him. He was now interested in cultivating a peach orchard, and finding a squaw one evening stealing the precious fruit, he ruthlessly shot her down. Vengeance was sure to follow so wanton a provocation. But the Indians awaited a favorable opportunity. While Stuyvesant had withdrawn all available fighting men for the great and bloodless expedition to the Delaware, a swarm of savages of the Mohawk, the Mohican, and other river tribes, rushed down upon the almost defenseless city. They entered the farmers' houses on the way down, killing and burning as they went. In the early morning of September 15, 1655, they came before the fort into which the fighting men that remained had hastily withdrawn, to present as good an order of defense as they could. Van Dyck was wounded, but not mortally, by an arrow, and Schepen Van der Grift barely missed being brained by a tomahawk. The Indians were a little cautious about the fort guns, however, and assembled upon the river strand, planning new outrages. A delegation from the fort went out to parley with them; at first they promised to go over to Nutten (Governor's) Island for the night. But when they failed to cross over, and a second attempt to parley with them was made, they attacked the party sent to them on the errand of peace, killing one of them. Then the Dutch opened fire, driving them into their canoes. As they paddled away, however, they still managed to kill a few of the colonists. They crossed the river to the Jersey shore, and soon one after another farm or settlement was in flames. Thence paddling over to Staten Island, twenty-three of the ninety colonists fell victims to their rage. It was estimated that nearly a thousand red men engaged in this work of sanguinary retaliation. The reign of terror lasted three days, in which brief period over one hundred of the settlers were killed, one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and more than three hundred lost all their possessions. Stuyvesant was hastily summoned back to Manhattan, and by a mixture of firmness and tact, and a self-restraint which he exhibited as a soldier, but never could command as a civilian, he soon brought the Indians to terms, and secured permanent quiet throughout the neighboring settlements.

Such then was the run of events while ruled the last of the four Directors-General, and New Netherland was coming to the end of its subjection to the flag of the Dutch Republic. What was the incipient metropolis beginning to look like, and what were some of the phases of existence to be met with? At the time New Amsterdam became an incorporated Dutch city, the population is said to have numbered some seven hundred and fifty souls. Yet even at that time the city was considered to embrace the whole of Manhattan Island. It is no

wonder then that wolves and bears infested the more lonely regions of the city, and many a head of cattle was sacrificed to their voracity. In 1660 part of this vast outlying wilderness was laid out as a village, which received the name that still denotes that portion of our city, but which has become the center of it instead of a remote outpost. The people of New Amsterdam never forgot after what city they named their town, and so as settlements were made in the neighborhood, they would recall the vicinity of the mother city by giving to such places the names of neighboring localities at home. A number of families going out to the northeast extremity of the island were given the privilege of erecting a church, which they built near the river. And the name New Haerlem seemed a proper appendix to that of New Amsterdam.

New Amsterdam would not have been a Dutch city without a militia or "schuttery." No town at home was without its *doelen*, and tourists to-day find *Doelen Hotels* in every part of Holland, these being originally the headquarters or armories of the train-bands. The New Amsterdam militia, called the *Burgher Wacht*, Citizen's Watch or Guard, consisted of two companies, one carrying a blue ensign, the other one of orange. They seem to have had some difficulty in providing themselves with a sufficient supply of firearms, but Stuyvesant took a great interest in them, and allowed them to be supplied from the Company's chest, until they could purchase their own. After the incorporation the authorities established a "Rattle Watch" of about six men. These were to do duty at night, to give alarm in case of fire, to arrest thieves or prowlers. They carried a large rattle which announced occasionally that they were on hand, or aroused the citizens in case of need. Thirty or forty years ago such a rattle might be heard in the streets of many a Dutch city in the dead of night, and it may be a practice still in some provincial towns. The Rattle Watch was not left alone, however, to cope with the problem of fires. A fire department had been created even before the city was incorporated, but in 1657 more effective measures were taken than ever before for preventing or extinguishing fires. Hooks and ladders, and ropes and leather buckets, were provided. Before November 1 two shoemakers had constructed one hundred and fifty of these buckets, and they were distributed over the town at convenient points, a dozen in each place, while about fifty were kept at the City Hall.

The danger of fire as the population increased naturally convinced the people of the expediency of building safer houses. The wooden dwelling, with its wooden chimney and its thatched roof, was a constant invitation to the fire fiend. Yet such dwellings were still in the majority as late as 1658. An ordinance of that year forced the people to build chimneys of stone or brick, and forbade roofs of straw or reeds. From that time may be dated the change in the appearance and quality of the dwellings, and some of the more pros-

perous citizens put up mansions of some pretension. Stuyvesant found the Governor's house in the fort unsuitable for occupancy. It had been good enough for the bachelor directors, but he wanted something better for his lady. So he built a substantial house of stone at the water's edge, about where is the corner of Whitehall and State streets now. A little garden surrounded the dwelling, and a private miniature dock housed the Director's barge of state. The house received the name of Whitehall in later days, and thence has the street derived its designation.

It was during this term that many of the streets familiar to us now began to be laid out and received names, some of which have come down to our day in English form. Wall Street was as much a fortification as a street. Eleven families lived on the south side, and ten on the north, or outside, called Cingel. In the middle ran a line of solid planks pointed at the top, set close together, and held firmly by cross timbers; it stretched quite across the island, from Broadway to the East River. At the river's edge there was a "water gate," and on Broadway a "land gate" opened a way into the country. Broadway was then called the Heeren Straat, or Gentlemen's Street, and twenty-two families resided upon either side. On the west side the yards or gardens reached to the water. Coming down the hill to the fort, there was the open space now called the Bowling Green. It was called the Marketfield (Marktveld) then, and a row of houses, accommodating eleven families, stood on the left or east side. Burgomaster Crigier lived here, and a little alley or *steegje* running to Broad Street, finds its equivalent to-day in Marketfield Street. Stone Street was then Brouwer Straat, because Burgomaster Van Cortlandt, a famous brewer, lived in it, while it derived its present name from the fact that it was paved sooner than its neighbors. Parel Straat indicates where Pearl Street was to be afterward, although the name then indicated only one block from State to Whitehall, where the oyster shells on the beach gave a faint suggestion of the pearl. Pearl from Whitehall to Broad was then called 't Water, and here stood the old discarded church, where former Schepen and Burgomaster Allerton had his store at this time. Again, Pearl from Broad to Wall Street, was called Hoog Straat, or High Street, and this was the thoroughfare most closely beset with dwellings. It must be remembered that it faced the river, and thus had only one row of houses, yet forty-one families resided here in 1664. To keep the high tides from invading these homes the city built a sort of sea wall, called a "Schoeying," along the shore, reaching from the City Hall at Coenties Slip, to the "water gate" at Wall Street.

But perhaps the most interesting feature of the old city, and one most difficult to recall, because all traces of it are utterly removed, is the system of canal streets which so lovingly reproduced conditions in the mother city of Amsterdam. Who would think to-day that



STUYVESANT DESTROYING NICHOLS'S LETTER.

Broad Street was once a canal street? A creek or inlet curved up from the river, stopping at the bottom of the slight elevation which is still apparent in the short block from Exchange Place to Wall Street. This inlet (sometimes designated by the rather undignified term "ditch") was deepened and widened and its sides straightened and boarded up in the approved Dutch manner of making cauals. And then the street thus duly adorned with a waterway in the center was named the "Heeren Gracht," or Gentlemen's Canal. Twenty families resided here, among them the oft-named Patroon of Staten Island, Cornelius Melyn. A family by the name of Romeyn lived here, and also one Nicholas Du Puy, to whose presence in the town we doubtless owe the existence in these days of "our own" Chauncey M. Depew. Not satisfied with one canal street, the New Amsterdam-

mers would fain have two others. The famous "Heeren Gracht" of Amsterdam, then and now the Fifth Avenue of the Dutch metropolis, received a counterpart in the new town. The "Prinsen Gracht," a thoroughfare only less noted, received a reproduction on a very small scale, by fixing up a ditch at right angles to Broad Street, where Beaver Street now runs to its terminus in Pearl. Here lived about seventeen families, Jacob Kip, the town secretary among them; and here, too, resided one Baai Roosevelt, a name our city shall not "willingly let die." Toward the west, Beaver Street was also made into a canal street, named "Bever Gracht." A bridge over the Broad Street canal gave the name to Bridge Street (*Brugh Straat*), and upon this bridge the merchants of that day did mostly congregate, constituting it a sort of impromptu and primitive exchange, almost under the shadow of the tower of the Produce Exchange that now is. Of the other streets then laid out and occupied by houses we need only mention briefly the *Smee Straat* (Smith Street), now the part of William between Broad and Wall, including South William; *Smits Valey* (*Vly* or *Fly*), along the East River from Wall to Fulton Ferry, and 't *Water* (the Water), the west side of Whitehall from State to Pearl. Dr. Hans Kierstede, Anneke Jans's son-in-law, resided upon the latter, and fourteen other families besides.

It was not until Stuyvesant's time that the problem of laying out streets and building upon them with some idea of regularity received any attention. At his instance surveyors of streets and buildings were appointed. In November, 1655, Allard Anthony, burgomaster, and Councilor Dr. La Montagne constituted a committee to report upon the work of the surveyors. Sanitary conditions were also improved under the Director's care. A dock was constructed on the East River side off "the Water" described above, and anchorage places assigned in the river for ships of various burden or draught. Postal facilities there were none; the Company had a box placed at the entrance of their new building on the *Rapenburg* at Amsterdam for the reception of all letters to America, and they recommended that a similar device for collecting the mail in one spot and carrying it in one bag be adopted at New Amsterdam. Trade with the neighboring colonies, or with foreign countries abroad was only to be carried on in ships of the Company. It may easily be imagined that this restriction served as the signal for a brisk smuggling business. The currency of the town and province was still beaver skins and wampum, or beads strung on strings, or loose. The latter was a currency easily mutilated, and while a certain number of beads, white or black, represented a Dutch *stuyver* (=two cents U. S.), the introduction of broken beads, or those of a poor quality from New England, brought about a great confusion of values, and the withdrawal of the better kind from circulation. Stuyvesant labored long and earnestly to remedy the matter by banishing the primitive Indian currency alto-

gether and substituting Dutch coins of small value. But he was discouraged and opposed in the measure by the Company at home.

As may be imagined, the population of the town was considerably depleted by the ravages and the fright of the Indian rising in 1655. But soon after, there came to be a replenishing by means of immigrants from the home country. There is preserved a list of arrivals per various ships from 1657 to 1664, and from this we learn both the particular persons and families that came over, and the precise number of accessions from year to year. These figures will be interesting in comparison with the myriads that now annually arrive at our port. In 1657 there were only thirty-three. In 1658 the number advanced suddenly to three hundred and five, one ship, the "Faith," carrying as many as a hundred. In 1660 one hundred and seventy-one persons arrived, but a number of these were soldiers. In 1661 just one less than a hundred emigrated to New Netherland; in 1662 there were two hundred and eight; in 1663, two hundred and fifty-two; and in 1664, sixty-four, eight of whom arrived in a vessel appropriately called the "Broken Heart," in view of the feelings of the Director in having to surrender. The whole number of immigrants as thus recorded amounted to eleven hundred and thirty-two. Some of these ships seemed to ply regularly between old Amsterdam and New Amsterdam, as their names appear upon the list three or four times. Many of these immigrants were mechanics, farmers, and trades people; many of them came over with large families of children. In April, 1660, the "Spotted Cow" conveyed two families with seven children, and one with eight. While these new arrivals mostly belonged to the humbler classes of society, occasionally men of learning or of wealth came over. Indeed, so definitely had "classes" already established themselves in the young community that the body of the Nine Men was made up of three men representing the large land proprietors or *Patroons*, three to represent the merchants or shop-keepers, and three the farmers and mechanics. There was also a professional class, composed of a few lawyers, two ministers, and a couple of physicians and surgeons. At the instance of one of the latter a primitive hospital was instituted, with a matron at a salary of 100 florins (\$40). This was doing well for so small a town and so limited a population, which at the time of the surrender was estimated at about fifteen hundred souls. The church in the fort was still sufficient for the spiritual needs of the people, and one pastor at first served them well enough. The Rev. Johannes Backerns, who had been settled at Curacao when Stuyvesant was stationed there, was perhaps induced for that reason to come to New Amsterdam. But he stayed only one year, not liking the commotions aroused by the arbitrary conduct of the Director, and in which he was innocently made to bear a part. In 1649 the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis was requested to come down from Fort Orange, where he had labored since 1642. He remained in New Amsterdam

till 1669, and in 1664 was joined in his labors there by his son, the Rev. Samuel, who remained till 1668, and then went to Holland. In 1652 the Rev. Samuel Drisius became co-pastor of the Dutch church, so that at the time of the surrender no less than three ministers upheld the doctrines of the Synod of Dort on Manhattan Island. And it is painful to add that now, perhaps from this access of theologians, no other doctrines were tolerated in New Amsterdam or in the vicinity. A Lutheran pastor called by some devout Germans was promptly turned face about by the Director and shipped back to Holland. Placards like those of the Inquisition at Brussels of old were posted at Midwont (Flatbush) forbidding any person from harboring Quakers. Baptists too were held to be equally obnoxious, and were banished from the town. Domines Drisius and Megapolensis were directly responsible for this intolerant conduct on the part of Stuyvesant, and they urged him to go to even greater lengths than he did. Yet to the credit of Megapolensis it must be said that he was largely instrumental in rescuing both Fathers Jogues and Bressani from the Indians. To Drisius, on the other hand, belongs the credit of urging the establishment of a Latin school. Dr. Alexander Charles Curtius was called to be principal of it, and in three years after its establishment (1659) it drew pupils from Virginia and the Delaware. As to schools for more elementary studies, one was opened by Jan Stevenson in 1648, and another by Jan Cornelissen over a grocery store in 1650. Moneys were occasionally collected for building a school-house under both Kieft and Stuyvesant, but the funds were almost invariably needed for administrative purposes, and school was kept at the houses of the teachers. But besides these schoolmasters appointed and paid by the West India Company, and under the supervision of the church, there were also private teachers. The Rev. Ægidius Luyck was one of these. He had come over as private tutor in Stuyvesant's family, for his own and the Bayard children, but for some reason he was dismissed. He pursued his profession at his house in the now extinct Winckel Straat. A school was started also for the benefit of the children of the settlement which had grown up around Stuyvesant's Bouwery in the neighborhood of Thirteenth Street and Second Avenue. Here also religious services were held in the afternoon of Sundays, the Rev. Henry Selyns, who came to Breuckelen in 1660, officiating there, as well as at the Wallabout and Gowanus. Thus in 1664, counting Harlem also, the gospel was dispensed simultaneously at three different localities on Manhattan.

In the year 1648 came to a close the Eighty Years' War for Dutch independence. Then finally and formally by the Treaty of Munster, or Peace of Westphalia, Spain acknowledged what it had been forced to concede virtually four decades before at the truce, that the United States of the Netherlands were a free and independent nation, to be ranked as a sovereign state with all the other states of Europe. In

the same year English patriots, taught by the Dutch Declaration of Independence of 1581, had dealt summary punishment to the king who had proved himself unworthy to reign. Unnatural war between the Commonwealth of England under Cromwell and the Dutch Republic under John De Witt, had raged for many years while Stuyvesant ruled New Netherland, and during those years he had been constantly apprehensive of an attack by a force sent out by the mother country. He had no fear of the surrounding colonies, but fully expecting an attack from a naval and land force from abroad, he constantly urged upon the Company, and upon the citizens, the necessity of strengthening the defenses of Manhattan, and especially the fort. But no heed was paid to his representations, and at the return of peace the expenditures required seemed still less desirable. Charles II. was restored to the throne of his father in 1660. He had enjoyed aid and comfort and asylum in Holland during much of his exile. Upon his accession it was no wonder that all thoughts of war between the two countries should have been far from men's minds. And so there was no war in 1664. Who then could have expected that now would happen what failed to occur in the years of war? Suddenly in August of that year four English vessels, carrying a force of several hundred land troops, the whole expedition under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, appeared in the Upper Bay and demanded the surrender of fort, city, and province. In return for the benefits the Dutch had bestowed upon him, Charles II. had patented away all of their possessions in America to his brother James, Duke of York, and Nicolls claimed the region on the strength of this grant. At the same time there was a rising among the English villages of Long Island. A force of English colonists stood ready to invade the boundary of New Netherland there, doubtless not without collusion with the invading expedition from abroad. Stuyvesant, conscious of his defenseless state, a dilapidated fort, inadequate supply of troops, practically no fortifications to protect the city against civilized foes, was yet too much of a soldier to think of immediate surrender. He tore the letter demanding it into fragments, and was for making a desperate resistance. But his greatest weakness was a discontented commonalty. In violation of the spirit of their institutions at home, Stuyvesant had ruled them as a despot in the service of a commercial monopoly. They wished to share the more liberal treatment which the English colonies enjoyed. There really was no possibility of successfully resisting the overwhelming odds threatening by land and water. The Council voted surrender, the citizens clamored for it.irate and self-willed to the last, Peter the Headstrong stormed up and down the walls of the fort. He would have trained and discharged defiant guns with his own hands. But Domine Megapolensis quietly went up to him, represented the hopelessness of the case, plead against the needless destruction of innocent lives, and Stuyvesant yielded.

On August 29, 1664, Col. Richard Nicolls and his troops landed upon Manhattan Island; the flag of the Republic was lowered from the staff where it had so proudly waved for half a century, and the royal ensign of England was run up in its place.

CHAPTER III.

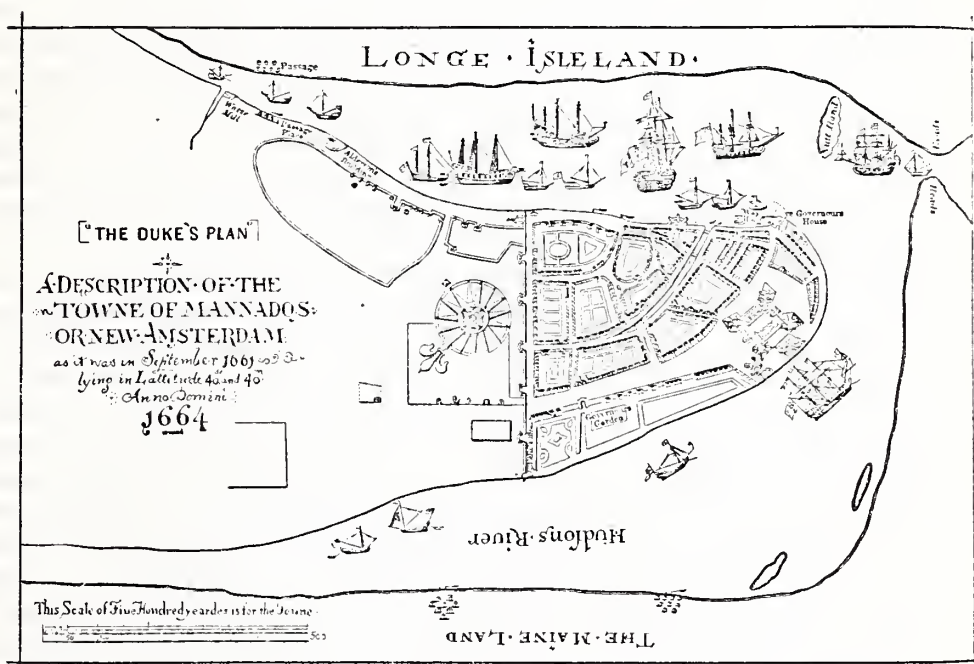
THE CITY BECOMES ENGLISH.



NEW AMSTERDAM had now become New York. How appropriate was the former name, how entirely *un*significant the later one! There is nothing in York to suggest its namesake in the new world. Its associations are entirely ecclesiastical, not at all commercial. Its position in the realm has no parallel to that of our city in the Republic. But Amsterdam was then, and is now, to its country what New York is to the United States. It is not the political, but the commercial capital of Holland, just as New York is not the seat of government, but the metropolis of America. It would be a matter of poetic fitness and historic truth, if not of any special euphony, if even yet the original name were to be restored, and the one designation for all of Greater New York were once again to be New Amsterdam.

It seems hardly worth while to open the discussion of the English claim to the territory of New Netherland, for we shall never arrive at any satisfactory settlement of the question. No doubt the discoveries on the North American Continent made by the Cabots in 1497 and 1498 gave England a general title to it, as the matter was understood in those days. Subsequent patents given to Virginia or New England settlers no doubt overlapped sufficiently to quite cover the degrees of latitude where the Dutch province was located. We read a curious statement in William Smith's history, published in 1732. He says that Hudson discovered these regions in 1608 (*sic*) and "sold" his claim to the Dutch. And he continues naively: "their writers contend that Hudson was sent out by the Dutch East India Company. There was a sale, however; the English objected, but they neglected settlement." Investigation has since proved that the account of the Dutch writers was more than a contention. It had a solid basis of fact. Yet it is also true that Captain Hudson was induced to seek the vicinity of our river by maps or hints given him by Captain John Smith, who may have had a view of our coast, if not of the river. Accommodating as was international law in the matter of discovery, it did contain this proviso, that title to a country discovered was only perfected if discovery were followed by occupancy. Queen Elizabeth maintained this principle of Vattel's very strongly against Spanish claims; and it told with great force against English

claims on the Hudson. Perhaps, therefore, they supposed they could neutralize their neglect to occupy by repeated protests against the occupancy of the Dutch. They certainly were consistent enough in these. Captain Argal is represented as having protested against Christiaensen's little trading post on Manhattan Island in 1614. Hudson's Half Moon was kept at Dartmouth for half a year, and he himself forbidden to report in person at Amsterdam. Minuit's vessel, the "Endracht," was also held when it touched an English port. The case of the "William," sent back to England by Van Twiller minus a cargo, lingered in the courts, and formed the subject of protocols and state papers between England and Holland. And when the charter was about to be granted to the West India Company



THE "DUKE'S PLAN."

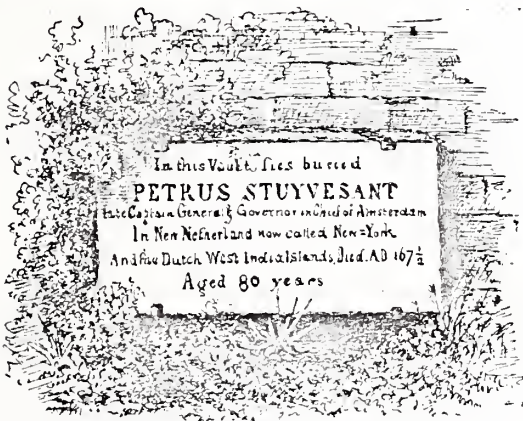
in 1621 a vigorous protest was served upon the States-General by the English Ambassador. If protests therefore could relieve the neglect of Vattel's conditions for possession, it must be said that these were on hand whenever the English were reminded of the existence of the Dutch settlement on the Hudson, or whenever they could get into their hands a vessel from those parts. Still, to any honest mind, occupancy, purchase from the aborigines, and development of the resources of the region, should have been sufficient to establish a title which was too valid to be summarily invaded and cast aside. Charles II. and his court, however, were not troubled with an overburdening amount of honesty. It was treachery to a friendly nation to act as

Charles did; it was base ingratitude in return for aid and protection in his days of peril and poverty and exile. But what recked the abandoned profligate of this?

Meanwhile the change on Manhattan Island had not wrought much havoc in the condition of affairs. If a person had gone into a mild imitation of Rip Van Winkle's exploit, to the extent of only a week or ten days, on the arrival of Nicolls's fleet in the harbor, his waking eyes would not have been greatly astonished at the changes that met them. There was another flag floating over the fort, it is true; and if he had had occasion to call on the governor he would have had to lay aside his Dutch vernacular; but otherwise everything was pretty much as it was before. The terms of surrender had been made very easy. Twenty-three articles of capitulation had been laid before the citizens of New Amsterdam, and they had been readily accepted. To soothe Stuyvesant's feelings, the garrison were permitted to march out of the fort with the honors of war—flying colors, drums beating, lighted matches. All the people were to continue "free denizens," enjoying their lands and goods and freedom of worship. Any one wishing to go back to Holland could do so free of expense within one year and six weeks. People coming from Holland to settle were to be entitled to all privileges exactly as before. Vessels in trade were to come and go as before. All contracts and disputed titles were to be settled in accordance with Dutch customs.

Thus, with the hearty consent, and even eager desire, of the "free denizens," the little town of fifteen hundred souls passed into the hands of its English master. Nicolls and his men were the representatives of a personal proprietor. Hitherto the province had been the property of a mercantile corporation; now it was owned in fee simple by a single individual, James, Duke of York and Albany, the brother of Charles II., and destined to succeed him upon the throne of England twenty-one years later. It was to bestow this gift upon his brother that Charles had ordered the robbery; indeed, the gift was made before the robbery took place. Yet were not the Dutch a people to be insulted with impunity. The little Republic declared war against England, and two years later, in 1666, the insult to the flag at Fort Amsterdam was more than repaid by Admiral De Ruyter, who sailed up the river Thames, burning the shipping at Chatham, and making the houses of London tremble to the booming of his victorious cannon. Then the humbled king was fain to make peace with little Holland, and at the Peace of Breda, in 1667, New Netherland was ceded to England in exchange for Surinam in South America. The English and Dutch were both convinced that the latter had much the better of that bargain. Thus the West India Company did not get back their province, for which they had cared altogether too little. Yet in the first moments of its loss they showed considerable resentment. They summoned Director Stuyvesant to

Holland to answer charges of cowardice and treason for having surrendered without a blow. Armed with sworn testimonies as to his own faithfulness and bravery, and the utter defenselessness of the place as the result of the Company's neglect, Stuyvesant went to Holland in 1665, and easily vindicated his conduct before the States-General. Yet the suit must have lingered for some time, for it was not till 1667, after the Peace of Breda had confirmed the transfer of the province, that Stuyvesant returned. On the way home he stopped in England, and did his fellow-citizens a last good turn by obtaining from the king a concession to the effect that, instead of the total exclusion of all but English ships from the privileges of trade with the port of New York, three Dutch ships might annually trade there for a period of seven years. Received with gladness by family and friends, and even former antagonists, Stuyvesant henceforth retired from public life. He contented himself with the care of his Bouwerie, or farm, in the part of the city where some memorials of his presence still abide. He was now seventy-five years of age, and had earned



STUYVESANT TABLET IN WALL OF
ST. MARK'S CHURCH.

his rest by a life of good service and activity. Five years later, in February, 1672, he died, and was buried in a little chapel on his own lands, on the very spot where now stands St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery. A stone in the east foundation wall of that church records the fact of his burial. Had he lived a year and a half longer his honest heart would have rejoiced to see the flag he had so often

defended again floating over his beloved city.

So careful was Governor Nicolls of the feelings of his conquered citizens that he did not even make a change in the municipal officers. While the Council of the Province was at once changed in complexion, with not a Dutchman in it, the Burgomasters and Schepens were left as they were. In February of this year Paulus Leendersen Van die Grist and Cornelius Steenwyck had become Burgomasters. They were permitted to serve out their year. In February, 1665, the former was succeeded by Oloff Stephensen Van Cortlandt, and Steenwyck was re-appointed, no change having even yet been provided for by Nicolls. But on June 12, of this year, the Dutch form of government was replaced by the English. The town officers were now to consist of a mayor, five aldermen, and a sheriff. Yet if we notice the

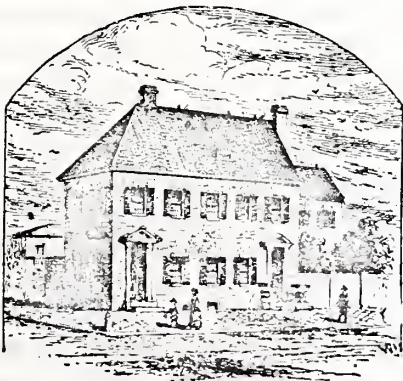
men appointed to serve in these various capacities, we observe again what delicate regard was had to the feelings of the people of the city. Thomas Willett was made Mayor; we find him a welcome companion of the Dutch young men of his own age in New Amsterdam as early as 1642. He had come to Plymouth colony in 1629, and having shared the fortunes of the Pilgrims in Holland, he was familiar with the Dutch language and people from boyhood. No Englishman could have been more thoroughly at one with those of their nationality at the present time. Of the aldermen only two were Englishmen, Thomas Delavall and John Lawrence; the others were ex-Burgomaster Van Cortlandt, John Brugges, and Cornelius Van Ruyven; while the sheriff was Allard Anthony, who, though an Englishman, had been one of the original Schepens in 1653, and had been Burgomaster five times since. Surely the Dutch population could not complain of such appointments. Yet some did, partly because of the change of form, partly because the choice of the men was taken entirely out of the hands of the people, the Governor claiming the exclusive right of appointing.

Another unpleasant feature of the change was the taking of the oath of allegiance to the new power now in authority. It was contended that this requirement conflicted with the terms of surrender. But Nicolls gave assurance that no particular therein agreed upon should be violated as the result of the oath. Indeed, the proceeding was so inevitable and reasonable under the circumstances, that Stuyvesant was among the first to take the oath, and over two hundred and fifty heads of families followed his example. As the population was only fifteen hundred, this must have taken in about every responsible male member of the community. This event occurred in October, 1664. A more questionable proceeding, which certainly seemed to violate Articles III and XVI of the Capitulation, was a decree of the Governor in 1667 that all titles to land derived from the Dutch government must be renewed by April 1, on pain of forfeiture if not so renewed. Nicolls was in great need of money, and the fees for the new titles would amount to a goodly sum. The old records of the Long Island towns show that even its free-spoken citizens were compelled to comply with the obnoxious decree. That island had been rechristened Yorkshire, divided like its namesake at home into the North, the East, and the West Ridings. The West Riding now embraces all of Brooklyn, and parts of the North Riding belong now also to Greater New York. The Court of Assize, from whom this decree to renew titles issued, was an institution that owed its existence to Nicolls, in pursuance of the "Duke's Laws," a code diligently elaborated by the Governor himself, whose father was a barrister and who must have had some legal training himself. While these laws established a very unmistakable autoocracy, making the Governor's will supreme, and leaving neither officers nor measures to the choice

of the people, yet it secured also many beneficent features: these being in short "trial by jury, equal taxation, tenure of land from the Duke of York, no religious establishment, but requirement of some church form, freedom of religion to all professing Christianity, obligatory service in each parish on Sunday, a recognition of negro slavery under certain restrictions, and general liability to military duty."

When Nicolls returned to England in 1668, he left behind him a city still puny compared to what was to be, but increased to a population of about two thousand. Its exports were, as of old, mainly furs, still gathered from the Indians, who were mostly rewarded by overdoses of rum, imported from the West Indies, which contemporaries describe as execrably bad. The farmers had plenty of superfluous wheat to send abroad, and if facilities for preservation had existed then as now, endless store of provisions in the way of venison and game could have been spared for export. A few more houses, and these of an ever-improving quality, stood upon the streets enumerated in the previous chapter; but otherwise no great changes had occurred in their appearance since Stuyvesant's rule. Neither seems there to have been any alteration of their names; for as late as 1686 the Dutch names still prevail, even in cases where former designations have disappeared. The old streets with new names still are Dutch.

The policy of conciliating the preponderating Dutch element of the population was wisely continued by Nicolls's successor in the Governorship, Francis Lovelace. In 1668 Cornelius Steenwyck was appointed by him Mayor of New York. Having been Burgomaster more than once, the function with its new title was an old one for him. But such was the confidence reposed in him by Lovelace that frequently in his absence from New York he practically invested Steenwyck with the powers of acting-governor. His business was general merchant and storekeeper, his residence being on



BURGOMASTER
STEENWYCK'S HOUSE.

the southeast corner of Bridge and Whitehall streets. Among the half dozen wealthy men of the town, whose fortunes in 1674 were reckoned by five figures, he stood second. His command of English was very good, only a slight brogue betraying the born Dutchman.

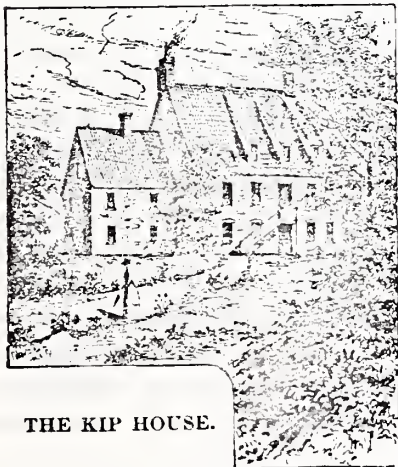
Lovelace was a good deal of a traveler. Nicolls had conducted him on horseback over much of the province, and the miserable conditions of intercommunication between its various parts and the

neighboring colonies made a deep impression on him. The interest of the city and province seemed to require the establishment of a postal service between Boston and New York and intermediate points. In the lively letters that flowed from his pen to friends in England, we learn of that first postoffice and route established in New York. The Secretary of the Province held the key to a box which received the letters. Once a month, beginning with January 1, 1673, the postman, mounted upon a goodly horse which had to carry him as far as Hartford, collected the accumulated mail into his saddle bags. At Hartford he took another horse, and wended his way as best he might through woods and swamps, across rivers, and along Indian trails, if he was happy enough to find such. On his return the city coffee-house received his precious burden, and upon a broad table the various missives were displayed and delivered when paid for. Events soon to be related interrupted this beneficent arrangement, and not till 1685 do we find an attempt on the part of the city fathers to resume a postal system. The price then proposed was three pence for every letter carried one hundred miles or less; more in proportion for greater distances. Another measure for the promotion of business to be credited to Lovelace was the establishment of a merchants' exchange on a bridge over the canal in Broad Street. On Fridays, at the hour of eleven to twelve, the Town Hall bell rang to call the merchants together, and the city authorities were to see to it that no disturbances should interfere with this important gathering. It was doubtless a combination of all the exchanges that now distribute themselves in several palatial buildings, so that these proud institutions governing the markets of a continent, and affecting the finances of a world, may all look to this humble assembly in 1669 as the beginning of their history.

Two more undertakings of Lovelace deserve a moment's attention before we come to that startling event which ended his career as Governor altogether. Not satisfied with the gubernatorial residence which Stuyvesant had built on the water's edge, and which had been quite to the taste of Nicolls, Lovelace determined to revive the old fashion of residing within the fort. So the ancient and dilapidated edifice there was renovated at a heavy expense; but residing there, instead of the magnificent view of the Upper Bay and its charm of surrounding scenery, the imprisoned Chief Magistrate of the province could enjoy no more prospect than the dull walls of the fort afforded, unless he chose to climb to the third story or the roof. Yet the Governor's view in another sense embraced and appreciated the importance of that section of Greater New York called Staten Island. He secured its entire circuit as a piece of personal property for the Duke by purchase from the Indians. Four hundred fathoms of wampum, and a lot of axes, kettles, coats, guns, hoes, knives, sufficed to complete this early bargain in city real estate.

Never dreaming that he was laying his hand upon the extreme points of what was destined to be one great city, we find this Governor's activity and interest touching other sections of our present Greater New York. Out at Hempstead Nicolls had established a racecourse upon the extensive Salisbury plain. It is recorded by more than one authority that the woods were overrun with wild horses of a poor breed, small of stature and neither strong nor fleet. A racecourse would be of good use as well as a place of amusement, if securing the improvement of this breed. Lovelace encouraged the scheme as much as his predecessor, appointing the month of May for the running of the races, and continuing the offer of a cup as a prize for the winners. Next we find him at Harlem, earnestly laboring to prevail upon the Council and Court of Assize, whom he had summoned together at that distant spot, to take measures for constructing a wagon road from the city below. Could it have been some unexplained provision, too, which made him see to it that the northern end of Manhattan Island should be in communication with the "annexed district" above Spuyten Duyvil Creek? At least a solemn agreement was entered into with one Johannes Verveelen to establish a ferry here. Perhaps the infrequency of passengers made his terms high. A few years later one of those he paddled over in his canoe complains that he charged three pence per person, while the ferriage to Brooklyn cost less than half a penny.

The English conquest had checked emigration from Holland. And it seems that English settlers found other parts of the King's dominion in America more delectable than New York province. Hence



THE KIP HOUSE.

there was only the natural increase of population for the city below Wall Street. Its commercial activity was also not remarkable. When nine or ten vessels were in port in 1669 it was thought worthy of record by the town annalists, whoever they were. The three Dutch ships per year for seven years from 1667 came faithfully according to the permission obtained by Stuyvesant, and small coastwise traders also came to her wharves, or pushed up into Broad Street canal to sell vegetables and other wares. Perhaps Lovelace lacked some of that energy or vigor which had distinguished

Nicolls, and which creates confidence and encouragement in business enterprises. Yet surely the Governor's various plans for the stimulus of business and in providing facilities of intercourse showed that he had an intelligent conception of what the development of the city re-

quired. He was also assiduous in bringing out the social possibilities of life in the primitive and isolated community. To his utter astonishment he found as good breeding among these colonists of Dutch and French extraction as he had encountered at the English court. He enjoyed, therefore, mingling in that society, and instituted a club of ten French and Dutch and ten English families. This select company was to meet in rotation at each other's houses twice a week in winter and once in summer, and the three nationalities represented freely used their respective vernaculars as occasion served, sure of being understood by all, whatever language was spoken. It is worthy of note that ladies of high education formed a part of this circle. We are told that the three daughters of Anthony De Milt, at one time Sheriff of the city, possessed a knowledge of Latin superior to that of the Dutch domine. Perhaps Mrs. Stuyvesant and Mrs. Bayard were not too old to lend attractiveness to this circle by their attainments and accomplishments. The former would doubtless often be at the homes of her sons on Broadway in the winter season.

These piping times of peace received a sudden and rude interruption. The year 1672 was a year of terror for the Dutch Republic. Louis XIV., of France, had determined to crush the United Provinces for having dared to interfere with his schemes to secure the throne of Spain for himself or his heirs. By shameless bribes he induced Charles II. of England to join in the nefarious scheme to ruin a nation, not only now friendly to himself and people, but who had suffered much at the hands of Cromwell for harboring him in his days of misfortune. Having tied the hands of all possible allies, both by sea and by land, Louis poured his armies across the borders of Holland and penetrated to the very walls of Amsterdam, where a deluged country alone checked his conquering progress. Meantime violent dissensions broke out among the citizens. The populace rose in wrath against John De Witt, long the virtual head of the Republic, and the opponent of the House of Orange, and this statesman and his brother Cornelius were torn to pieces in the streets of The Hague. Thus restored to power, the Orange faction, with the astute Prince William Henry, only twenty-two years of age, at their head, took control of affairs. William was appointed to all the offices, civil and military, which his fathers had held. The foe was defied; the Prince bravely declaring that he would drown the whole country rather than surrender. One after another ally of France dropped away from the iniquitous compact, and the Grand Monarch was gradually forced to retire. Meanwhile the Dutch fleets under De Ruyter and Tromp had meted out condign punishment to French and English alike. They swept the seas victorious far and wide. One squadron was dispatched to the West Indies. Secret instructions were given to the commanders, to be opened only at sea. In these appeared a cipher number, 163, which, on consulting the key, was found to mean

New Netherland. After doing as much damage as possible along the coast of Virginia, the Dutch admirals were to see what could be done in the way of recapturing the former province of New Netherland, thus wiping out the disgrace of its capture.

The plan of campaign bore fruit. On July 29, 1673, Admirals Evertsen and Binckes and their fleet, with sixteen prizes under convoy, anchored off Sandy Hook. They had been informed of the true state of affairs in New York by some of the passengers in the captured ships. The Narrows were entered unmolested, and the next anchorage ground selected was in the North River within easy gun shot of the fort. Governor Lovelace being away on an errand regarding his postal route to New England, Captain John Manning was in command at the fort. He had not more than forty soldiers. Calling the citizen-guard under arms, he found that the four hundred men composing it were determined not to raise a finger in defense of the town against their countrymen. They had been willing to try English rule as an antidote to Stuyvesant; but they had had enough of it now to wish a return to the rule of the Fatherland. All this time the Dutch admirals were waiting for a reply to their summons to surrender. Manning wanted twelve hours to deliberate; the admirals gave him only half an hour. They told him "they had come for their own, and their own they would have." Getting no answer, Evertsen acted with characteristic promptness. A broadside or two was poured into the fort, which responded feebly with a few shots. But in the mean time a large force of marines, under Captain Anthony Colve, had landed at the foot of Rector Street. They marched up the hill to Broadway, and then turned to attack the fort at its gate fronting the Bowling Green. Ere they got so far, however, an offer to capitulate met them. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honors of war, and was then compelled to march in again and held prisoners in the church until they could be dispatched to Holland. The tricolor of the Republic was run up over the fort, and the province robbed in time of peace almost exactly nine years before was recovered by fair act of war, by superior skill and address.

Provisional government arrangements were made by the two admirals. Captain Anthony Colve was made Governor of the recovered province, until regular appointments could be made by the authorities at home. Albany was reduced and called Willemstad; the always recalcitrant Long Islanders were made to feel what Dutchmen were like who went across the world to capture hostile fleets and conquer enemies' colonies. And when all was brought into a satisfactory state of submissiveness, the squadron departed with its prizes to announce its achievement to the States-General.

The old name of the city was not restored: it was now called New Orange; and the Dutch form of city government was immediately set up again. Three Burgomasters were appointed, Johannes Van



ADMIRAL CORNELIS EVERTSEN.

Brugh, Johannes De Peyster, and Ægidius Luyck. The latter was the discharged tutor of Stuyvesant's day. Whether by teaching or in some other way he had managed to prosper in the new settlement, for not only was he now raised to this prominent position, but his wealth was estimated at 5,000 guilders, a no inconsiderable fortune for that day, when the wealthiest man was put down at only 80,000 guilders. Antony De Milt was made Schout or Sheriff. As usual the people had no voice in these selections; and they were taxed heavily to put and keep in repair the defenses of the city. Colve acted in all this as a military man rather than a civilian, but the condition of affairs warranted his proceedings. By the fortunes of war, New Orange had come into the hands of its present masters, and, as war was still raging, reprisal might at any time be looked for. Besides, Colve acted as the direct representative of the National Gov-

ernment. New Amsterdam had been subject to the West India Company; New Orange was subject to the States-General of the Republic. It was not proposed to give back to the Company its former possession. Indeed, the Company was no longer in condition to receive it. It had been so dependent upon war for its profits, that as the Eighty Years' War came to a close, as Portugal regained its independence from Spain, and there were no more silver fleets to capture or Brazilian provinces to exploit, its profits fell off. Finally its liabilities exceeded its assets by more than five millions of florins; various schemes were proposed and tried to save it from bankruptcy or dissolution, but none availed to ward off disaster. In 1673 it was practically extinct, but it was not till 1674 that it was officially dissolved. So New Orange was held for the Prince after whom it was named, and no dilly-dallying merchants at home were to be consulted about the fortifications. The people were lustily taxed to their utmost ability after a careful list had been prepared expressing that ability. Buildings in the vicinity of the fort were removed so as not to obstruct the range of its guns. A formidable array of these of brass and iron was supplied from the departing fleet, and any foe who had presumed to summon Fort William Henry to surrender would have met with a very hot response in the negative.

But there was to be no surrender again, only a friendly transfer. Early in 1674, perhaps before the parties engaged in negotiation had heard the news from America, Holland and England concluded the Peace of Westminster, detaching the English King from his unnatural alliance with France against a kindred nation. By the terms of this peace all conquests on either side were to be restored. As Holland had not lost Surinam while England was losing New York, the bargain of Breda was still in force, and the restoration of New Netherland was counted a small loss as long as the southern possession was safe. No doubt rejoicing on his part that his Province of New York was again his, the Duke of York appointed Edmund Andros as its Governor. On October 22, 1674, the latter arrived inside the Narrows with two frigates, and anchored there to await the action of the Dutch authorities. The formalities of the transfer were conducted with the utmost friendliness and courtesy. First the English Governor received graciously Burgomasters Steenwyck and Van Brugh, and Schepen William Beekman, on board his frigate, and assured them that the privileges or guaranties for the Dutch citizens which they solicited would be freely granted. On November 9 Governor Colve met the Burgomasters, Schepens, and Schout at the City Hall, and discharged them of their oaths to the Dutch Government, announcing that on the morrow the keys of the city and the command of the Province would by him be tendered to the Governor sent out by the Duke of York. Thus on November 10, 1674, after one year and three months exactly of the old familiar Dutch rule, New York for

the second time became an English city, to remain so until independence made it finally and permanently American, owning no man master across the seas.

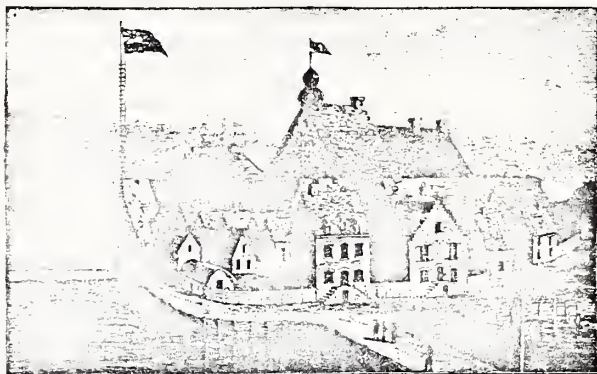
While Andros was still aboard ship in the bay, as a result of the visit of the three prominent Dutch citizens aforesaid, he issued a proclamation to set at rest any fears that might be felt regarding his intentions toward people of that nationality. They were to occupy an equal footing with the English in all matters of right or privilege. It was distinctly stated in this paper that "all former grants, privileges, or concessions, heretofore granted, and also all legal and judicial proceedings, during the late Dutch government, are hereby confirmed." Debts contracted during the occupancy of the Dutch could not be disallowed now, and people who owned property or acquired it then could not be dispossessed. Even Dutch forms and ceremonies were to be respected, just as Nicolls promised in the Articles of Capitulation. But Andros kept his word better as to the titles of property than did his predecessor. Yet there was more trouble than before about the taking of the oath of allegiance. On March 13, 1675, all citizens were required to repair to the Town Hall to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown of England, the one formerly taken being invalidated by the interruption of English rule under Colve. This seemed reasonable enough; but the citizens conceived the fear that the freedom of religion might be threatened by the new oath, and it certainly would imply that at some time or other they might be called upon to bear arms against the mother country. And they claimed that the re-taking of the oath was unnecessary, as the capitulation with Nicolls in 1664 was confirmed by the peace of Westminster, and unless the oath expressly saved them from either of the above contingencies it would be a violation of that peace. But Andros did not like this opposition. It smacked too much of a liability on the part of these influential Dutchmen to repeat their conduct in refusing to fight against Evertsen and Colve, should another such emergency arise. He refused to attach a condition or promise to the oath to be taken. Then followed proceedings of a determined nature on both sides. Sheriff Antony De Milt, ex-Burgomasters Van Brugh, De Peyster, and Luyck, Schepens William Beekman and Jacob Kip, ex-Mayor Steenwyck, and Secretary Nicholas Bayard, signed a petition asking to be "exempted from taking an unconditional oath," or else to be permitted "to dispose of their estates and remove, with their families, out of the colony." This was taking a tone which the Governor resolved to rebuke with vigor. He cast all of the eight petitioners into prison as the instigators of rebellion. De Peyster was the first to yield under this vigorous treatment; the others stood trial and were convicted of violating an Act of Parliament "in having traded without taking the oath." But they were released on bail, and finally were wise enough to submit to the undoubted right in the matter,

swearing allegiance to the power whose subjects they now were. To plainly intimate that they would not fight for the sovereign against any specified nation was to leave the way open to treason or desertion should war ever occur with that nation.

The Dutch citizens having had their say, there was next a demonstration from the Englishmen. They did not like the heavy taxes and partial confiscations which had come upon them as the result of the surrender of the town to the Dutch. Governor Lovelace had been punished by disgrace and confiscation on his return to England, and Captain Manning was only saved from the same fate by the sensible view which King Charles took of the situation. Forty soldiers and a dilapidated fort, with four hundred armed citizens behind him ready to back the enemy rather than himself, left Manning in a quite hopeless condition before fifteen grim Dutch warships carrying sixteen hundred fighting men. But on Manning's return to New York, William Dervall, just appointed Mayor, and a man of wealth and influence, induced several citizens to join him in formal charges of "neglect of duty, cowardice, and treachery." The case was so clear in his favor, even without sworn depositions showing the defenselessness of his position before the enemy, and these when brought forward were so strongly corroborative of the obvious facts, that it seems incredible any verdict at all should have been brought against the Captain. What is to be thought then of a sentence of death? This outrage upon justice was averted, but Manning was declared forever incapacitated from holding office either military or civil. He managed to live in comfort, however, and even to acquire wealth in the colony. He owned Blackwell's island, and went to dwell upon it and cultivate it. After his death it fell to his daughter Mary, who had married Robert Blackwell, and hence the name which still attaches to the island. It is a little curious that a man who had undergone a criminal procedure and had but just escaped execution, however innocent, should have been the first to be prominently identified with this island in history, and to have in a manner exiled himself to it.

No governor that New York ever had was more personally active in securing the improvement of the city's appearance, of its sanitary conditions, of its safety and its commercial interests, than Governor Andros. He went about the streets marking this or that defect in buildings, or observing what would threaten health, or where the defenses needed strengthening. In spite of the opposition of the prominent Dutchmen already noted, he yet gratified the feelings of the people of that nationality by allowing the Burgomasters to remain in office until their term expired on February 2, 1675. Then William Dervall was appointed Mayor. But in 1676 Andros appointed Nicholas De Meyer, rated worth 50,000 florins on the tax list drawn up for Colve in 1674. He was born in Holland and had married the

daughter of Ensign Henry van Dyck, who won fame in Kieft's Indian wars. One of his daughters married Philip Schuyler, of Albany. Finding that the town records were kept in a loose and irregular manner at Secretary Bayard's private residence in Beaver Street (between Broad and William, once called the Prince-gracht and then the Smith Street Lane), Andros insisted that they be taken to the City Hall and kept there in as safe a place as those times afforded. As the records now under the city's care reach back to 1647, it is apparent that this place of safety was sufficient for their preservation. The "train bands," or citizen soldiery, were organized into regular companies, and steps taken to improve their marksmanship. Such as had guns (for all were not thus provided) were directed to keep them loaded in the house.



THE STRAND, NOW WHITEHALL STREET.

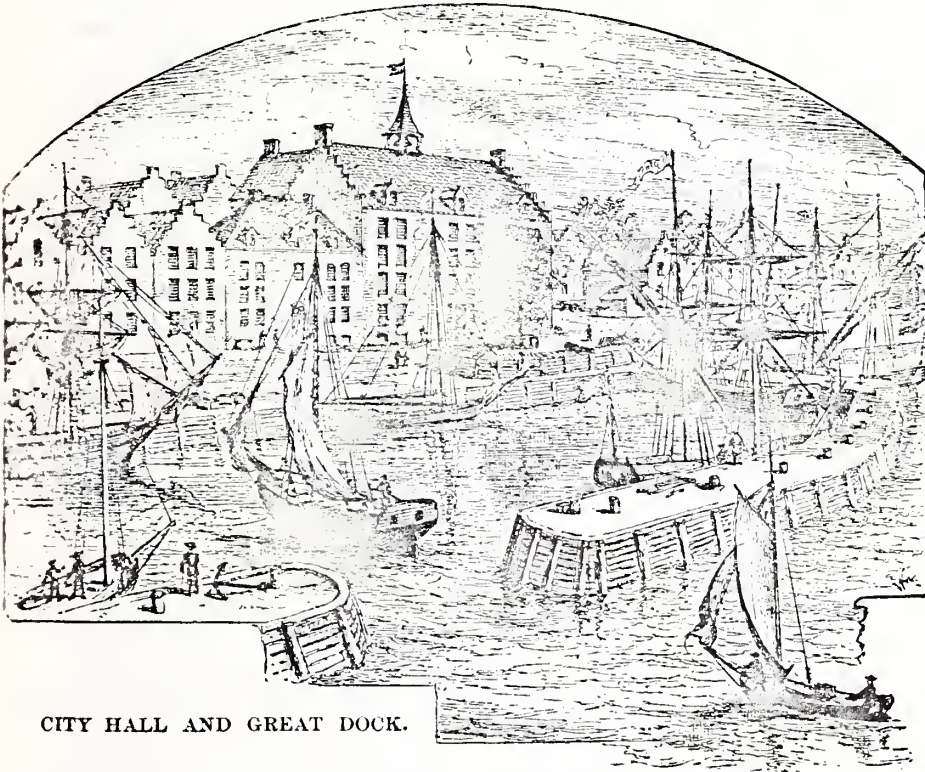
It was under Andros, and as a result of his intelligent comprehension of the city's needs, that the important matter of street cleaning began to receive attention. Heaps of garbage had been allowed to accumulate indifferently in places most convenient. Now every householder was made responsible for the state of the street in front of his house and yard, and the garbage that would otherwise gather was carried away in carts, as it is to-day. The canal in Broad Street not being so much of an ornament as it might be, and proving a decided nuisance when the tanners began to empty their vats in it, the tanners were removed to their present "swamp," still malodorous as the leather district, and the canal itself, spite of all its loving reminiscences of old Amsterdam, was filled up, so that a truly "broad street" has ever since been the result. To utilize the flow of water beneath, so far as it was the result of natural springs, and to have large reservoirs of water always on hand in case of fire, four wells were dug in the center of this street on the line of the former canal. Two similar wells or reservoirs, boarded over, but readily uncovered, were provided on Broadway, one to the south, and one just north of Exchange Place; and at the same time this thoroughfare was carefully laid out as a road or street as far as the later Commons, or still later City Hall Park. A seventh well was located in Wall Street, at the intersection with the present William, then Smith Street.

Markets and market days were and are a great feature of every Dutch town. Andros, in seeing to this particular, must have again

greatly pleased his Dutch citizens. Broad Street, where the bridge had been, received a market house of primitive design; but the space before the fort, now Bowling Green, was also, as in Stuyvesant's day, used for the display of vegetables, or meat, or fruit, or live cattle, and game and poultry. The space now known as Hanover Square was another spot thus utilized. Saturday was market day, when people came over from Breuckelen and Communipaw to sell provisions to the city folk. We know at least of one Communipaw farmer who sold his mutton in 1679 for 3 cents Dutch (or 1 1-5 cents U. S.) per pound. This, with rent for a good house only \$14 per annum, kept one's household expenses within a very moderate figure. The liquor traffic was a sore puzzle for this ancient New York, as it is for the modern. Rough times were had at taverns, and especially was great mischief done by the illegal selling of rum to the insatiable Indians. The Governor had a map of the little city prepared to indicate the location of the dram shops, and it was found that nearly a quarter of the houses offered for sale brandy, tobacco, and beer. It was attempted to regulate the retail traffic by licenses, but the ordinance was evaded to a sad extent. Andros could do no more to stop such business than the most rigorous police commissioner of the present day. He caused an act to be passed which provided that if a red man or a white were seen intoxicated in any street, and there were taverns on it (and there were few where there were none), the entire street should be fined, unless the precise tavern where he got his liquor could be pointed out. Yet it is strange to note how many respectable persons were brewers and kept taverns. Ex-Burgomaster van Cortlandt, and very likely his son Stephanus, who was made Mayor in 1677—the first native of New York to hold the position—were brewers. Nicholas Bayard was a brewer. So also was a very interesting personality, Jean Vigné, who, in 1679, at the age of 65 years, was mentioned to visitors as the first white male child born in New Netherland. Thus he must have been born in 1614, very likely at Fort Orange or Albany, of parents who had come from Valenciennes, now in France, then one of the Belgian provinces. He was a man of eminent respectability and good means, his wealth put down at 2,500 florins. Yet he kept a tavern in connection with his brewery, in the Smith's Valley (now Pearl Street, between Wall and Franklin Square), facing the river, and on Sunday afternoons there were lively times in his beer-shop. None the less were he and his wife members in good and regular standing of the Dutch Reformed Church. *O tempora, O mores!* How the times do change, and the manners with them!

Again, at the instance of the Governor, a wharf was built, reaching from the corner of Whitehall and State to a point opposite the City Hall at the head of Coenties Slip. Intending to promote the prosperity of the city by an increase of trade, Andros allowed trading ves-

was to freely pass up the river, to get peltries from the Indians in the interior. But this did not suit the protective ideas of that time. The Duke of York forbade such liberal policy, and even vessels from New England and other colonies were compelled to stop at New York and make their purchases of peltries there. The result was, of course, that they "stopped" somewhere else. The fishing industry was one much in vogue in that day, and it is stated that whales were caught in New York Bay. It was under Andros, too, that the monopoly of bolting flour was granted to the city in 1679. Some years later,



CITY HALL AND GREAT DOCK.

under Dongan, the monopoly was extended so as to embrace not only bolting, but also packing, and the export of bread. During the period that this monopoly was in force the shipping visiting the port increased from three to sixty vessels, and over six hundred houses were built, while real estate values increased to ten times their former status. The currency, which had been the despair of Stuyvesant, also tempted Andros to deal with it and correct it. But it proved as difficult a subject for him as for his predecessor or his successors in authority at the present day. The fiat money, and mutilated, depreciated bead-coins, were hard to get out of the way; the honest efforts of the Governor, on the old plan of rigorously fixing values for certain amounts of the wampum, only made the confusion worse confounded.

He received nothing but reprimands from the Duke for his pains, and his recall perhaps grew out of this very matter. It was not till William the III.'s day, and after the combined genius of Locke and Newton had dealt with the question, that the problem of replacing debased currency by genuine coin was solved in England.

As we approach the important epoch in the city's history when it received its first charter, when it was laid out into wards, and in every way became a thoroughly English municipality, let us take a survey of what the city then looked like, and observe some of the phases of every-day life in it. Among the results of Andros's personal efforts to improve the city, the houses that were put up became increasingly handsome or substantial. The Dutch clung tenaciously to the style so prevalent in the mother country—crow-stepped gables, fronting on the street. Some houses (often with the dates worked in iron braces among the bricks) rose to the height of three stories. Others of less elevation were picturesque, with roofs rising to sharp ridges and curving down to the low eaves, dormer windows breaking the monotony of the long slope. But most of the houses were still very small, their triangular gables facing the street, in close ranks, resembling the teeth of a gigantic saw. When a severe rain storm prevailed for a number of hours, it was often complained that not a dry place to lie down in could be found in some of these. Men like Steenwyck, or Van Cortlandt, built broad mansions of two or three stories high, and these were comfortably and even elegantly furnished. An inventory of Steenwyck's property after his death in 1684 reveals the fact that his *woonkamer*, or living room, contained "twelve rush leather chairs, two velvet chairs with fine silver lace, one cupboard of French nutwood, one round table, one square table, a cabinet, thirteen pictures, a large looking-glass, five alabaster images, a piece of tapestry work for cushions, a flowered tabby chimney-cloth, a pair of flowered tabby window curtains, a dressing box, a carpet." Almost every house of consequence had an ample garden back of it, or around it, and no garden was without its orchard. The apples were the admiration of people fresh from Europe; some of them so large that fifty-six of them would fill up a bushel basket. Peaches were so plentiful in city and country that they lay rotting in the roads, the very pigs being satiated with the plenty of them. Grapes too seemed to have been abundant and of good quality. Perhaps it was due to these vines, or others like them, growing wild in the woods, that it was recorded by tourists who visited every part of Manhattan Island and vicinity in 1679 that "in passing through the island there was sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting." They found too that although all the land on the island was taken up by owners, yet a large part was not as yet under cultivation. The rich merchants or brewers in the city usually invested in the purchase of large tracts, to be reserved for later

generations. Richest of all these was Frederick Philipse, rated at 50,000 florins in 1674; Steenwyck and De Meyer came next, each with 50,000 to his name; then there was Oloff van Cortlandt with 45,000, ex-Mayor John Lawrence with 40,000, and Jerome Ebbingh, last of the "very rich," with a rating of 30,000. At the same time there was then no squalid and suffering poverty; Andros was able to inform his master in 1678, "there are no beggers in the city, but all the poor are cared for."

An attempt to reach various parts of the present great corpora-

tion was attended in those days with considerable expenditure of time and physical exertion. You could go to Harlem on foot or horseback, for the "wagon road" had not yet materialized to any comfortable degree. If you walked it would take three hours of an easy pace, and this was lovingly remembered by the Dutchmen as the exact time it took to walk from the old Amsterdam to the old Harlem at home. You would leave by



OLD NEW YORK HOUSES.

the "land gate" at Wall Street and Broadway, and in the immediate suburbs you would find huddling alongside the road little wretched cabins. Here lived a colony of negroes who had been slaves owned by the West India Company, but who in the course of the vicissitudes of its fortunes and of those of the city had become free in some way. Negroes in plenty, however, were held as slaves in the city, every household having a goodly number of such servants. Governor Andros had strictly forbidden anyone holding Indians as slaves. But we are on our way to Harlem, through woods and wilds. It is now a "tolerably large" village, and rejoices in a house of entertainment. If we wish to go to Brooklyn, there is the ferry at the place where nature suggested. It was farmed out by the year, and brought a good income, for Long Island was populous, and the people always had plenty of things to come over to New York with to sell. It cost 3 stivers seawan, or 6 cents Dutch (2 2-5 cents U. S.) per person to cross over; but somehow, by reason of the incalculable values of the Indian bead-coins, the expense would really be less than half a penny of our present money. If the wind favored, a sail was set, else the laborious oar moved the clumsy craft at a snail's pace across. The roads on Long Island were such that you could be taken from town to town in a wagon, but walking was more frequently indulged in. If you had it in mind to go to the Staten Island section of Greater New York, your best way was to

cross the ferry to Brooklyn, not too late in the day, walk or ride to Gowanus, and spend the night there. Then starting very early the next morning, three hours or more would take you across to your destination.

We now come upon the memorable epoch in the city's history, when New York, much be-chartered since, went through its first experience of that kind. The first charter was granted when Thomas Dongan was Governor of the Province. His advent was auspicious in other ways. He came with instructions to allow the people in their various towns to elect representatives to a General Assembly, which was to constitute a sort of Lower House, with the Governor's Council as the Upper House of Legislation, the Governor acting as the sovereign, to approve or veto the bills passed. The Assembly was to meet once in three years at least, and to number not more than eighteen members. Its first meeting was held October 17, 1683, in New York City, with Matthias Nicoll, of the city, as speaker. The famous "Charter of Liberties and Privileges" was passed by it, which simply put into the form of one of its own laws the instructions of the Duke which had called it into being. As an obvious concomitant to representation, the province needed to be divided into counties, and this was done by the first Assembly. Twelve counties were carefully defined: New York, Westchester, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Dutchess (or Duchess), Orange, Ulster, and Albany. The other two counties lay quite outside the present limits of our state; one was Duke's County, embracing Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth's Island, and No Man's Land; the other, Cornwall County, lying away up in Maine, comprising Pemaquid and adjacent territories. It is of importance also to notice here that the same assembly created much needed courts of justice. These were of four classes: Town Courts, County Courts, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, and a Court of Chancery, the Supreme Court of the Province, and consisting of the Governor and Council; there was allowed, however, an appeal from the latter to the King.

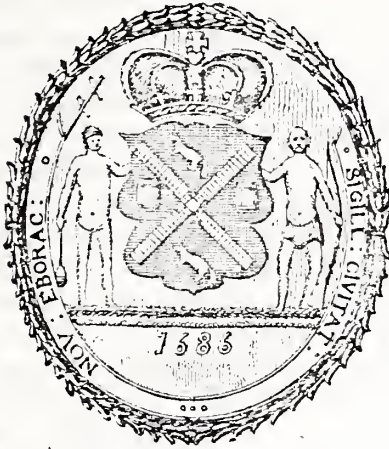
As upon his assumption of the governorship Dongan read to the assembled citizens in front of the City Hall on Coenties Slip his instructions, some of New York's leading men took notice that among them was one requiring the Governor "to consider and report upon the propriety of granting to New York City immunities and privileges beyond what other parts of my territory do enjoy." Before three months had passed a petition came before Dongan, signed by Cornelius Steenwyck, Johannes van Brugh, John Lawrence, John P. Morris, James Graham, and Nicholas Bayard. It recited the fact that the city had been incorporated under the present English form in 1665, and now begged that to "the ancient customs, privileges, and immunities" might be added certain others. They asked for a divi-

tion of the city into wards, from which aldermen and assistant-aldermen might be elected by the people therein residing. While the Mayor and sheriff and clerk should be appointed as before by Governor and Council, they desired added to the officers a recorder and a coroner, also thus appointed; but that the corporation itself might select their own treasurer. Finally, they petitioned that these privileges and immunities be elaborated in a charter regularly signed and sealed by the sovereign, thus to be confirmed in perpetuity, as was the custom in England.

Demurring at first, Dongan very soon acceded to the desires of the petitioners. He had already appointed the mayor and aldermen for 1683; but in the autumn of 1684 he appointed only the Mayor, Gabriel Minvielle, while aldermen and assistants were for the first time elected by the people. James Graham was appointed Recorder in December, 1683. In order to enable the election to take place, the city had been divided by the previous mayor and aldermen into six wards. The first, or South Ward, began at the river, and its boundary ran along the west side of Broad Street to Beaver; west along Beaver to Bowling Green; south past the fort to Pearl; east along the river to starting point. The second, or Dock Ward, extended from the river at corner of Pearl and Broad; along the then shore to Hanover Square; along William to Beaver, to Broad, and to the river again. The third, or East Ward, began at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, ran along shore to the "water gate" at the foot of Wall Street, along Wall to William, and followed the curve of William from Wall to Old Slip, or the river, as it then was. The fourth, or North Ward, boundary started at Beaver and William streets, ran along William to Wall, west along Wall to a point near where Nassau Street now begins, then along Broad to Beaver, and along the latter back to William. The fifth, or West Ward, ran from Beaver along Broad to Wall, along the palisades to Broadway, down Broadway to Beaver, and so back to Broad Street. The sixth, or Out Ward, was a bold excursion into the country; it comprised all the rest of the island above Wall Street, in which Harlem was now the only settlement.

The particular immunities and privileges asked for by the petitioners in November, 1683, had thus all been granted, and put into practical operation. It needed now only the charter to confirm them. In 1686 Nicholas Bayard, Mayor, and James Graham, Recorder, prepared a draft of such charter. This was approved by the Board of Aldermen and Assistants, and engrossed for presentation to the Governor and Council. On April 27, 1686, it was there duly read, approved by the Council, and signed by the Governor. This interesting document is still preserved intact in a tin box at the City Hall. It made the city a corporation under the style of "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York"; the officers were a Mayor,

Recorder, Town Clerk, six Aldermen, six Assistant Aldermen, a Chamberlain, a Sheriff, and a Coroner. As already seen, the aldermen and assistants were to be elected by the people of each ward. The Mayor, Recorder, Town Clerk, and Sheriff were appointed by the Governor. The Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen constituted a Court of Common Pleas for debts and other minor cases. The corporation



CITY'S SEAL OF 1686.

was to "have perpetual succession with power to get, receive, and hold lands, rents, liberties, franchises, and chattels, and to transfer the same." The fort, the Governor's garden, near its gate on the west, and the King's farm just outside the land-gate on Broadway, were excepted from the city's holdings or control. The city after whose municipal government that of New York was now modeled was not old York, but Norwich, then the third city of England. Even in 1686 New York was the first incorporated and chartered city in the American Colonies, although it might boast a much earlier existence as such

under the Dutch form since 1653, and under the English since 1665. As truly as of any city in the United States, it could be said of the metropolis what was said of it in the quaint phraseology of the charter even in 1686: "The City of New York is an ancient city within the said province, and the citizens of the said city have anciently been a body politic and corporate." Its antiquity could not have been very oppressive two hundred and eleven years ago, when a man born only five years after the discovery of its site was a hale and hearty citizen seventy-two years of age.

An event of some concern to the province and city of New York was the death of King Charles II., in 1685. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, as James II., and thus his property in America became a crown possession. The chief influence upon the condition of affairs in New York was that now it seemed possible to carry into effect a plan which Dongan had recommended. By reason of the different proprietorships of the various colonies, no uniform rule of import or export duties prevailed. An article heavily taxed in New York might be free in New Jersey or Connecticut. The customs at New York suffered greatly, and trade was thrown into much confusion, by reason of vessels running over to the New Jersey shore of the river and there unloading their goods. These were gradually smuggled into New York, and sold at a price below that of articles which had honestly passed the Custom House. Dongan, therefore, urged

the expediency of consolidating all the King's colonies from the Delaware to and including Connecticut and Massachusetts. It was not regarded with much favor in New York City, either by the English or the Dutch. The English and Dutch in the provincial town harmonized well. There was much more affinity between these elements than between the Puritans of New England and the English citizens of New York. Yet the consolidation was finally effected. But Dongan was recalled as the result of it. He was too much in favor of popular liberties, and had conceded too many privileges of that sort to promise to be a strong hand in administering this larger constituency. Andros, now Sir Edmund Andros, was therefore intrusted with the government of the combined provinces of New Jersey, New York, and New England.

The only church in the place during most of this period was the old stone church in the fort. It had a shingle roof and a wooden tower, with a bell in it, and though it had no clock, a sun dial upon its southern side served to indicate the time of day. Still over the entrance was Kieft's stone with the inscription announcing that he had "caused the community" to build this church. On the Sunday this building was used by three different congregations, who worshiped in as many different languages. First came the Dutch services, beginning possibly at nine, if not half-past eight. The Dutch domines possessed the gift of continuance, and the sermon and psalms would not be finished inside of two hours. But by noon they had to be over, for then came the Walloons, and the refugee Huguenots, who had left France before, and especially after, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685. There was a service in French, which might last not much longer than two o'clock; for at 2.30 the English soldiers and the Governor, with family or retinue, would file into the same audience room to hear the English prayer-book read or hear an English sermon. In 1679 the Rev. Charles Woolley was chaplain in the fort. He preached to an average audience of some twenty-five or thirty people. Accordingly he must have had much leisure time on his hands, which he improved by writing a very good description of his experiences in the New World. This he published in 1701, under the title: "A Two Years' Journal in New York and Parts of Its Territories in America." He at one time enjoyed the privilege of joining a party in hunting a bear which had strayed into an orchard between Maiden Lane and Cedar Street. It gave him "great diversion and sport." The French had no minister till 1682, when, at the request of the Dutch, Rev. Pierre Daillé came over from London. His congregation was materially increased after the Revocation. In 1686 fifty or sixty Huguenot families had fled to New York from the French West Indies, and before Dongan left over two hundred families were settled there.

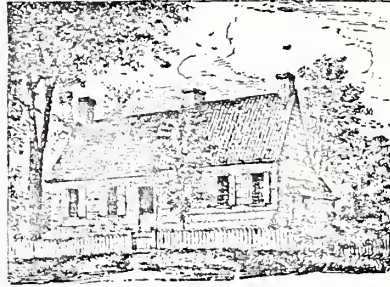
At the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, the Dutch

church had three ministers: the two Megapolenses (van Meckelengburgs, in plain Dutch), father and son, and Domine Drisius. For just one hundred years after this the congregation worshiped in Dutch, the first English pastor not being called till 1764. Yet even at this time some had in mind the inevitable change of language. The elder Megapolensis saw to it that his son could preach in English, and Drisius was called in 1652 for the express reason that he understood English well, and could preach in it if required. In 1669 the venerable Megapolensis died; a year before his son had left to go and settle in Holland. Mr. Drisius was disabled by age and near his end, and no Dutch minister could be induced to settle in America among an alien people. So in 1670 Governor Lovelace took the matter in hand to secure for the Dutch congregation what they had failed to do for themselves. He sent word to the Classis of Amsterdam that he would pay any scholarly and godly minister whom they would recommend the sum of one thousand guilders (\$400) yearly, and furnish him besides with a dwelling house, rent free, and free firewood. This brought over the Rev. William Nieuwenhuys, who was sensible enough to stick to his Dutch name and make no *Novadomus* of it. He was a short, corpulent gentleman, and those who did not like his doctrine complained of his "slabbering speech." He arrived just about when Domine Drisius died, in 1671, and held forth alone till his death, ten years later. Then was the Dutch church again pastorless until the Rev. Henricus Selyns came over in 1682. This was his second appearance in America. He had been pastor at Breuckelen from 1660 to 1664, and used to come over on week days and hold services at Stuyvesant's Bouwery. He was in many ways a notable man, and his connection with the church of New York marked an epoch in its history. Like Bogardus, he was a widower, and again, like this predecessor, he waited till he could find the likeliest and richest widow in the city before he consoled himself for his former loss. In 1684 Mayor Cornelius Steenwyck died, and two years or more later, Domine Selyns married Mrs. Steenwyck, no doubt carrying with her some of the Mayor's 50,000 florins, and some of that fine plenishing of the mansion on Whitehall Street. We have a list of church members and their addresses in his handwriting, dated 1686. He writes home to Holland of his gratification at the love of his people, who were building him a parsonage all of stone (or brick) three stories high. But he complains that the work is too much for one pastor. His list of members shows nearly four hundred families. Besides this, neighboring communities were constantly asking his services on week days, in consideration of which these outlying settlements agreed to pay the minister. The Communipaw people gave the New York pastor thirty bushels of wheat for administering the Communion three times in the course of the year.

New York was cosmopolitan as to nationalities. It was so also as

regards phases of religious belief. Dongan, himself a Roman Catholic, writes home: "New York has a chaplain belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Calvinist; third, a French Calvinist, and fourth, a Dutch Lutheran. There be not many of England; a few Roman Catholics; abundance of Quaker preachers, men and women; singing Quakers, ranting Quakers, Sabbatarians, anti-Sabbatarians, some Anabaptists, some Independents, some Jews; in short, of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all." The last was rather a gloomy view of the situation, perhaps not quite warranted by the facts, for all men were of some religious sect or other then, although not therefore the more pacific.

Under the English *regime* the Lutherans were allowed to have their own minister, and they built a church near the fort. But Colve demolished the church because it was in the way of his guns, and under Lovelace their pastor, the Rev. Jacob Fabritius, had to be dismissed on account of bad conduct. On the basis of theological differences, he declined to exchange greetings on the street with Domine Nieuwenhuys;



DE SILLE HOUSE.

while a Voetian or Cocceian leaning set the hearts of the Dutch domines against each other. Perforce there was toleration of Jews and Catholics and Quakers and Baptists and Lutherans, because the English governors would not listen to anything else; especially under Dongan the policy was to tolerate everybody, because James himself wished to be tolerated at home for his Catholic faith. The Quakers, however, were fined for refusing to do military duty, but then this was a stretch of religion into civil life which could not be safely permitted by the magistrates. The Jews too labored under some restrictions; they could not sell goods at retail, and when they asked for liberty to exercise their religion, it was officially or formally refused. But it was allowed informally, no interference being made with their religious services in a private house or hall. A few Catholics were in the habit of gathering with Governor Dongan in an apartment of the Governor's House in the fort, he having brought with him one Thomas Harvey, a Jesuit, as private chaplain.

A test of the enlightenment of a community in that age might well be made of the way that witchcraft was treated, and by this test New York comes out creditably. In 1667 Ralph Hall and his wife Mary, of Brookhaven, L. I., were tried on a charge of having procured the death of a man and an infant by wicked arts of the devil. Upon the jury served Jacob Leisler, a name later to become prominent in the annals of province and city. The jury gave a verdict of acquittal for the husband, but they had some doubts as to the wife, yet the only

penalty inflicted was that he give bonds for her good conduct. In 1668 Nicolls cleared them even of this obligation. A year or two after, a case of witchcraft arose in Westchester, with the result that here too the accused was declared innocent. When Captain Colve ruled New York a case of witchcraft was brought before him, but he made short work of it. Balthazar Bekker, the Dutch clergyman, had not in vain labored to disabuse the minds of his countrymen of that foolish and wicked superstition which brought unjust misery and untold horrors and cruel death upon so many innocent persons, both in Europe and America. No small part of this enlightenment was due to schools. The opportunities for children to acquire the rudiments in the young city were quite abundant. We can, indeed, find no record of school buildings. But private houses were rented, or the church was utilized for the purpose, and some teachers received classes at their own residences. A bill was brought in to the City Corporation in 1666 by one Casper Steinmets, who owned a house on the Brouwer Street, now Stone; the house had been rented for the use of a public school, and the bill for the year was 260 florins (\$104). Evert Pietersen Keteltas was the teacher of this school, and exercised his profession until Dongan's time. As he had been appointed and paid by the West India Company, the change of *regime* affected him closely. He was in no hurry, however, to get himself adjusted to the new environment. On September 19, 1665, he came before the mayor and council asking that a salary be paid him by the town authorities. Toward the end of his life an assistant was appointed. In 1679 we learn of one Abraham Lannoy, or de la Noy, brother of the collector of the port, who kept school, and also conducted the Catechism class, at which about twenty-five young persons attended. Indeed, the schoolmaster was a part of the church machinery; he not only taught the rudiments on week days, and instructed the children in the doctrines of the church, but on Sundays he was *voorleser* and *precentor*, reading the law and the creed and the scripture lesson for the minister; leading the singing of the people, and for the consistory or board of elders he kept the record of baptism. De la Noy was made Keteltas's assistant in all these functions about the year 1686. The name of this early city pedagogue would indicate that he must be regarded as the honorable ancestor of a family prominent in New York society to-day.

CHAPTER IV.

A CLASH OF PARTIES.



SPECIAL Providence seems to have been at work to make it easy for the Dutch inhabitants of New York Province and City to submit to the inevitable in becoming English subjects. If there were any rankling sense of shame or annoyance by reason of the sudden incursion of the aliens and the half-forced surrender to them in 1664, it was amply avenged and wiped out by the brilliant success of 1673, in retaking what was their own by their gallant countrymen. This brief restitution of all things Dutch was indeed again superseded by the rule of the English, but there was no surrender to bring about the second occupancy; it was not by the force of arms, but by the terms of diplomacy. And scarce had their Lord Proprietor become a king, thus making their province a crown possession, when, who of all persons should ascend the throne of England but their own beloved Prince of Orange, in whose name their town had been retaken in 1673, and in whose honor it had been called New Orange.

It was a pity that a change in dynasty so gratifying to the preponderating element in our city's population should have entailed so much hurtful disturbance and have planted so many roots of bitterness within its limited boundaries. For the change of kings in England brought on here the eventful Leisler episode, a drama of several acts, of which the last was a tragedy. As the place of its enactment was our city, and all the chief personages residents of it, it deserves careful consideration as one of the most thrilling events in our city's history. It is significant also as the first uprising here of the people of moderate means and without political recognition—i.e., the so-called masses—against what had hitherto been the ruling class, the prominent and wealthy citizens, who now for a generation or more had been occupying positions of authority and power in the provincial or municipal government, only to be obtained by the favor of the Governor or King. Therefore the episode bore fruit in a long-standing antagonism between these orders of citizens, throwing the hitherto perhaps only apparent harmony of municipal life into the confusions of party conflict. Dislike and distrust may previously have smoldered like hidden fires, or may have muttered words of anger under the breath. But after events had suddenly brought on the open and

furious clash of parties, the ravages of the conflagration for a brief period disfigured the fair face of our city's peace, and the echoes of the explosion of pent-up wrath long resounded within the narrow precincts of the little colonial seaport.

Sir Edmund Andros had been invested with the office of Governor-General, or sort of viceroy, over the combined Provinces of New England, New York, and New Jersey. This appointment involved Dongan's resignation as Governor of New York, on August 11, 1688. Andros made Boston the seat of government, so as to be near the troublesome Indians in Maine, and Colonel Francis Nicholson was made Lieutenant-Governor over the Province of New York. The latter ar-

rived in the city on October 1, 1688, and his council was composed of Anthony Brockholls, a Catholic English gentleman, who had been a member of council under former governors, and once or twice had acted as their lieutenant in their absence; and the three prominent residents of New York, Frederick Philipse (the richest man in town), Stephen van Cortlandt, who was now the Mayor,



and Nicholas Bayard, who was Mayor a few years before, and had occupied various other positions in provincial and city affairs. It is well to bear these names in mind.

On November 5, 1688, William of Orange landed in England. The Revolution was happily bloodless, and in February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen. The news of the landing of William had been enough to determine the people of New England what action to take, and in April, 1689, Andros suddenly found himself deposed and a prisoner, while a government of their own was set up by the people. The news of the event in England, and of its consequence in Boston, came simultaneously to New York late in April, and it is no wonder that Nicholson received it with small equanimity. The Lieutenant-Governor drew his sword, and putting it to the breast of the excited Dutchman who brought it, threatened to run him through the body "if he would not be silent of it." Now, why this fear of publicity, which, of course, could not be prevented under any threats? The example of Boston might prove contagious. But why did Boston act as it did, and why should New York do likewise? The

flight of the Catholic King James to France would let loose upon England and her colonies all the power of that alien country, with all the influence of the Catholic Church to back her. This was a formidable threat in the days of Louis XIV., with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes only three years old; and France and Catholicism, with the resources of Louis XIV. behind them, were very close at hand in Canada. With James a refugee in France and the protégé of Louis, all of James's officials might be allies of so dreadful and so near an enemy. The safest policy was to deprive them of power before waiting to see to whom they would be loyal. Hence Andros went down swiftly in Boston, and Nicholson might look for no better treatment here. Yet the people of New York did not act hastily. And Nicholson too at first showed tact in inviting the militia of the city to co-operate with the regulars in guarding the fort and the defenses of the town, and in consenting that the officers of the various militia companies should take turns in commanding the watch.

It has been told how in the days of Andros's first term the trainbands had been efficiently organized. There were now five companies of them, with Nicholas Bayard as their Colonel, and the Captains, beginning with the senior, Jacob Leisler, Abraham De Peyster, Nicholas Stuyvesant, Francis De Bruyn, Charles Lodowick, and Gabriel Minvielle, all men of substance, good and true, of honorable name and doing. These citizen soldiers, as told before, were always to keep their firearms ready loaded in the house. In case of alarms, drums were to be beaten, whereupon each company was to repair at once to the residence of its captain, and form in front of his house. It was now arranged that each company in turn should go from day to day to the fort, its captain setting the watch from among his men; and thus, with some sense of security, the citizens awaited the dreaded onslaught of the French, and hoped to avert some as greatly dreaded, but much less likely, plot of the handful of Catholics in the town. All went well until May 31, 1689. Nicholson on that evening complained of the posting of a certain sentinel. Captain De Peyster's company had the watch that night, and his Lieutenant, Henry Cuyler, replied that the sentinel was there by his Captain's or his own order. This reply irritated the Lieutenant-Governor; he flew into a passion and dismissed the militia officer from his presence with the perilous observation "that he would rather see the town on fire" than be dictated to by them. Now the firing of the town by the adherents of James was the very thing looked for by the citizens, and here Nicholson himself seemed to imply that he was contemplating its occurrence. The drums beat; all the other companies not on duty rushed to arms and formed in front of their Captains' houses. What was the matter? The word was passed around that Nicholson intended to fire the town. Small difference did it make that this was not altogether true in those inflammable times. What Nicholson had said was quite

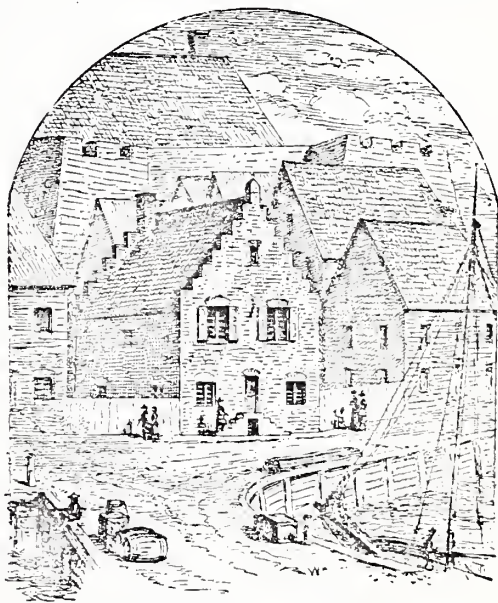
enough to start an explosion. Colonel Bayard, of the Royal Council, known to be in sympathy with Nicholson, or at least not to mistrust him, endeavored to allay the fears or suspicions of the militia. But it was in vain; to trust the friends of the deposed King was already a long way toward being an adherent one's self, as people then reasoned. The whole council, even their three fellow residents, came under suspicion. Who could be trusted in those days? How soon might not the French be upon them? Quick, decisive action, disarming all enemies of the true religion, was the only safety. The militia marched into the fort. The senior Captain, Jacob Leisler, drew up an agreement which all the captains signed, that they should in turn, as before, keep guard there, and hold the town for William of Orange till he could be heard from. "The captain whose watch it is to be for that time captain of the fort." Four hundred citizens affixed their names, besides the captains; and now the people breathed more freely. The date we have now reached is June 3, 1689.

When the militia captains took command of the fort the Lieutenant-Governor summoned the councilors to meet at the City Hall on Coenties Slip. They had not been long in session when Captain Lodowick, "Captain of the fort" for that day, entered the room and demanded the keys of the fort and of the city. The unmistakable attitude of the entire force of the train-bands, with the population to back them, compelled Nicholson to yield. He gave up the keys, betook himself to an English ship in the harbor ready to sail, and went to England. There was an opportunity now for the members of the council to act according to their preferences, the flight and abandonment of the situation by their chief leaving them free so to do. Bayard, Philipse, and van Cortlandt might have taken sides with their fellow citizens, and surely the company of De Peyster or Stuyvesant or Minvielle need not have repelled them; while Leisler was related by marriage to Bayard and van Cortlandt both. But they chose to keep aloof from the popular movement. Bayard made an ineffectual attempt to regain power by ordering the militia, as their colonel, to disband. He also contested the appointment of a collector of the port by the popular party in the place of the Catholic incumbent, and in a personal encounter at the Custom House doors he received some rude handling. Then he went to Albany. Philipse also left the city, but Mayor van Cortlandt remained at his post.

On June 6, 1689, the news reached New York that William and Mary had been crowned King and Queen, but it was unaccompanied by any appointments to office. Then, on June 10, Leisler and the other captains, still acting as of equal authority among themselves, issued a call for a convention of delegates from all the counties. This convention met on June 26. It appointed a Committee of Safety, whose action now for the first time brings into prominence above the rest of the popular party the man with whose name this whole episode

is associated, and who himself tasted the most bitter fruit of it. The committee made Jacob Leisler captain of the fort permanently, without rotation with the other captains; and later, on August 16, 1689, they requested him to assume the military command of the province, voicing in this the desire of the residents of the various counties.

In the good ship the *Otter*, arriving at New Amsterdam on April 27, 1660, there was a company of fifteen soldiers for the re-enforcement of the garrison. Second on the list stands the name of "Jacob Loyseler, from Francfort." His father was pastor of a Reformed Church in that German City, and in 1670, when Peter Stuyvesant and Oloff Stevenson van Cortlandt were in the consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York as elders, Jacob Leisler was one of the deacons. In 1662 he married Elsje Loockermans, the widow of Cornelius Vanderveer, a niece of Anneke Jans; and by this marriage genealogists assure us he came into quite near relationship with Councilors Bayard, Philipse, and van Cortlandt. He was now a prosperous merchant, owning ships, and sailing in them himself at times, and he occupied a substantial brick house on the "water side," or on Whitehall Street, between State and Pearl, west side. He had one son, Jacob, and two married daughters, one, Mary, the wife of an Englishman, Jacob Milborne, who, after the tragedy which deprived her of father and husband at one fell blow, became the wife of Abraham Gouverneur, who was also a prominent adherent of Leisler's. In 1667 we saw Leisler, as noted in the preceding chapter, one of a jury acquitting a man and woman accused of witchcraft.



LEISLER'S RESIDENCE.

At the beginning of the present troubles he had protested

against paying duties on his ship in port to a Catholic Collector, and as he championed his cause stoutly before the council, it had brought him favorably before the people as a man of decision and courage. As senior captain of the train-bands he had also necessarily been somewhat in the public eye. A firm hand and determined spirit being now in demand, and Leisler possessing these, it was to be expected that the choice of leader should have finally fallen upon him.

We advance another month, and on September 29, 1689, by direc-

tion of the Committee of Safety, and in line with the principle of popular sovereignty which was now the vogue, an event took place hitherto unprecedented in the history of this city, and not to be repeated until 1834, or one hundred and forty-five years later. The people gathered in their several wards and voted not only for the Aldermen and Assistants of each ward, but also for the Mayor and the other appointive officers. Peter de la Noy, Collector of the Port in 1679, and brother of the schoolmaster, was elected Mayor; John Johnson, Sheriff; and Abraham Gouverneur, Clerk. On October 14 these men were inducted into their offices by proclamation of the "Captain of the Fort." But Mayor van Cortlandt, while ousted from the City Hall, would not recognize the validity of his successor's election, and refused to yield up the books and seals.

Leisler was as yet only what the Committee of Safety had made him, Captain of the Fort and Military Commander of the Province. By a curious conjunction of circumstances, a letter from their majesties now unwittingly conferred upon Leisler, by royal sanction, the supreme command of the Province. It was dated July 30, 1689, and reached New York early in December. The superscription read, "To Francis Nicholson, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in our Province of New York, and, in his absence, to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." It is easy to surmise why William and Mary had concocted so peculiar an address. What had taken place in England might well have been supposed to occasion similar changes in the dependent colonies. Who could know what had happened at New York? If Nicholson ruled, all right; be he still our Lieutenant-Governor; if some one else, then be he the man. Certainly Nicholson was "*absent*"; quite permanently so. Certainly Jacob Leisler "for the time being" was taking care of the peace and administering the laws. The Committee of Safety was quite clear, therefore, that Leisler should now regard himself "for the time being," and until another incumbent should arrive, Lieutenant-Governor of New York. And the occupation of the Committee being also now gone, Leisler resolved it into a council, composed of eight members.

Small notice need here be taken of Leisler's acts so far as these relate to affairs outside of the city. Yet it cannot be left without emphatic remark that it was due to him that there convened the first colonial congress, and took place the first concerted movement on the part of the colonies in their own defense. In February, 1690, occurred the massacre and burning of Schenectady by the Indians, instigated by the French. At once Leisler raised and sent to Albany a force of armed men under Jacob Milborne, his son-in-law. He summoned a Provincial Assembly to provide means and supplies for a vigorous assault on the Indians; and not deeming that enough had been done, he sent the members of his council as emissaries to the

Fort William July 31st 1690: —
 Ensign John Freeman —

I^c having Perused your Commission & Partly understood your
 Grievance & threatening of your authority for having punctually
 observed y^r same according to y^r request & Covenant made with
 Connecticut Plymouth & Boston & by y^r two latter absolutely
 Brooks I have here Inclosed sent you y^r request attested also y^r
 Copy of y^r Letter delivered to me by Connecticut's agents w^{ch} may
 be of Service to you I send you also two Evidences whereby
 it may appear what Inclinations Livingstone had for our
 thing whereby can be judged what may be expected from him
 for his Interest also one Evidence how he declared to have
 had y^r Copy of his ^{test in this province} maj^r Letter w^{ch} he could not have had
 as yet it had been broken up by y^r messenger Livingstone
 is y^r person to whom a writ^{ch} Credit is given & w^{ch} whose
 writ^{ch} is consulted in your Parts Concerning y^r Albany —
 Expedition there is good Ground to suspect him & on Ellyn
 tho^t some Private Instruction is given to y^r Cap^t & Contr^y
 go^g Livingstone & o^r consent I could send you what we had —
 agot^t Mr. Ellyn of w^{ch} we have Complained to your
 authority but not regarded but I am left to be y^r Cause of
 Disord^r in your Parts therefore forbear & if our forces were
 not departed for you so faithfull, honest & neighbourly —
 offering your Commission & therefore blamed would have
 willingly Commissionated you. You desiring a better Place
 I shall Certainly think on you if any Occasion offers & so
 soon I shall see Albany Proceeding shall send you all
 what may be judged needfull for you I have writt y^r
 Govern^r in yo^r favour & acquainted him that I was
 sent^d of y^r abuse you received therein ch^g my respect
 I remain
 Yo^r friend —
 Jacob Leisler

various colonies to urge them to unite in an attempt to end French and Indian attacks by a concerted movement against Canada. A congress of deputies to consult on this question met in May, 1690. Not much was accomplished in the end, for the colonies were hardly ripe as yet for a policy so advanced. But by means of it the authorities of New England and a few other colonies officially recognized the validity of Leisler's position as temporary Lieutenant-Governor of New York.

In the mean time the deposed and scattered members of Nicholson's Council had not been idle. Van Cortlandt had remained in town to fight it out; Philipse saw no good reason for staying away from New York; and even Bayard, who had most strenuously set himself against the new régime, came back from Albany. These men were able to rally quite a following. No sooner was Leisler raised to power above the other captains than their jealousy was awakened, and for slight reasons one after another detached himself from his cause. As early as November Captains Stuyvesant, De Peyster, and Minvielle had resigned their commands. De Peyster, however, accepted an important office later and remained friendly to Leisler to the last. Bayard's party constantly represented Leisler's following as composed entirely of "the rabble." A paper purporting to have been signed by several citizens, and two ministers among them, complained that Leisler gathered about him and put into office men of low and criminal antecedents. This was certainly not true of the original movement. The train-band captains, men of eminent respectability, stood with him as one man in the opposition to James's officials. The militia and the people back of them may have been plain artisans and tradespeople of lowly rank in the community, but while these people did not belong to the office-holding or patrician class, to characterize them as low and criminal was slanderously unjust. It was hoped that many would be shamed out of their connection with Leisler, and doubtless this policy met with more success than it deserved. There can be no doubt that toward the last Leisler was driven, partly by the taste of power and partly by the excessive annoyances of the opposition, to measures of a somewhat arbitrary nature. He perhaps used his power of imprisoning his opponents rather too freely. Domine Varick, pastor of several Long Island churches, had indulged in strong language against Leisler. His freedom of speech soon led to the restraint of his person at the fort, where he describes the state of things during six months in a letter still extant, which, however, is not to be regarded strictly as a model of exactitude. He had comfortable quarters enough himself, but others were kept in rooms with the windows boarded up, and some had chains on their legs. In January, 1690, Bayard was arrested, a fate which van Cortlandt escaped by hasty flight. A court was summoned, and Leisler's most determined foe was condemned to death for treason on the ground of his

opposition to the reigning King's representative. Bayard sued for pardon in a very humble fashion, even recognizing Leisler as Lieutenant-Governor by addressing him as such. As the intention was to frighten him, the sentence of death was readily commuted; but he remained in prison during the remainder of Leisler's term, or for the space of about fourteen months.

A year very quickly passed, the events up the river, and the attempt to organize a colonial union against the savages and French, filling up most of the interval. At last, in January, 1691, began to arrive a part of the fleet accompanying the Governor appointed by William III. to supersede Andros and Nicholson. A storm having separated the vessels, the first to arrive was Major Richard Ingoldsby, Lieutenant-Governor, with a party of soldiers. On landing he peremptorily demanded the surrender of the fort. Nicholson's representations had naturally enough put him in anything but an impartial frame of mind, and the patrician party found him heartily committed to their side. Unfortunately he had no papers to sustain his demand. They were on board the Governor's ship, and that had not yet arrived. Hence Leisler, considering himself the King's representative on the strength of the letter received in December, 1689, firmly but courteously declined to comply, unless the proper papers showing his authority were in evidence. This refusal sent Ingoldsby back into the arms of the opposing party a more determined friend than ever, as furious a hater as they of Leisler and his "rabble." For several weeks matters thus stood. The common people seeing the old favorites re-enforced by the King's appointees, were driven to desperation. Crowding once more in Leisler's rear, as they had done before, they committed an act of rashness of which he could not approve. They swarmed into the fort, and some of the more violent ones mounting the walls fired its guns at His Majesty's troops, resulting in the death of one man and injuries to others. Leisler disavowed the act, but it could not be recalled. At last the strain was relieved on March 19, 1691, by the arrival of Colonel Henry Sloughter, the Royal Governor. Now exchanges are swiftly made: the new Governor to the fort, the new Council into power, the old Council to prison, and Leisler with them. The Governor's Council consisted of Philipse, van Cortlandt, Bayard, Minvielle, and a few others, an ominous combination for the friends of the people, whose strife seemed now to have been all in vain.

No time was lost in bringing charges of high treason against Leisler and all his council. A special court of eight judges was appointed by the Governor, of whom Richard Ingoldsby was one. Leisler denied the right of the court to try him, and appealed to the letter of December, 1689. The judges evaded a decision as to the legitimacy of the status this gave to Leisler as the acting Governor in Nicholson's place. They referred the decision of this point to the Governor

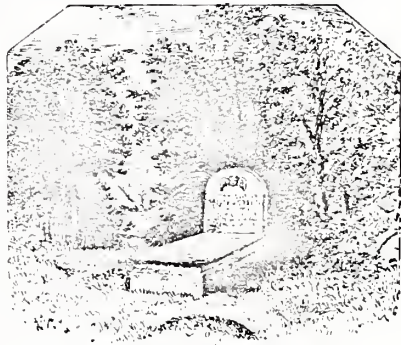
and his Council, whereby the very men who were Leisler's bitterest enemies, thirsting for revenge for personal injuries, became the court to judge him. The verdict might have been anticipated. On April 13, 1691, Leisler and Milborne and six more of the Council were convicted of high treason and condemned to death. The six had their sentence commuted to imprisonment, or at least their death warrants were never signed. But the bitterness of personal hatred would not thus allow the two principal actors in the late upheaval of the people, or populace, to escape.

It is difficult to maintain an attitude of impartiality in treating of an episode which so powerfully stirred the feelings on both sides and thus has elicited accounts so strongly conflicting. Yet it would seem as if the sentence of death against Leisler were unjust, and its execution the result of a deliberate and implacable thirst for revenge on the part of his chief opponents. A court or council disposed to be fair, and not too eager to proceed to extremities, would have given Leisler the benefit of the doubt regarding the letter of December, 1689, and not thrown it out of court altogether. Indeed, from some accounts it would appear that the trial proceeded only upon Leisler's conduct after the arrival of Ingoldsby. Occupying the position he did *de facto*, at the instance of a representative body of his fellow-citizens, his course then was not blameworthy at all in view of the absence of the proper papers to accredit the authority of the new comer. Indeed, this most convincing consideration was made the ground upon which the reversal of the attainder against Leisler was granted by Parliament in 1695. At that time an impartial and dispassionate review of the situation compelled the conclusion "that Leisler had been appointed Commander-in-Chief until their Majesties' pleasure should be further known; that he was afterward confirmed in his authority by their Majesties' letter dated July 30, 1689 [received in New York December, 1689]; that while he held this power by virtue of said authority, Major Ingoldsby had arrived in January and demanded the surrender of the fort without producing any legal authority." He having, upon the arrival of Governor Sloughter, turned over the fort into his hands, all that could have been expected from a loyal subject was done by the deceased, and he was declared free from the stain of high treason for which he had been put to death.

It is sad to observe, therefore, the desperately murderous enmity which had sprung up between fellow townsmen in so small a community, and among persons actually related by marriage. Leisler and Milborne must die. The death-warrants for the other condemned men might remain untouched; theirs must be signed. It is charged by some historians that an appeal to the King was held back. It is difficult to believe that Bayard or van Cortlandt could have been so fiendishly cruel as that. Sloughter, however, declared that he would not sign their death-warrant until the King could be heard from.

But he signed it on May 15, a month and two days after the verdict, and there were neither telegraph nor ocean greyhounds in those days. Sloughier was a habitual drunkard, it is stated, or at least easily induced to go too deeply into his cups. And there was a banquet with its customary deep potations on or near the day of the fatal signature. Some tell of a message to Bayard from Albany that the Mohawks could only be conciliated by the removal of Leisler, or else the French would get the benefit of a treaty with them. How shall we estimate the value or truth of all these accounts or suspicions? All we can say is there need have been no sentence of death if the trial had been dispassionate. But if this we could hardly expect under the circumstances, then at least the utmost punishment that the heat of party spirit need have inflicted on Leisler and Milborne was to have commuted the sentence to imprisonment, as in the case of the other prisoners. On no theory can we exonerate from deliberate homicidal intentions the leaders of the faction against Leisler.

On Thursday, May 15, 1691, the death-warrant against Leisler and Milborne was signed by the Governor. On Saturday, May 17, at an early hour they were led forth to execution. It was a dreary, rainy, cold spring morning, yet it is said that a great crowd of people had assembled to witness the sad spectacle. It seems strange that a spot so distant from the town was chosen for erecting the gallows. Where the Printing House square now is, about opposite the building of the *New York Sun*, and in later days the site of the original and then respectable Tammany Hall, Leisler and Milborne paid the penalty for their brief elevation above their fellowmen. The elder victim, we are told, was in a forgiving mood; to the last averred that he would have given up the fort to Ingoldsby had he presented proper credentials; confessed such errors as all flesh is liable to commit, and wished to die at peace with all, even his enemies. Milborne perceived in the crowd Robert Livingston, who had defied his authority when he acted as Leisler's deputy at Albany. Aware how much he had had to do



LEISLER'S TOMB.

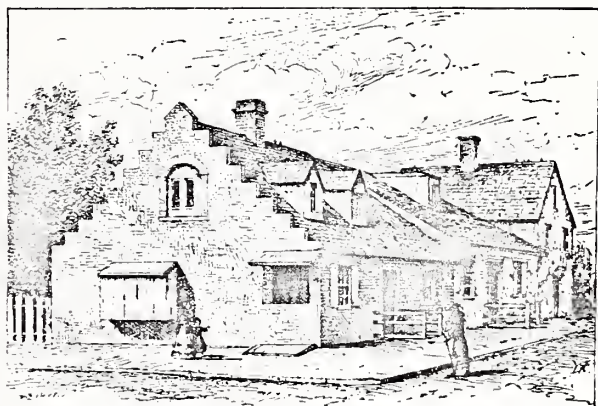
with bringing about this fatal moment, he challenged him to appear before the bar of God. Thus fell the first victims of political hatred in New York. They were buried in a lot hard by the scaffold, belonging to Leisler's wife, and once the property of Govert Loockermans, her father. But seven years later, when all that tardy justice could do to wipe out the injury inflicted that day had been done, the remains were removed from their place of dishonor, and buried with honors, under the supervision of the then Royal Governor, the Earl

of Bellomont, near the Reformed Dutch Church on Garden street, now Exchange Place.

A change of Governors was soon necessary. Two months after Leisler's execution, Sloughter died suddenly. Was it poison? That is the supposition of the party of the government. Was it remorse? So say those affected by the prejudice of the popular party. Certainly if Sloughter had signed the warrant against his better convictions while stupefied by drink, his awakening after the fatal event cannot have been to a comfortable state of mind. It is told that he spurned the supplications of Leisler's wife and daughter for the lives of their husbands. They had begged him to give these men but half an hour's, but one minute's, hearing, to offset the exclusively one-sided accounts which he had alone permitted to come to his ears. But in vain was even so reasonable a request. The recollection of such an incident must also have contributed to disturb his sober moments. But as these were all too few, it may have been after all nothing but a vulgar *delirium tremens* which deprived New York of its first Governor under its Dutch King. He died on July 23, 1691, and was buried by the courtesy of the Stuyvesant family in their vault next to the remains of the Director.

The agitations produced by the clash of parties which had just ended so fatally for the leaders of the popular side, were not subdued for several decades, and kept troubling the administrations of many royal governors. These usually came to their post committed openly to one party or the other, which neither conduced to their own comfort or success, nor served to allay the passions of the contending citizens. Governor Fletcher, who arrived in August, 1692, was the first to encounter this hitherto unusual state of things, and it was his cue to favor the aristocratic or anti-Leisler party. Yet his instructions compelled him, among his first acts, to pardon the six members of Leisler's Council who had received sentence of death, and were waiting in prison for its execution. He managed, however, to spoil some of the effects of this clemency by demanding their word of honor not to leave the Province without his permission. It was to the interest of the party Fletcher wished to favor to keep Leisler's adherents from pleading their cause in England, where a mere recital of events, or the report of the outrageous trial would be certain to cause trouble for the men in power now. Abraham Gouverneur, therefore, fled from the city. Escaping from surveillance by assuming a disguise, he took passage in a fishing boat and went to Boston. Governor Phipps received him cordially and encouraged him to go to England to plead his cause. Accordingly he and young Jacob Leisler crossed the ocean and laid their case before Parliament and the King, with the result already noted that the attainder for high treason was reversed, and the estates of all the condemned were restored. This was in 1695, and thus a second time Fletcher was compelled to do a favorable turn to the Leislerians.

Whether in spite of his declared leaning to the other party, he was still desirous of placating the people, and if possible reconcile the factions by concessions, he certainly in one important particular honored the adherents of the defeated Leisler. In 1691 Abraham De Peyster had been appointed Mayor by Sloughter. In two successive years, 1692 and 1693, he was reappointed by Fletcher, and in 1694 Charles Lodowick received the appointment. We at once recognize these names as among those six captains of militia who shared with Leisler the responsibility of deposing Nicholson and his council. Indeed, Lodowick was the one to whose lot it fell to demand the keys of fort and city from the Lieutenant-Governor. For the remainder of Fletcher's term the Mayoralty was intrusted to Captain William Merritt, who was appointed three years in succession. He was an Englishman who gave up the sea and became a merchant in New York in 1671. His store and residence were on Broad street between Stone and Marketfield streets, thus almost opposite the outdoor exchange on the bridge over the canal, as long as it was held there. He once [1687] represented the Out Ward as Alderman, living then about where Chatham Square is now. But in 1691 he is back in the Dock Ward. It is said that he belonged to the anti-Leisler party, but no one can complain that partiality made the Governor select him for Mayor after the two previous appointees to the office.



CORNER BROAD STREET AND GARDEN STREET
(EXCHANGE PLACE).

A curious and characteristic feature of life in New York came to its culmination during the period we have now under consideration. New York was pre-eminently a seaport; from its situation it could not well be anything else. All that belonged to sea-life in those days found ample reflection in the pursuits and ambitions of her citizens. There was no encouragement for manufacturers. Enterprise in this direction was systematically repressed. Every attempt was met by a stubborn refusal for many generations. "The prejudice of our manufactories at home" rose up constantly before the minds of the statesmen of the mother country; and the people of the colonies must not be allowed to do anything that would have such a baneful effect. Yet in 1708 three-quarters of the linen stuffs of the coarser sort in use

in the colony of New York were made by the people themselves. Doubtless the home work of the women could not be so easily strangled. But when one of the Provincial Council asked leave to engage in ship building, and showed to how great advantage to England it could be carried on, he received a flat refusal. The same policy of taxes and restrictions on the colonists, to the advantage of England, prevailed in the matter of commerce and trade. The colonies were permitted to engage in trade with England only, in ships built in England, commanded by English or colonial captains. The people here had to pay a tax of 5 per cent. on all goods exported or imported; there was also a tax on trade between the colonies themselves; exports to countries other than England were forbidden altogether. Now in the course of the frequent wars among the several European powers, it had come to be a practice to fit out privateers. The New York merchants engaged enthusiastically in this business. A privateer might get itself sent to the bottom; but then also it might return with the spoils of several valuable prizes, and in such a case the profits on the original investment were enormous. So the risks were frequently taken. But when war languished profits grew less. It was then that the privateers ventured upon more questionable proceedings. They still brought in valuable cargoes of all sorts, and it soon began to be whispered about that the privateers had become pirates. No very searching inquiries were made. The captains who brought home rich prizes, on which vast profits were made by the merchants who sent them out, were treated with great consideration by all classes of citizens. The crews often gave trouble and occasioned riots in the streets, but this only added piquancy and stir to the life of the seaport. But in order to realize the greater profits, it was necessary to evade the custom-house officers, and so a brisk career of smuggling was added to the other accomplishments of the merchant marine. Cooper's "Waterwitch" makes us acquainted with one of those gallant skippers, who might be privateer, pirate, and smuggler combined. Many of the younger sons of merchants had gained experience of a varied kind on the ships of their sires. The most approved course usually pursued was to load a ship with goods for exchange or sale on the island of Madagascar. Rum costing two shillings per gallon in New York would fetch fifty to sixty shillings in Madagascar. A pipe of Madeira wine costing nineteen pounds in New York could be sold for three hundred pounds in that distant island. Not that just so much specie would be given for these articles there. But here was the rendezvous of the pirates or buccaneers of the Indian ocean, and the goods they offered in exchange were extremely costly. Frederick Philipse and others of his rank and class found great returns in such investments, and many a ship was fitted out by them for the Madagascar trade.

So open had been the countenance given to these questionable

transactions by Governor Fletcher, that it resulted in his recall, and the Earl of Bellomont was made his successor with express instructions to suppress them. It is in connection with this nobleman that our history comes upon that interesting and romantic individual, Captain William Kidd, the hero of legend and myth, of haunted shores and phantom ships. The story begins in a manner sufficiently prosaic. In order to rid the seas of the pirates that infested them in every direction, Captain Kidd, known as a bold and skillful mariner, was provided with a good ship at a generous expense, so that she might be well equipped for her perilous service. Several individuals shared the burden of this outfit, among them no less a person than King William III. The Earl of Bellomont, not as yet Governor, some other English noblemen, and Robert Livingston, of the New York colony, also formed a part of this unique company. Of course the treasures Kidd should recover from the vanquished pirates would serve as a return for their investment in this laudable enterprise. Captain Kidd did fine work. He started in October, 1696, and for a while captured pirate after pirate on the Atlantic, duly reporting his achievements from time to time. But it was a fatal moment for him when he went into the Indian ocean and breathed the air of Madagascar. He now changed vessels and became a pirate himself. It may be suspected he had had a taste of that profession before, and that because a thief was set at catching thieves, the original plan appeared so feasible. On his return to America it was his fate to be captured by one of the partners in the enterprise as first conceived. The Earl of Bellomont was now Governor of New York and Massachusetts, and before him, at Boston, Kidd was brought on July 6, 1699. He had sought to evade arrest by hiding among the bays of Long Island Sound. At Block Island and Gardiner's Island he had spent some time, and met with friends or relatives. Before he finally made up his mind to cast himself upon the mercy of Bellomont, it is said he buried his treasure on Gardiner's Island. He made no secret of it before the proper authorities, and the treasure was duly removed later. But the rumors of this proceeding went through the colonies, and down to this day anxious searchers have hoped to find pots of gold and silver coins anywhere along the northern or southern shores of the Sound. Kidd's piracy was too clearly proved to leave a doubt of it, or to make it possible for the great people who had sent him forth upon an honest quest to save him from the gallows. He was executed in May, 1701.

It is pleasant to turn from this somewhat exciting topic of the pirates, involving in discredit the most noted and highly placed citizens as well as Governor Fletcher himself, to an act that was entirely meritorious. Fletcher was Governor of Pennsylvania as well as of New York, and he had at one time been called to Philadelphia to exercise judicial functions at the trial of a Philadelphia printer, Will-

iam Bradford, who had printed something to the distaste of the Quaker authorities. Fletcher seized the opportunity to invite Bradford to settle in New York City, transferring his presses and workmen thither. At Fletcher's instance he was offered a salary of forty pounds per annum, over and above what he might earn at the exercise of his trade. This was a very commendable proceeding. While printing had been introduced at Boston and Philadelphia long before this, it was here first that it was encouraged by government aid, and that the printer who established himself was recognized as an official of the colony. The council's resolution creating the office was dated

Board of Mayor, Burgesses, & Aldermen of the City of New York, the sum of Two Hundred Eighty, Three, and 10 for sundries and supplies for his office. With of my hand this 30 of March 1712
With Bradford son & Co

FAC-SIMILE LETTER OF BRADFORD.

March, 1693. In April Bradford had already begun his work, establishing his shop on Hanover Square, corner of William Street, and several pamphlets and placards proceeded from his press during this year. He lived to a good old age, as we shall have occasion to note in following chapters. Thirty-two

years after his settlement in our city, he began the issue of the first New York newspaper. In 1693 he was just thirty years of age.

It was during Fletcher's time that the "Bolting" monopoly, granted under Andros sixteen years before, and enlarged by Dongan, was finally abolished, against the strenuous opposition of the city fathers. They showed what prosperity had come to the city from the monopoly, and presaged disaster from its abolishment. But the measure bore too heavily against the outlying towns, and New York has managed to survive and prosper without it. New streets were added about this time. In 1696 Maiden Lane was laid out, the first street to be ventured on outside of Wall street; and at the same time Nassau Street was begun as a cartway. It was indicated by a rather lengthy description: "the street that runs by the piewoman's, leading to the city commons." The name of Kip Street was first applied to it. The first bridge that ever connected this island with the mainland, or other islands, was built in 1693 by Frederick Philipse. Provided he would build a substantial drawbridge over the Spuyten Duyvil creek, connecting his manor of Philipseburg with Manhattan, the Common Council permitted him to charge certain specified fares for passengers, wagons, and cattle. From time to time proclamations would be issued by the Governor in English and Dutch, permitting collections of money to be made for the ransom of citizens from the hands of Turks, Moors, or pirates. In apprehension of an incursion of French and Indians from Canada, the old palisades on Wall Street were again repaired, and a part of the Battery Park



MADISON AVENUE AND FOURTH AVENUE BRIDGES ACROSS THE HARLEM RIVER.

filled in, so as to make a platform for the planting of cannon in front of the fort, whence both the East and the North rivers could be commanded. In 1697 the important matter of lighting the streets was first attended to. At every seventh house a pole was projected over the roadway, from which was suspended a lantern with a candle. When there was a "light moon" the lantern was not hung out; and the expense was further lightened by each of the seven houses sharing the burden of it. A night-watch of four men, carrying the old rattle as of yore, patrolled the streets at night, to render the slumbers of the citizens more secure.

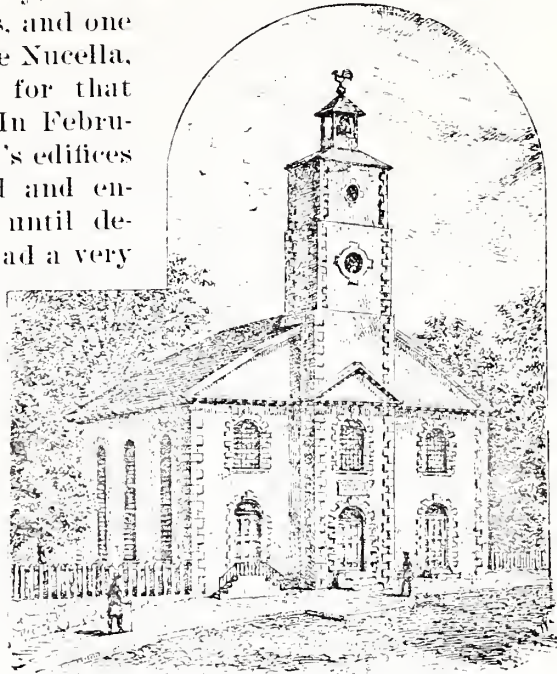
New York during the earlier years of Governor Fletcher's term had a population of about four thousand souls. It was natural that it was thought the time had come for more extensive church accommodations. Still did the Dutch and English congregations repair to the old church in the fort, and take their turns at worship in the now somewhat dilapidated edifice, which had attained the venerable age of half-a-century. As soon as it was vacated Governor Fletcher spent 900 pounds for repairs in order to put it into good condition for use as a Chapel for the garrison. It was therefore a matter of necessity much more than one of pride which induced the Dutch congregation to think of building a new Church,—its appearance to be somewhat more in accord with their increased wealth, and its size more adapted to their increased numbers. In April, 1688, with this object in view, the Board of Elders and Deacons had requested Governor Dongan that, "under the name and style of the Minister or Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church," he would grant them incorporation, so that they as a body might be "capable in law to have, hold, and enjoy lands and tenements." For it was necessary to go outside of the fort, and land must be acquired for the new Church. Where should they go? There was a new street parallel to Wall, and south of it, branching off from Broad just at the point where the head of its canal used to be. It was called Garden Street, for there were not many houses on it yet, mostly gardens. The widow of Domine Drisius had an orchard there, and for a merely nominal sum she offered a piece of ground sufficient for the Church. But it was objected that it was too far uptown! The majority of the officers or people, however, determined to build there. It was possible the town might grow up around the vicinity of the Church: it was possible it might grow even beyond that distant region! So in that wild hope the widow's land was bought in 1690. But the construction was not begun till some time after, for the church was not ready for services till 1693, and even then it was not quite finished. Fortunately there is a record of its cost and of its exact appearance, matters of no small interest as we consider that this church was the first specimen of ecclesiastical architecture that is worthy of the name in our city, now adorned by so many structures that may well

challenge the admiration of the world. Its total cost as estimated in 1695 when it was fully done, was 64,178 florins or \$27,671, and a contemporary manuscript furnishes the following description of it: "It was an oblong square, with three sides of an octagon on the east side. In the front it had a brick steeple, on a large square foundation, so as to admit a room above the entry for a consistory room. The windows of the church were small panes of glass set in lead. The most of them had coats of arms of those who had been elders and magistrates." It is said the church would seat twelve hundred people and Domine Selyns's preaching was so much liked that the pews were filled every Sunday. He was getting along in years, so that he needed an assistant; but no additional pastor was called until 1699, two years before his death, when Domine Gualterus (Walter) Du Bois began a pastorate which was destined to exceed half a century. Selyns was a man of various parts; an eloquent speaker; a poet of some merit both in Dutch and Latin; and he had a keen eye for the temporal interests of the church. It was due to his efforts that the Dutch Church obtained a charter in 1696; and that charter saved it—and every other Dutch Church that secured one in imitation of New York's example—from serious annoyance if not actual destruction. Fletcher had come over to America full of the idea of establishing the Church of England. He repeatedly sought to force an act through the Assembly which would have compelled the appointment of vestrymen and wardens in every community, and enforced the collection of tithes for an established ministry. Had this gone through the members of Dutch, French, Lutheran and other Churches would have had to support ministers of the English Church, as well as their own, and this double support of the Gospel could hardly have been long kept up. Domine Selyns saw the danger ahead, prepared and secured his charter before the act was passed; and by virtue of it the Dutch Church was enabled to hold property, and could collect tithes from its members for the support of their own ministers, thereby excluding such demands for ministers of any other Church.

If the Dutch people began to find the Church in the fort unsuitable, so did the English congregation. Hence steps were soon under way for the erection of a building for the services of the Church of England. A petition for aid in the matter was addressed to Governor Fletcher, and he granted permission to collect moneys, and also gave the petitioners a piece of land to derive an income from for seven years beginning with August, 1697. In 1704 this land was given out and out. It was the property called the King's Farm, formerly the West India Company's Farm or Garden, and it is in the possession of Trinity Church to this day. Thus encouraged the petitioners began to build a church on the site now so well known, opposite Wall Street on Broadway, still further uptown than the Dutch church. But it was now 1697, four years since the other was completed. Be-

fore Trinity Church was done a rector was called, the Rev. William Vesey. Meanwhile occasionally the English congregation had worshiped in the Garden Street church, and here when Mr. Vesey had been duly ordained by the Bishop of London, he was inducted into the rectorship Christmas day, 1697, by the aid of Domine Selyns, and one other Dutch minister, Domine Nucella, summoned from Kingston for that purpose by the Governor. In February, 1698, the first of Trinity's edifices was ready. It was altered and enlarged in 1737, and stood until destroyed by fire in 1776. It had a very tall steeple, which is said to have been badly constructed, and "fell by its own weight" in 1708. The chapel in the fort was now reserved for the garrison only, and the Rev. John Miller was the chaplain there.

In 1688 the numbers of the French refugees had so increased that they put up a small building in Marketfield Street for their religious services,



GARDEN STREET (EXCHANGE PLACE) CHURCH,
1693.

thus leaving the church-in-the-fort to the Dutch and English. But prospering as the years went by, a next advance was made by the building of a substantial church of quarry stone in Pine Street near Nassau. A square tower like a campanile stood up against the side wall, a little octagonal extension by its side giving access to the interior. The cornerstone was laid on July 8, 1704. So that at the close of the period of which we are now treating, New Yorkers rejoiced in the possession of three church edifices of quite respectable appearance, besides the renovated chapel in the fort.

It is worthy of remark that three of the governors who ruled the Province and resided at New York during the period to which we have restricted ourselves in this chapter, belonged to the peerage of Great Britain: the Earl of Bellomont, Viscount Cornbury (who became Earl Clarendon before he left the country), and Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley. Of these the first and third were men of the highest character. Bellomont was in hearty sympathy with popular rights, and sided strongly with the Leislerian party. His integrity was full proof against the temptations to condone piracy and custom-house

evasions, to which Fletcher had succumbed. But of course his faithfulness to duty in these particulars hardly conduced to his popularity. Yet on his death in March, 1701, there was a universal expression of grief and appreciation of his real worth. In New England a fast day was appointed. The Earl was buried in a leaden coffin in the chapel in the fort, and in 1790, when the fort was taken down finally, the coffin was removed to St. Paul's churchyard. It is a curious coincidence that Lord Lovelace also met with his death at his post. He arrived in the winter of 1708-9, one of the severest in the history of our country and of Europe. His vessel having been driven up into Buzzard's Bay by a storm, he came down the Sound toward New York. But the ice in the East River was so solid that he was compelled to land at Flushing, take a long, slow ride through drifts of snow over Long Island roads to the ferry, and spend a tedious and chilling time crossing the ice-choked river. He was accompanied by his wife and three sons. Before five months were gone two of these sons and Lord Lovelace himself had fallen victims to some pulmonary complaint, perhaps pneumonia, contracted during these wintry experiences.

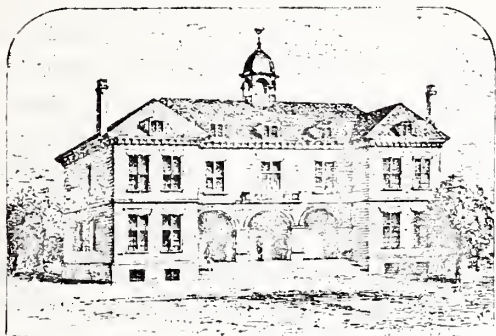
Of these three peers, of whom the two just mentioned were among the best governors ever sent over, Lord Cornbury enjoys the distinction of being by far the worst as Governor and the unworthiest as a man, who ever ruled this province. In 1702 King William III. was succeeded by Queen Anne, and Anne's mother was the sister of Lord Clarendon, Cornbury's father. This close relationship with royalty made him excessively vain. It had not prevented him from shamelessly deserting his uncle, James II. He exhibited the same utter absence of gratitude and common decency soon after his arrival. During the first summer of his residence in New York a pestilence visited the city. It is supposed to have been the earliest infliction of the yellow fever scourge so often destined to deplete our population, a ship from the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies spreading the contagion. Cornbury and family and all the Council fled to Jamaica, L. I. The pastor of the Presbyterian Church there, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, at once vacated his commodious parsonage to accommodate the Governor, contenting himself with more inconvenient quarters. A year or more later Cornbury gave orders to the Sheriff to dispossess the pastor and people of church and manse and glebe, and turn them over to the use of the Episcopal Church, on the ground that "the Church and Parsonage having been built by Public Act,"—i.e., the Assembly under Fletcher having given them permission, like the Dutch Church, to collect tithes from their members to finish the building and pay the minister,—"it could belong to none but the Church of England." It was not till 1728 that the Presbyterians got back their own again permanently. Of a piece with this exhibition of conscienceless bigotry was the imprisonment of two Presbyterian

ministers in New York in 1707. The Revs. John Hampton of Maryland and Francis Makemie of Virginia passed through the city on their way to Boston. The Presbyterians had as yet no church in New York, but held their services in private houses. But no sooner did the Dutch and French people learn of the presence in town of these two divines, than they at once offered them the use of their churches to preach in on the next Sunday, provided they would obtain the governor's consent. As they were licensed to preach in their respective provinces they declined to ask permission. Makemie preached at a private house in the city, and Hampton in the church at Newtown, L. I. For this they were cast into prison by Cornbury. Their trial resulted in their acquittal, but not till after they had suffered seven weeks of confinement. The proceeding wrought up the citizens of every persuasion to such a pitch of indignation that the cowardly Cornbury took fright, and sought to justify himself for his action before the Lords of Trade in England.

But the people of New York had far more serious complaints against their "noble" Governor. He was thoroughly corrupt in money matters. Funds raised by subscription among the citizens to erect fortifications at the Narrows and other points in the harbor, were fraudulently diverted by Cornbury to his own use. He contracted debts right and left, which he could not be made to pay while in office. Immediately upon his recall his creditors caused his arrest and imprisonment; but that is all the satisfaction they obtained; for while thus in prison his father died, making him Earl of Clarendon and a member of the House of Lords. He was now exempt by English law from being held for debt; and he took advantage of this law to leave the country without paying those whom he owed. Judge William Smith, a contemporary, in his history of New York sums up Cornbury's career in the following unmistakable terms: "We never had a Governor so universally detested, nor any who so richly deserves the public abhorrence. In spite of his noble descent, his behavior was trifling, mean, and extravagant. It was not uncommon for him to dress in a woman's habit, and then to patrol the fort in which he lived. Such freaks of low humor exposed him to the universal contempt of the whole people. Their indignation was kindled by his despotic rule, savage bigotry, insatiable avarice and injustice, not only to the public, but even his private creditors."

In 1700, the closing year of the seventeenth century, New York had a population of about forty-two hundred souls. The bounds formerly set to it by the palisades along Wall Street, had now been exceeded from time to time. Along Broadway, and Maiden Lane, and Nassau Street, houses were going up. And the appearance of these houses was very attractive. They were now mostly built of brick, of various colors sometimes, and tastefully or curiously arranged in blocks, or squares, or diamonds, of different lines. Garden Street Church and

Trinity on Broadway lent dignity to the growing city; and it was now felt that a municipal building of some pretension should take the place of the old City Hall which had done service since 1653, and was built for a tavern or hotel as long ago as 1642. It had become unfit for use, and the Courts and Council were accustomed to meet



CITY HALL, 1700.

at the house of a private citizen next door. Ex-Mayor Abraham De Peyster owned several lots on the north side of Wall Street, and he donated to the city one facing Broadway for the purpose of erecting a City Hall upon it. Funds were raised by selling the old building (bought by one John Rodman for 920 pounds) and mortgaging the ferry lease for fifteen years. Work was begun in 1699 and completed in 1700.

It stood on the site now occupied by the Sub-Treasury Building, was honored in being used as the first Capitol for the sessions of the Congress of the Republic, and here Washington was inaugurated in 1789. The original building was two stories high, with a portico between two projecting wings. On the second story were the rooms for the Common Council and the Provincial Council in either wing, while the court-room was in the central part. In the cellar were cells for the imprisonment of offenders.

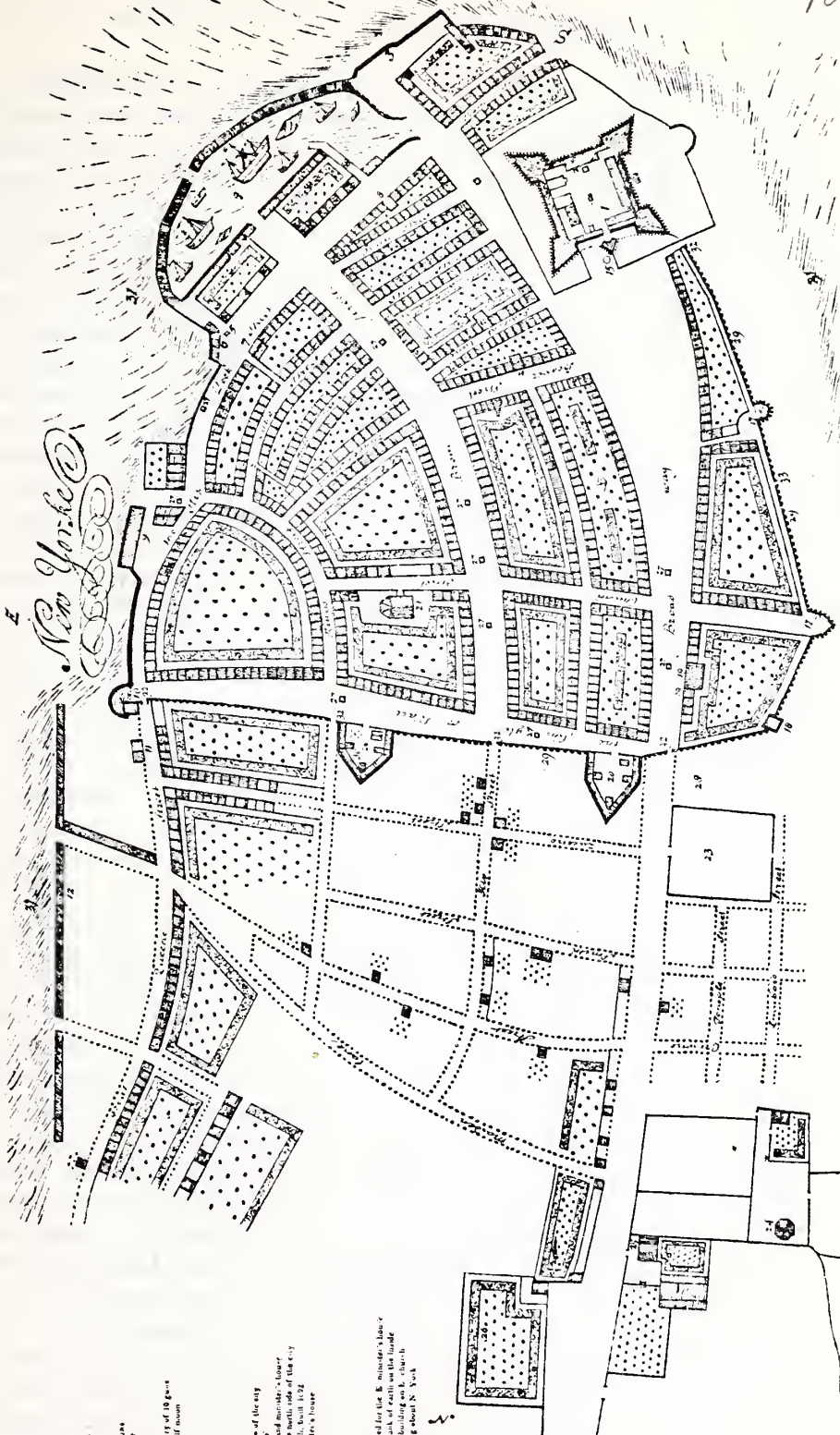
Scarce was this building a year old when it became the scene of a serious municipal contest, growing out of the division of the citizens into the two parties of the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. In the year 1700 Isaac De Riemer was Mayor. He was connected by ancestry with the Gouverneur family, and was himself of the Leisler party. In 1701 Thomas Noell, an anti-Leislerian, received the appointment of Mayor, and Abraham Gouverneur, now the husband of Mrs. Milborne, Leisler's daughter, was made Recorder. The election for Aldermen and Assistants in the various wards resulted in the undisputed election of anti-Leislerians in the Dock Ward, and of Leislerians in the Out Ward and North Ward. The results in the other three wards were doubtful and the returns close. The Leislerian candidates claimed the election, but fearing that the new Mayor would refuse to concede it and decline to administer the oaths, they had themselves sworn in by the retiring Mayor, who was of their party. Mayor Noell as promptly administered the oaths to the anti-Leislerian candidates of the disputed wards. Thus there were two sets of Councilmen who claimed to be duly inducted. No business could be done at the first session in October. In November matters had not

grown more pacific; twenty members instead of the proper twelve took their seats in the Council room, and business was again at a standstill. The Mayor now gave the decision into the hands of the Provincial Court, and the Chief Justice allayed the trouble in December by seating the Leislerian candidates of the East Ward, and the anti-Leislerians of the West and South Wards, leaving the Council evenly divided between the two parties.

Another echo of the fatal clash of parties earlier in this period was heard after the death of Bellomont. The Earl had taken decisive ground against the enemies of Leisler, and had himself honored by his presence the reburial of Leisler's and Milborne's remains in the Garden Street churchyard. But his hand was strong enough to restrain excessive reactionary vengeance on the part of those now in power. No sooner was he dead than the Leislerian majority in the Council and Assembly seized the opportunity to do violence to their old opponents. Robert Livingston was expelled from the Council, and his property confiscated, while Nicholas Bayard was arraigned for treason on the ground of a law he had himself been the means of enacting in order to condemn Leisler. On March 9, 1701, Bayard was convicted and sentenced to death. Yet it must have been intended to frighten him rather than really destroy him. The trial was allowed to linger on. A reprieve was granted so the King could be heard from, but yet not until a humiliating confession had been forced from him. There can be no doubt that Bayard was a coward, which may account for his cruelty in the case of Leisler. He cringed to the latter when his life seemed in danger in 1690, and was pardoned; he did the same thing now under the influence of terror and to save himself from death. The reprieve meant his eventual safety: for Cornbury came armed with instructions to release and restore him immediately upon his arrival in the province.

At the close of this period we have reached the end of the first full century since the discovery of the Hudson in 1609. Enormous as is the difference in conditions between 1710 and 1897, yet surely during that first round century great changes had also taken place. The lonely wilderness, echoing only to the song of birds or the whoop of the savage, now possessed evidences of civilization and cultivation in every direction. Upon Manhattan Island a compact town with nearly a thousand houses had established itself, containing a population of nearly six thousand souls, carrying on a brisk trade which filled her one dock or basin with small craft, and lined her yet limited shores with many a larger vessel. Encroachments upon the river had already commenced, and Water Street ran from Old Slip to John Street, rendering the old "Strand" along Pearl an inland thoroughfare, with houses on both sides. The paving of the streets began to be attended to. Usually broad, flat, and very red bricks were laid as a sidewalk nearest the houses. Then followed, on the same

New York C.



- 1 The chapel on the left
- 2 The officers' mess
- 3 The kitchen
- 4 The old dock
- 5 The new dock
- 6 The old dock
- 7 The old dock
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- 100 The old dock

avel, the pavement of cobble stones for the ruder traffic of wagons. The gutter was thereby placed in the middle of the street, conveying the rain to the fire-wells or cisterns in the center of Broad Street, Broadway, and Wall Street. While hogs were useful as scavengers, and served the city thus till far into the nineteenth century, yet even at this time the problem was also intrusted to human ingenuity, and men appointed (a woman, too, at one time) to see that garbage was removed. With comfort in travel by pavements, and cleanliness in looks, came also the desire for beauty, and people were permitted and encouraged to plant trees in front of their residences; but they must not endanger travel in the dark by putting up tie-posts. Against fire, protection was sought not only by the seven large cisterns, but fire wardens were appointed who were to keep a watchful eye on chimneys, and to take a look at the hearths inside the people's homes. These hearths, by the way, are worth a moment's attention. One who had access to many New York homes in 1704 writes of them with enthusiasm and admiration. "The Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, w^{ch} is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the piece over where the mantle tree should be is made as ours with Joyner's work, . . . the hearths were laid wth the finest tile that I ever see, . . . and so are the walls of the Kitchen w^{ch} had a brick floor." The price of building lots was about thirty pounds, and gradually the farms beyond Wall Street were being cut up into these. The city had not come quite as far as the Collect Pond yet, but a point of land jutting out into this deep and clear water was purchased by someone in 1703 for one hundred pounds. Ere the solitude was here broken the place was the resort of anglers or idlers or lovers of nature. The ferry to Long Island was a source of revenue to the city: it was usually leased for a term of years, and yielded a sum of from one to two hundred pounds per year. A ferry-house was built by the city at the landing-place on Long Island.

It was under Kieft in 1638 that negro slaves were first brought to New York City. There was hardly a family that did not have from half a dozen to a dozen or more in their service, as may be seen from a census of the year 1703. At the death of Frederick Philipse, the richest citizen, in 1702, an inventory showed that his household slaves counted forty. "White slaves" were also found in plenty; men or women who served out their passage money, or had bound themselves to service without pay for some other reason. Frequent cases of cruelty occurred against these; negroes and Indians were often wantonly put to death, so that royal governors were repeatedly instructed to forbid such murders and punish them with death. Negro slaves cost from thirty to thirty-five pounds at this period. The slave trade was made part of the pretext for sending out ships to Madagascar or on piratical errands. A slave-market was established at the foot of

Wall Street, in an old blockhouse, in 1709. It is greatly to the credit of Rector Vesey, of Trinity, that he opened a catechising school for negroes in 1704. Kindness, however, was not often resorted to. The citizens knew they were introducing a dangerous element into the midst, constituting nearly one-sixth of the population. Rules were made to hold the danger in check. Negroes and Indians were not allowed to collect in groups of more than three or four. They must not go abroad after dark without a lantern. It was to be expected that an outbreak would one day occur as it did some thirty years later, but many smaller acts of vengeance presaged the coming storm.

Educational interests were advanced by the establishment of a school among the English. The Bishop of London was petitioned to send out a schoolmaster, and in 1705 Andrew Clarke came over, part of the proceeds of the King's Farm being devoted to his support. But previously Cornbury and the Assembly had appointed George Muirson to the position. Other English teachers conducted private schools, and at least two schoolmasters are found among the French, one of whom also taught English. The bigotry of Cornbury led him to attempt interference with the Dutch in their maintenance of schools and appointment of teachers, but they had the subject too deeply at heart to be easily moved from their purpose in going on with that work. They appealed to their charter, and its provisions amply covered the case.

Many merchants and professional men had now accumulated a competence. They had fine residences on Broadway, or Broad Street or Wall; even the vicinity of the fort was still fashionable. In Stone Street resided John Harpending, the leather merchant, who gave a large tract of land to the Dutch Church, running from Broadway toward the East River between Fulton and John Streets, the latter a reminder of his Christian name. Augustus Jay, the grandfather of the great John Jay, a native of France, was living in town, having married the daughter of Balthazar Bayard. Caleb Heathcote, son of the Mayor of Chester in England, had come to this "wild country" to assuage a heartache, and found consolation in the love of the daughter of William Smith, called Tangier Smith to distinguish him from Judge William Smith. These, with many a Dutch merchant or patroon, dwelt in comfortable style in their old colonial mansions: not so closely packed together but that space was permitted to garden, or orchard, or lawn sloping down to the river's edge. They lived in a style of elegant abundance and generous hospitality. Strangers were ever welcome, the wide halls always open to receive them, and the boards groaning with cheer, five or six dishes ready to be served at any meal, choice beer and wine and cider to wash down the eatables. The Sabbath was not too strictly kept, yet decently, except perhaps in the suburbs, whither went forth the young rakes and roisterers, mayhap the wild crews of privateers or slavers or buccaneers.

who recked little of the laws of God or man. There some anxious observers saw not the "least footsteps of religion"; and Sabbaths were spent "in vain sports and lewd derision." But even in the city, gentlemen and ladies, the tradespeople and their dames, might be seen on fine Sunday afternoons walking out into the woods near the Collect Pond (where the Tombs Prison recently stood), or down toward the fort, to view the verdant shores of Jersey or Staten or Long Island, across the gleaming waters of the Bay. And as the pedestrians passed through the streets, they would see the residents seated on the stoops, ready for a chat or a genial word of cordial fellowship. The women loved finery, their fingers being beset with rings, and rich pendants of gold or jewels hanging from their ears, as in the fatherland. Sunday would be the day to display these choice possessions and adornments. And what harm? Without so much ostentation of piety as was thrust into view in other colonies, there was a greater moral soundness at the core. No better commentary can be desired on the genuine worth of these men and women of New York than the testimony of one who lived among them and had ample opportunities of comparing them with others. Not so strict in keeping the Sabbath, but—they "seem to deal with great exactness as far as I see or Deall with."

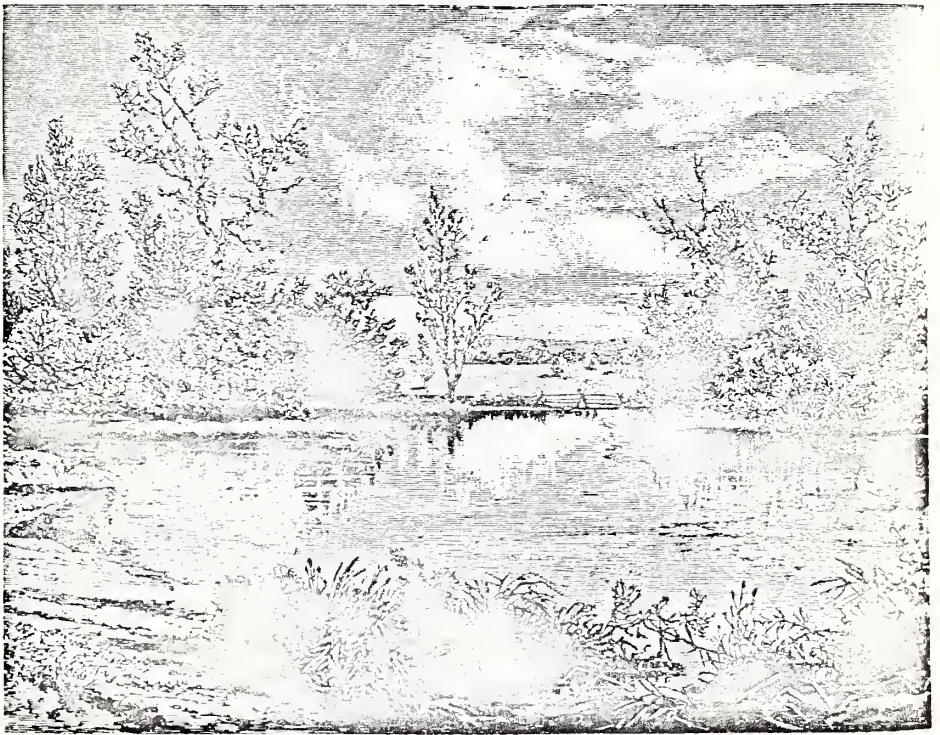
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CHAPTER V.

IMMIGRATION AND JOURNALISM.



It may seem somewhat irrelevant to make a point of immigration as marking any period in our city's history. Without the immigration of Europeans New York would never have been founded. It had of course grown to be what it was now at the epoch we have reached by reason of it. Hitherto, however, the influx of settlers had been from but two countries mainly:



THE COLLECT POND.

Holland and England. If Walloons or Huguenots had also come it was really through these two mother countries of the New York colony that they had first passed, having become denizens or citizens of these first. But now it becomes necessary to notice an immigration of a different sort: not from either of the two countries which might be expected to send forth colonists to a possession



PETER STUYVESANT.

Peter Stuyvesant

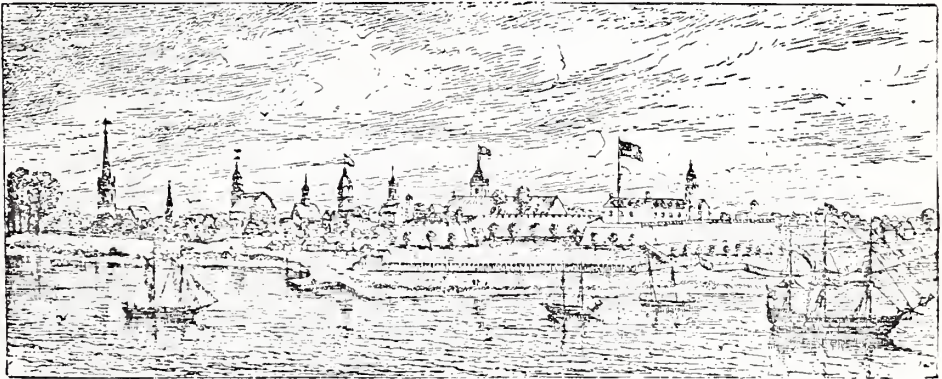
of their own. It was more like modern immigration; indeed the first wave of that which has since attained the proportions of a deluge, and from one of those many foreign countries that have sent their myriads to these shores during the present century. Germany, Ireland, Italy have successively and generously bestowed their subjects upon us, supplying our Republic in general with millions of more or less valuable citizens, aiding us in drawing forth our natural resources and converting them into wealth; and at the same time these tides of immigration have left large deposits upon the soil of Manhattan Island and vicinity. It is as the advance guard of that German immigration which has made Greater New York a city of the first rank among those with German populations, that the hitherto unprecedented number of immigrants suddenly precipitated within a brief period upon the colony and city early in the 18th century, becomes interesting and noteworthy.

These people all came from one province or section of Germany, the Pfalz or Palatinate. Any one who has stood before the gaping side of the "*Gesprengte Thurm*," or Blown-up Tower, of Heidelberg Castle looks upon one of the evidences of that vandalism and devastation which drove forth the Palatines from their homes. Louis XIV. bears the unenviable responsibility for much of the ruin of the splendid pile at Heidelberg. He laid waste the country in 1688. It had scarce recovered from the blow when war again raged throughout this region, until in 1704 the victory at Blenheim enabled Marlborough to force the French to retreat from Germany. The Palatinate was utterly exhausted and impoverished. For scores of years, until after the Revolution, the churches of Pennsylvania founded by these people had to be supported out and out by the churches of Holland. And in the midst of the war of the Spanish succession, "Queen Anne's War," with England at the head of the combined powers in their assault on France, it was natural that the suffering Palatines should look to England for relief. Thousands went over to England, and most of these asked to be transported to her colonies in America.

In June, 1708, a petition to that effect was laid before Queen Anne, signed by the Rev. Joshua Kochertal in behalf of many followers. Lord Lovelace had just been appointed Governor of New York, and fifty-five of these people, twenty-nine adults and twenty-six children, were bestowed among the three ships which formed the Governor's outfit for his journey. In 1709 some hundreds were sent over at a cost of from three to four pounds each for passage, besides being also supplied by the English Government with agricultural implements and building tools at the rate of forty shillings a piece.

When Governor Hunter arrived on July 14, 1710, he was accompanied by several vessels carrying a multitude of these Palatine refugees. Three thousand had embarked with him, distributed over ten vessels. They all sailed together from the harbor of Plymouth, but

they were soon scattered by a fierce storm, and they arrived at unequal times in New York Bay. Sickness of a contagious nature broke out on several vessels; three hundred and thirty people were ill on one vessel at one time; four hundred and seventy died before port was reached. Indeed, the Mayor and Common Council were so apprehensive of disease breaking out in the city from the landing of these people, that they requested the Provincial Council to order them to be placed on Governor's Island. Carpenters were hastily set at work building huts for their accommodation, and for quite a while the Palatines were kept in a sort of quarantine on this convenient spot. A month later Governor Hunter established courts there for their protection. A ship carrying tools, tents, and other supplies for these poor people was wrecked off Montauk Point. Thus it seemed as if disaster was bound to attend the enterprise from beginning to end. Ultimately the greater portion of this immigration was distributed among the river counties, Orange and Ulster and Dutchess. In course of time several forced their way into Schoharie County. But a great number also remained in and around New York. Sixty-eight young boys and girls were apprenticed to trades in New York and on Long Island. The large access of fellow-countrymen also enabled the Lutherans to build another church in lieu of the one Captain Colve had demolished. It was erected almost under the shadow of Trinity, on the corner of Rector Street and Broadway, where afterward Grace



NEW YORK IN BURNET'S DAY.

Church was built. When we reflect that the largest number of immigrants arriving at one time before this was one hundred in one ship, and that during the years 1657 to 1664, a period of unusually brisk immigration, the whole number of arrivals reached only 1,132, we can easily imagine that this sudden advent of three thousand persons at once must have created quite a sensation in the little town of six thousand inhabitants. In the proportion of population to immigration, such a startling accession has never taken place in our day, enormous as are the numbers that arrive from year to year.

It is curious to note that in Cooper's "Waterwitch," Governor Hunter—carefully designated by Cornbury as *Mr. Hunter*—is mentioned as the immediate successor of that disgraced and incarcerated peer. Evidently the short incumbency of the unfortunate Lord Lovelace had escaped the novelist altogether. But Cornbury's execrably bad conduct had had one good effect. It had unified parties in a common opposition to a government which disgusted and threatened all alike. Parties indeed divided again upon other lines, but not with memories so bitter and with hatred so deadly as had been the case when Leislerians and anti-Leislerians stood opposed to each other. A definite line of battle gradually marked itself out upon the question of granting supplies or salaries by the Assembly. The popular party insisted upon granting supplies of money only from year to year and with applications specified, thus fixing the salaries for Governor and other officials only per annum and by name, so that obnoxious persons were in danger of being left unpaid. The Governor's or Court Party wanted supplies granted in bulk and for a number of years at once. It was the beginning of the struggle which culminated in the resistance to the Stamp Act; it was the rooting in the thoughts and habits of the people of the principle, "No Taxation Without Representation," which had its issue in the Revolution and Independence. The refusal to grant supplies for government expenses or for defenses was often particularly annoying to the Royal Governors, because during several terms expeditions were regularly fitted out to attempt the conquest of Canada. Leisler's plan of campaign, which embraced the assembling of the colonial forces on the upper Hudson, and penetrating to the Canadian frontier along Lakes George and Champlain, was usually the one adopted in subsequent efforts. But these were uniformly unsuccessful, even when the plan was made to include a naval expedition up the St. Lawrence. Such a campaign was organized with much *clat* under Lord Lovelace, and undertaken immediately after his death. Again under Governor Hunter another one was entered upon. And then the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 put a stop to hostilities for a time. In all these military enterprises New York City bore her part well, sending men to the front and contributing moneys as required. In connection with these events occurred the first introduction of paper money into the city. Sums of ten or twelve thousand pounds were occasionally voted by the Assembly, and bills of credit issued for future redemption.

Like every other governor, General Hunter found that his position was not a bed of roses; at least the thorns were quite enough in evidence to suit him. But he possessed a pleasant wit, and was never more happy in his sallies, as he wrote to his friend Dean Swift or others, than when he was most annoyed. At one time he and Chief-Justice Lewis Morris, a congenial spirit, composed a farce together entitled "Androborus," which hit off the peculiarities of some of their

opponents in a lively fashion. Hunter was a self-made man in many ways, typical of American public men in later times. He was an apothecary's apprentice when the notion took him to enter the army. He did so with no money or influence, as a private, but rose by merit and conduct and the charm of his mental and social qualities from the ranks, attaining the grade of Brigadier-General. He had no mean literary aptitudes, and corresponded on terms of intimacy with some of the foremost wits of the day. He was a decided accession to the social life of the city, and added much to its intellectual tone. But in this he was exceeded by his successor, Governor William Burnet. He was the son of the famous Bishop Burnet, favorite of William III. While not educated for the church, Governor Burnet was very fond of theological studies. He ventured upon disputes with theologians with great temerity, promulgated in book form some theories as to the interpretation of Daniel's prophecies, and took it upon himself to judge of the fitness of young men desiring a license to preach. He would give them a text and shut them up in a room to evolve a sermon out of it in a given time, and if they did not come up to the mark,

he would refuse to pass them. But his tastes were also scientific; he possessed a telescope and prepared papers on astronomical subjects, and by careful observations fixed the exact latitude and longitude of Fort George. While thus mentally equipped, he was none the less fond of society, and the Governor's mansion became the center of much social activity. This was the more naturally the case, in that the Governor had placed himself in very intimate relations with the families of his capital. He came to New York a young, unmarried man. Soon after his arrival he met and fell in love with the daughter of one of the prominent and wealthy



MRS. WILLIAM BURNET.

Dutch merchants, Miss Anne Marie Van Horne. Her father was Abraham Van Horne, whose residence and store were located in Wall Street, and her mother was a daughter of David Provoost, who was Mayor of the city in 1699, and whose wife was a daughter of Johannes De Peyster. Thus the Governor allied himself to the very cream of the Dutch and Huguenot element, and no doubt there was much rejoicing among them when in the early summer of 1721 the marriage

was consummated. Unfortunately the happy union was not of long duration. At the birth of the second child, in 1727, Mrs. Burnet died.

In spite of some difficulties with prominent individuals and annoying contests with the Assembly, which was a thorn in the side to so many Governors, Burnet liked his position and was desirous of retaining it. But on the death of King George I. and the accession of George II. he was removed to Massachusetts, and a favorite of the new King, who had been his groom of the bed chamber while Prince of Wales, was given the governorship of New York.

The new Governor was Colonel John Montgomerie, a Scotchman of good character but somewhat dull parts. He was modestly conscious of his deficiencies, and ingratiated himself with the refractory Assembly by making no claims for unspecified supplies, and by avoiding the exercise of the functions of a Chancellor, which Burnet was fond of doing, but which the popular party regarded as an infringement upon their privileges and liberties. As a result Montgomerie had no controversies with the legislature, and they granted him supplies for a number of years at once, a thing they had persistently refused to do for Lovelace, Hunter, and Burnet. But this reign of peace was unfortunately of short duration, for Montgomerie died suddenly on the morning of July 1, 1731. It is not definitely stated what was the cause of this sudden demise. But during that summer the smallpox was raging in the city, carrying away five hundred victims out of its population of not more than nine thousand. It is more than likely that in those days of primitive sanitary arrangement, the disease could not be kept from attacking even the inmates of the Governor's mansion.

Brief as was his occupancy of the Governor's chair, Montgomerie's name has become identified with one of the now numerous charters of New York City. In 1708, or twenty-two years after the charter granted by Dongan in 1686, one was granted under Cornbury, referring, however, exclusively to the matter of ferry privileges. Twenty-two years after that, or in 1730, a third charter of considerable importance, and covering every point of municipal government or interest, was submitted for approval to the Provincial Council. It was referred to a committee of which the chairman was the lawyer James Alexander, the father of General Lord Stirling, of Revolutionary fame, the hero of the battle of Long Island. The Council on August 13, 1730, unanimously voted to grant the charter, and the Governor signed it. It needed now only what the Dongan charter never obtained, the sign and seal of the Royal hand. But there seems to be some question as to whether the present charter was more fortunate in this respect than the earlier one. Diligent search has failed to find a record of any action in regard to the charter by the King or his Council or his Ministers in England. As late as 1732 Governor Cosby is found writing to England, advising against the approval of the charter, and in the collection of colonial documents published by the State there is a

letter from the Lords of Trade still later asking for a copy of it. Nevertheless, after an interval of about six months, giving time enough for a transmission of the charter back and forth to England, there took place a public ceremony and formal presentation of the charter by the Provincial Council to the city authorities. This occurred on February 11, 1731, or exactly a year before the birth of Washington, by the Old Style.

On that day Robert Lurting, Mayor, Frederick Harrison, Recorder, the Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen, proceeded in a body from their room in the City Hall to that occupied by the Governor and Council. The Mayor stepped forward, received the instrument from the hands of Governor Montgomerie, and took the oaths of office anew. He thereupon naming Alderman John Cruger for the new office of Deputy-Mayor, the Governor was graciously pleased to appoint him, and administered the oath of office at once. This done, the Recorder came forward and read an address of thanks signed by all the members of the corporation, the main purport of which was that the goodness of the Governor had induced the corporation to select this time for petitioning for a charter. He replied in the following brief and well-chosen words: "I am very glad that it has been in my power to promote the prosperity and interest of the City of New York, which I believe I have effectually done by now delivering to your Mayor the King's royal and most gracious charter. It gives me great satisfaction my being fully assured that the officers named in the charter are fit for their respective trusts and will do their duty with a strict regard for his Majesty's service and the good of the city." It would seem from this speech, if the Council minutes are to be depended upon for its exact verbal reproduction, as if the document had actually been signed by the King, thus making it his "royal and most gracious charter."

An attempt was made to secure the privilege of electing the appointive officers, Mayor, Recorder, Sheriff, Coroner, Town Clerk; but this provision was struck out, and they remained appointive as before. There was an addition of one ward to the six defined by the Dongan charter. Naturally it was parceled out of the immense Out Ward, running along the East River, and bounded on the West by the old North Ward, now also extended beyond Wall Street. The jurisdiction of the city was extended not only over all of Manhattan Island, but was made to cover also all the opposite surrounding shores of Westchester and Long Island as far as low-water mark. The officials of the corporation, besides the Mayor and his deputy, were enumerated as one Recorder, seven Aldermen, seven Assistants, one Sheriff, one Coroner, one Common Clerk, one Chamberlain, one High Constable, sixteen Assessors, seven Collectors, sixteen Constables, and one Marshal. Wharves or docks were to be forty feet wide, both for the convenience of trade and for the planting of cannon in case of war

The quit-rent was made ten shillings higher than formerly. The Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen were regarded as equivalent to Justices of the Peace for city and county. The Mayor, Recorder, and three of the Aldermen were to be a committee with power to administer oaths to citizens, and to grant the freedom of the city, either as a compliment or for a regulated price. A few years before this the price was placed at twenty shillings for a merchant or trader, and six shillings for a mechanic. A Court of Common Pleas was constituted by the Mayor, or Deputy, with two or more Aldermen. Without going into any further details, it need only be said that this charter continued to be the basis of the city government and municipal privileges for many years and through many political changes, with but few modifications. Chancellor Kent, in 1836, said of it: "It remains to this day with much of its original form and spirit, after having received by statute such modifications and such a thorough enlargement in its legislative, judicial, and executive branches, as were best adapted to the genius and wants of the people, and to the astonishing growth and still rapidly increasing wealth and magnitude of the city."

From a map published in 1728 we can obtain a pretty accurate idea of what the city was like at the time of the granting of the Montgomerie charter. The west side of the city is still for the most part an unoccupied and barren shore. It was only just five years before that steps were taken looking toward the laying out of Greenwich Street and Washington Street, and the tide waters at high-water and low-water marks were boldly invaded, on paper. But not till several years after this period was the scheme carried out. On the East River side there was the great circular basin, out into which jutted a pier from the foot of Broad Street. From Old Slip to the foot of Wall Street ran Hunter's Key (*i.e.*, Quay), and from Wall Street to the foot of Crown (Liberty) Street, extended Burnet's Key; both of them wharves for the reception of merchandise, but parallel, not at right angles, to the shore line. Pearl Street began where it does now, but it was called Dock Street from Whitehall to Hanover Square, and beyond Wall till it was lost in the country at Franklin Square, it went by the name of Queen Street. William Street was Smith Street as far as Maiden Lane, beyond which it bore its present name. Beyond Wall Street there were now several streets crossing Nassau, then called Kip Street north of Fulton. First came King, now Pine; then Little Queen, now Cedar; then Crown, now Liberty. Maiden Lane and John Street were then as now, but John east of William was called Golden Hill, a name destined to become historic in the ante-Revolutionary agitations. Fulton Street was Fair Street then; Beekman and Frankfort Streets were in their places; but beyond these all was country, the road to Boston running along the line of Park Row. On the other side of Broadway the outermost thoroughfare was Old Windmill Lane, and seems to have occupied the place of Cortlandt and Dey Streets in its crooked progress

to the River; and where Crown and Little Queen (Liberty and Cedar) streets opened on the River, there were a couple of docks running out into the water. The fort and vicinity were in much the same condition as formerly, only from the plan we notice that the blocks along the old streets were pretty solidly built up. The price of lots in the heart of the city reached about an average of £260 each. The houses were now nearly all of brick, but still with their pointed gables, crow-stepped or straight sides, facing the street.

The city in appearance and population was still decidedly and prevalently Dutch. And upon the death of Governor Montgomerie the hearts of the majority of the inhabitants were gratified by the fact that the Government fell into the hands of the oldest member of the Council, who happened to be an out-and-out Dutchman, Rip Van Dam. He and his wife were duly inscribed upon the membership roll of the Dutch Reformed Church, and their fifteen children helped to fill up the pages of the Baptismal Register of the same body. He was



RIP VAN DAM.

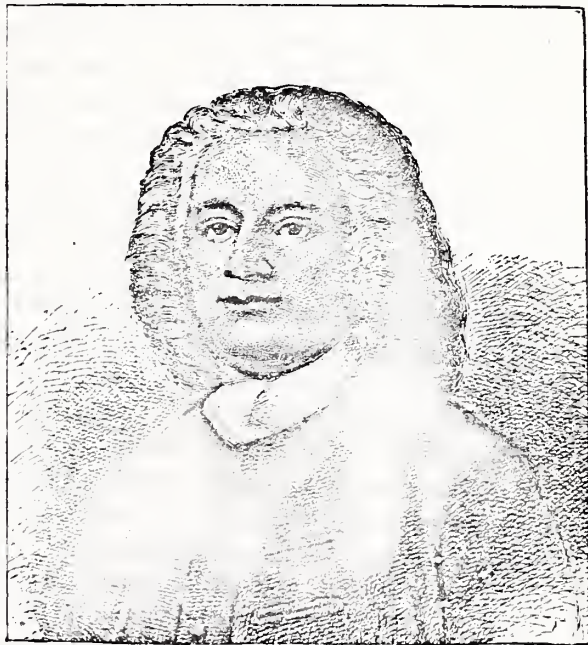
not even over-familiar with the official language. Of him and a fellow Dutchman in the Council it was said regarding their knowledge of English: "If they understand the common discourse, 'tis as much as they do." He was born at Albany some sixty years before this, but came to New York at the age of twenty, where, after some experience as a seafaring man, a captain of trading vessels, some of which he came to own, he settled down to mercantile business on land, and became very prosperous. He appears to have been opposed to Leisler, but took no prominent part in affairs until he was appointed to Cornbury's Council in 1702, twenty-nine years before. By virtue of this long service he was President of the Council, and at the

death of the Governor it devolved upon him as such to act as Chief Magistrate until the arrival of the new appointee. As this did not occur till August, 1732, the Dutch people particularly, and the colony in general, were gratified at the spectacle of seeing one of their own number exercising virtually the functions of Governor for more than a year. It would have been better if the English Government had left things as they were; but it was their policy to rather intrust with power the unworthiest and most incapable Englishman than the most efficient and upright colonist.

William Cosby was one of the poor specimens of Governors sent over with such exasperating frequency. He had a clouded reputation

as a result of some financial transactions while he was Governor of the Island of Minorca. He was unscrupulous in his greed for money, and recklessly tyrannical in setting aside colonial privileges, outraging the sense of justice and fairness in court functions. He had no sooner arrived than he demanded of Van Dam one-half of his salary as Acting Governor. While in England Cosby had already received fees and perquisites to the amount of several thousand pounds as Governor of New York before ever exercising its duties, and Van Dam agreed to divide the salary if Cosby would also divide these fees. He would not listen to such a proposal, and when Van Dam declined to share his well-earned salary the Governor instituted a suit against him.

It has already been observed that a Court of Chancery (with the Governor as presiding Judge, and two Councilors as assistant Judges) had been vigorously resented by the popular party of the Assembly as a serious threat to their liberties. Burnet, otherwise amiable and worthy, was very fond of exercising the functions of Chancellor, and his persistence in doing so had made him very unpopular, and had contributed to his removal. Cosby defied the sentiment of the people and instituted the Court anew, himself presiding, with Councilors



WILLIAM SMITH.

James De Lancey and Adolph Philipse, his close adherents, as assistants. Mr. Van Dam objected to the case against him being tried by a Court so constituted, of which the presiding Judge himself was the party chiefly interested and the very one bringing the suit. His counsel were William Smith, the father of the earliest historian of New York, and James Alexander, mentioned a few pages before, both eminent lawyers, who had settled in New York some fourteen or fifteen years before and had won for themselves reputation and wealth. These men pressed Van Dam's plea that the Court had no right to try him. The Chief-Justice of the Province was Lewis Morris, another name destined to prominence in American history.

He had been brought up by an uncle on his estate across the Harlem, known by the name of Morrisania. Tired of a humdrum life, he ran away from home when still a boy, got stranded at Jamaica, had but indifferent success at making a living there, and finally returned home, where he was pardoned by his uncle, who induced him to marry, and settled him on an estate. He had picked up considerable knowledge of books and men, was found to be a congenial companion by Governor Hunter, by whom he was made Chief Justice of the Province of New York. His friendship with Burnet had been equally warm. Cosby was not quite sure how he stood with regard to himself; but when Morris felt compelled to favor Van Dam's plea, and to deny the jurisdiction of the Governor as judge in a suit instituted by himself for the recovery of funds, Cosby marked him for vengeance. He removed him from his office without notice to himself, or without consent or even the notification of the Council, by whose joint action with the Governor the removal could alone have been legitimately effected. To the office thus summarily made vacant he appointed James De Lancey, another name of weight in colonial history. He was a young man as yet, the son of Stephen De Lancey, a member of the Huguenot Church, who had attained wealth as a merchant, and had served in the Council. James was educated at the University of Cambridge, came back to New York in 1725, began the practice of law, and in Montgomerie's time succeeded John Barbarie (whence Cooper doubtless gets his "la Belle Barbérie") as member of Council on the latter's death. Espousing the cause of Cosby for reasons best known to himself, he had now received his reward in being elevated to the Chief Justiceship. It was not to be expected that the people of New York would tamely bear these arbitrary proceedings on the part of their Governor. Their Assembly had humbled stronger and better men than he. His utter unscrupulousness and recklessness as to measures were in his favor for a while, but the indignation of a whole population could not be long defied with impunity. Public opinion found expression even thus early by means of the press. The aid of the incipient but courageous journalism of the day was summoned in support of the popular cause, and its bold stand on the side of civil liberty led to a glorious triumph for the cause of the freedom of the press.

On October 16, 1725, William Bradford, whom we saw appointed Government Printer at New York in 1693, issued the first number of a weekly newspaper which he called the *New York Gazette*. The news from abroad, the home news, and the advertisements, covered just two pages, or one-half a sheet, of foolscap size. It was a memorable undertaking, although the example had been already set by other cities, and speaks well for the enterprising spirit of Bradford, who was now sixty-two years old. Success attending his modest ven-

in 1726 the paper was enlarged to four pages, or a full sheet of folio. But naturally, being in government employ, Bradford would not allow anything to be printed in this sheet reflecting on His Majesty's representative. So the paper afforded no vehicle for the expression of popular indignation that was rising to a fever heat against Cosby. As already seen, some men of the keenest wit and brightest intellect, as well as legal learning and political experience, had been placed in a position of antagonism to the Governor. Morris, Smith, Alexander, were men who could wield a trenchant pen, and whose information on the lines of attack that suggested themselves was full and varied. President Van Dam, and a host of his admirers, possessed ample means, as well as a willingness to join in an attack on the government; and the combination of brains and capital soon resulted in the starting of a second weekly newspaper. There was another printer in town. John Peter Zenger had come over as a lad in 1710 with the Palatines. He had been apprenticed to Bradford, served out a period of eight years, and had later set up in business for himself. His printing office was located in "Stone Street, near the fort," that is, not far from the corner of Whitehall. He was heartily in sympathy with the popular cause against the Governor's party, and backed by money and the ready supply of "copy" by men of ability and influence, he was easily induced to fall in with the design of publishing a paper in opposition to that of his former master. So on November 5, 1733, appeared the first number of the *New York Journal*. Morris, Alexander, and Smith, gathered a few kindred spirits about them into a sort of club, which met weekly, and at this meeting the articles were discussed and decided on. As was the custom then and long afterward writers wrote over *nommes-de-plume*, selecting for these the names of classic personages, or Latin terms expressive of their feelings. On November 12, 1733, in the second number, we find a certain "Cato" asking "Mr. Zenger" to "insert the following in your next," which was this of November 12, "Monday." It was an essay setting forth the importance of the "Liberty of the Press." A lively war of wit was waged with pen and printer's ink for about a year. Personalities occur, for wit was not delicate in those days. Harrison, the City Recorder, strongly sided with Governor Cosby. He was called a monkey. The Governor himself was not handled with care. It having been contended that rulers deserve respect, the retort was: "If all governors are to be revered why not the Turk, and old Muley, or Nero?" The town was thrown into a tumult because of a letter found on James Alexander's doorstep threatening destruction to him and his household. The *Journal* printed the letter and bluntly declared that Harrison wrote it. Harrison declared that Alexander wrote it himself to discredit his opponents. Cosby offered a reward of fifty pounds for information as to the author, while Zenger was threatened with a beating for printing

THE
New - York Weekly JOURNAL

Containing the freshest Advices, Foreign, and Domestick.

MUNDAY November 12, 1733.

Mr. Zenger.

Insert the following in your next,
and you'll oblige your Friend,

CATO.

*Mira temporum felicitas ubi sentiri quæ
velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet.*

TACIT.

THE Liberty of the Press is a Subject of the greatest Importance, and in which every Individual is as much concern'd as he is in any other Part of Liberty: Therefore it will not be improper to communicate to the Publick the Sentiments of a late excellent Writer upon this Point: such is the Elegance and Perspicuity of his Writings, such the inimitable Force of his Reasoning, that it will be difficult to say any Thing new that he has not said, or not to say that much worse which he has said.

There are two Sorts of Monarchies, an absolute and a limited one. In the first, the Liberty of the Press can never be maintained, it is inconsistent with it; for what absolute Monarch would suffer any Subject to animadvert on his Actions, when it is in his Power to declare the Crime, and to nominate the Punishment? This would make it very dangerous to exercise such a Liberty. Besides the Object against which those Pens must be directed, is

their Sovereign, the sole supream Magistrat; for there being no Law in those Monarchies, but the Will of the Prince, it makes it necessary for his Ministers to consult his Pleasure, before any Thing can be undertaken: He is therefore properly chargeable with the Grievances of his Subjects, and what the Minister there acts being in Obedience to the Prince, he ought not to incur the Hatred of the People; for it would be hard to impute that to him for a Crime, which is the Fruit of his Allegiance, and for refusing which he might incur the Penalties of Treason. Besides, in an absolute Monarchy, the Will of the Prince being the Law, a Liberty of the Press to complain of Grievances would be complaining against the Law, and the Constitution, to which they have submitted, or have been obliged to submit; and therefore in one Sense, may be said to deserve Punishment. So that under an absolute Monarchy, I say, such a Liberty is inconsistent with the Constitution, having no proper Subject in Politics, on which it might be exercis'd, and if exercis'd would incur a certain Penalty.

But in a limited Monarchy, as *England* is, our Laws are known, fixed and established. They are the streigh Rule and sure Guide to direct the King, the Ministers, and other his Subjects: And therefore an Offence against the Laws is such an Offence against the Constitution as ought to receive a proper adequate Punishment; the *Levee*

Consist

And thus the heat of party strife grew ever more intense: there must be an explosion soon.

Late in September, 1734, occurred the elections for Aldermen and Assistants. Now the hatred of faction had a chance of exhibiting itself at the polls, and at the same to show on whose side was the greater number. The contest was decided in favor of the popular party. All but one Alderman or Assistant of that side were elected, so that Cosby had but one man left in the Common Council who was on his side. As might be expected, the victory was celebrated without moderation in the columns of the *New York Journal*. Thereupon Cosby and his party threw aside all caution. By a series of high-handed proceedings they undertook to punish Zenger and to silence his paper, hoping thus to quench forever the freedom of the press. First James De Lancey, the Chief Justice, demanded an indictment of Zenger from the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury paid no attention to the demand. Next Cosby called upon the Council to move in the matter. He could not depend on the Provincial Assembly. Cosby refused to dissolve it for fear of getting one with a majority against him; but yet he called it together very rarely, preferring to do his own legislating without let or hindrance. The Council was more subservient, obeying his behest and sending a message to the "lower house" anent Zenger's "scurrilous" effusions. But Morris was in the Assembly, and the complaint of the Council was "laid on the table." Emboldened by these impotent efforts to harm them, the contributors to the *Journal* tried their hands at poetry. Two ballads appeared, having for their subject the recent election. They must have been of a very pointed character. It threw De Lancey once more into a rage, and he now procured a presentment against them from the Grand Jury. The numbers containing them were ordered to be burned by the hangman at the place of execution; and it was done. Encouraged by this slight advantage, the Governor's Council next ordered Nos. 7, 47, 48, 49, of the *Journal* to be similarly burned, in the presence of the Common Council of the city. The Aldermen refused to obey the mandate, and even forbade the hangman to burn the papers, so the act was performed on November 2, 1734, by the Sheriff's negro servant, in the presence of no one but Recorder Harrison and a couple of his friends and a few soldiers.

And now came the supreme move on the part of the Governor, which was only to prepare for him a supreme discomfiture. Zenger was arrested on November 17, 1734. The Grand Jury would find no indictment against him, so Attorney-General Bradley, like De Lancey a creature of Cosby's, filed an *information* for libel, and on the strength of this the Governor's Council ordered Zenger's arrest. He was imprisoned in the common jail, in the basement or ground floor of the City Hall. A *habeas corpus* was procured, and his deliverance on bail demanded, but the prosecutors put the bail at an exorbitant figure;

four hundred pounds down, and two sureties besides at two hundred pounds each. Thus Zenger languished in prison until the Grand Jury could be induced to bring an indictment. This it finally and formally refused to do on January 28, 1735. Zenger should then have been set free. But his enemies were not yet through with him. The Attorney-General was at once ready with a new charge based upon Nos. 13 and 23 of the *Journal*, in which was alleged to have been printed by him a matter that was "false, scandalous, and seditious." So there was to be a trial after all before the Court over which James De Lancey presided. On April 16, 1735, the case came up. Zenger's counsel—none other, of course, than Smith and Alexander, began by calling in question the legitimacy of the Judge, Morris having been removed and De Lancey appointed by the mere willful act of the Governor without consent of Council. They were right beyond dispute, but the Chief Justice perforce must cover up one act of despotism by another. He disbarred the two lawyers, a checkmating move on the chessboard against the popular party, apparently, for thus Zenger was left without defense. There was only one other lawyer in town, Joseph Murray, and he was retained by the government. But Zenger's friends, as will be seen, were equal to the emergency. There was a long detention in prison for him still in store, but he was a champion worthy of the cause. With indomitable resolution he conducted his paper from his prison cell, whispering directions to his journeymen through a hole in the cell door. At last the preliminaries of the trial were set for late in July, a counsel, John Chambers, was appointed for the prisoner by the court, a jury was selected by a process which made it a "struck jury," and on August 4, 1735, the prisoner was brought to the bar. His counsel pleaded "Not Guilty," and the argument began. The passages complained of were read; they represented a citizen of New York who was about to remove permanently to Pennsylvania, giving his reasons for his change of abode. In New York liberty and property were in danger; the people were sinking into slavery; judges were removed without cause; new courts erected in arbitrary fashion; trial by jury set aside, and an official information made sufficient to convict; deeds were destroyed, leaving valuable property at the mercy of the authorities. (This last outrage Cosby had perpetrated toward certain landholders of Albany.) The Attorney-General called such language "false, scandalous, and seditious." When he had finished his speech there was a stir in the courtroom, and a venerable figure rose and came forward to address the jury. Smith and Alexander had prepared a genuine surprise for the Court and Governor, for this aged man, bearing the weight of eighty years, was none other than Andrew Hamilton, of Philadelphia, the foremost lawyer and forensic orator in the colonies. He announced that he appeared for Zenger, the defendant in the cause. "And," he added, "I'll save Mr. Attorney the trouble of examining

witnesses; we admit the publication of the papers." Bradley thereupon exclaimed: "Then the verdict must be for the King." "Not so, neither, Mr. Attorney," quickly responded the aged lawyer, "you have something more to do; the words must be proven libelous." This would have been a dangerous expedient for Court and Governor; it would have too glaringly exposed the ugly facts of the case, and the illegitimacy of their own actions. Hence Chief-Justice De Lancey refused to allow the bringing of witnesses to prove that the passages complained of were correct. He claimed that the truth of a libel made it none the less a libel, nay, a worse one. This was an out-and-out Star-Chamber principle, as Hamilton reminded him, for it was the undoubted privilege of Englishmen to complain of unjust government and oppression. "But," he went on, "since his honor refuses us the liberty to prove our case, to you, gentlemen of the jury, we must now appeal as witnesses of the facts; you are to be judges now both of the law and of the facts." He thereupon set out to explain this point to the jury, exhorting them as men and citizens to bear in mind what was at stake; how the government had sought in every way to hedge in and cover its iniquitous acts by illegitimate court and civil proceedings, till, to save the cause of liberty, they must go outside of mere technicalities and judge of the merits of the case, and the reality of the facts complained of in the papers, in order to arrive at a verdict whether or not the prisoner were guilty of libel, or had spoken the truth; a truth which had need of being spoken to save an oppressed people from being utterly undone. In conclusion the venerable counselor said: "I am truly unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts. And you see I labor under the weight of many years, and am borne down by many infirmities of body; yet, old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if required to go to the utmost part of the land, where my service could be of any use in assisting to quench the flame of prosecutions upon informations set on foot by the government to deprive a people of the right of remonstrating (and complaining, too) against the arbitrary attempts of men in power." Then reminding them that the cause before them was not the cause of a poor printer, or even of New York, but "of every freeman upon the main of America," he ended with this prophetic peroration: "I make no doubt but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle you to the love and esteem of your fellow-citizens, but every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the attempts of tyranny, and, by an impartial and incorrupt verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to which nature and the laws of our country have given us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing arbitrary power in these parts of the world, at least by speaking and writing truth."

When these noble words had ceased to flow from the aged lips an

outburst of pent-up feeling came from the crowd that thronged the courtroom. Bradley made a brief reply, very tame and ineffectual by the side of what had just been spoken. Chief-Justice De Lancey attempted to persuade the jury that they were no judges of the law, and the facts not having been proved, the verdict must go against the accused. But Hamilton's immortal plea for the cause of liberty and the freedom of the press was too much for the technical objections of a judge notoriously prejudiced. Only a few minutes were required for the jury to come to a unanimous verdict. They came back to the courtroom. With breathless anxiety the crowd awaited the announcement, and when the words "Not Guilty" were uttered, tremendous applause and loud huzzas drowned the voice of the remonstrating judge. Hamilton was fairly carried from the building. On



ANDREW HAMILTON.

this and the next day he was honored by banquets. The freedom of the city in a gold box was presented to him by the Common Council, and when he set forth on his return to Philadelphia, the thunder of cannon bore salutes to him as his barge left the shores of Manhattan.

Thus Cosby had given occasion to a grand vindication of the freedom of the press. Zenger went back to his office in Stone Street and continued to publish the *New York Journal* until his death in 1746. It was then conducted by his widow and son, John Zenger, until the year 1752. In the meantime the *New York Gazette* had

undergone some changes. Bradford was still living in 1743, being at that time eighty years old, and he lived ten years after that, but about that year he gave up publishing his newspaper. It was continued then by one James Parker, who published it under the double title of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy*.

The despotic Cosby did not long survive the famous trial. It is said that he suffered from consumption, and in March, 1736, he died. But he left a legacy of trouble even after his decease. Some months before, anticipating his end, he had called his Council secretly around him in his sick chamber and announced that he had suspended Rip Van Dam from the Council. It was again an act utterly unwarranted and illegal. No governor had a right to suspend or dismiss a member

from his Council in this summary manner. After his death Van Dam proceeded to take his place as usual at the Council table. Being President by virtue of his long term of office, he expected to act as Governor as he had done after the death of Montgomerie. What was his amazement when he was informed that he was no longer a member, and that George Clarke, formerly Secretary, had been made President by the late Governor. Van Dam was not the man to submit tamely, and he had almost the entire population at his back. When Clarke appointed the Mayor and other city officers in September, Van Dam made his own appointments, Cornelius Van Horne as Mayor, and William Smith, Recorder. Each claimant appointed also a Sheriff and Coroner. Clarke retired within the fort and fell back upon the garrison. Van Dam felt quite as secure in the support of the people and the train-bands. It looked as if nothing short of civil war could come from the strained situation. But finally on October 30, 1736, word was received from the Lords of Trade that Clarke had been appointed Lieutenant-Governor until a suitable man could be found for Governor. Clarke remained in office several years, as it was not till 1743 that Cosby's successor arrived in the city. He earnestly sought to allay the passions aroused by the previous administration; but by making too obvious an attempt to please both sides, he drew down upon himself the displeasure rather than the favor of either. The years of his government passed along without such fierce partisan conflicts as had disturbed municipal harmony in the days of the Zenger trial, but it was during his term that the city was shaken to its foundations by a terrible event of quite another nature. This was the famous Negro Plot of 1741.

There was a preliminary negro scare twenty-nine years before, in 1712. Though it did not excite the town nearly so much as the later one, there was really more cause for alarm, and considerably more of a plot. On April 6, some twenty to twenty-five negroes met in the orchard of a Mr. Crooke, in Maiden Lane. An outhouse was set on fire, and when a number of citizens ran to the place to put out the flames, the negroes fired upon them, killing nine persons and wounding six. Those who escaped ran to the fort and gave the alarm that a plot was on foot by the negroes to kill the whites, in revenge for ill treatment. Governor Hunter took prompt action, sent a body of soldiers to the scene of the massacre, beset the points of egress from the island, and ordering out the militia the woods were beaten for the fugitives, who had taken to them at the first sign of the approach of the troops. Twenty-one of the poor wretches were caught and executed in various barbarous ways: hanged, broken on the wheel, burned at the stake, hung in chains and left to starve. Six committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the avenging whites.

Slavery was a firmly rooted institution in New York as in the other colonies, and the slave trade one in which great profits were realized,

such as even royal persons deigned to share. In 1713 an English company was organized to which was granted the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with negro slaves for thirty years, one-quarter of whose stock was held by Philip V. of Spain, and another quarter by the humane and gentle Queen Anne of England. The agreement was to furnish one hundred and forty-four thousand slaves inside that term. Every householder of any means possessed a number of slaves for the ordinary domestic services. As has been stated, an inventory of Frederick Philipse's estate showed as many as forty negroes; William Smith had twelve in his house; others had more or less. On the plantations in the Out Ward, or on Long Island, Staten Island, or in Westchester, troops of slaves did the work required. Sometimes as many as one hundred and eighty negroes were imported into the city in one year. Prices varied from forty to fifty and even seventy-five pounds per head. Even white men and women sold themselves into a sort of slavery for debt, or to pay back advanced passage money; but this, of course, was not at all like the absolute and permanent and hopeless slavery of the blacks. Neither was it permitted to mal-



SLAVE MARKET, FOOT OF WALL STREET.

treat these white slaves or indentured servants, while the restrictions upon the punishment of negroes were very slight; and even the infliction of death did not bring the consequences it deserved. The public penalties that were inflicted upon negroes showed the extreme

barbarity which the community allowed themselves in the treatment of these unfortunates, who were indeed a dangerous element, but were not rendered much less dangerous by this mode of dealing with their offenses. The gross injustice of the whole system sat as a sort of nightmare on the consciences of people; it made them imagine that they were in constant peril from a vengeance which they were only too industrious in giving occasion for; and when even the slightest intimations of its outbreak occurred, it was exaggerated to vast proportions and created a panic which seemed to deprive the citizens of all reason or justice.

This is the only explanation of the panic of 1741. It was that more than a negro plot: there was much more of a plot in 1712, as has been intimated. Yet it cannot be denied, keeping in mind the state of people's feeling about the negroes they owned and maltreated, that the events which led to the panic could hardly have had any other result. Early on the morning of March 18, a fire broke out on the roof of the chapel in the fort, the old historic church of 1642, within a year of its century. The chapel, the Governor's mansion, the Secretary's

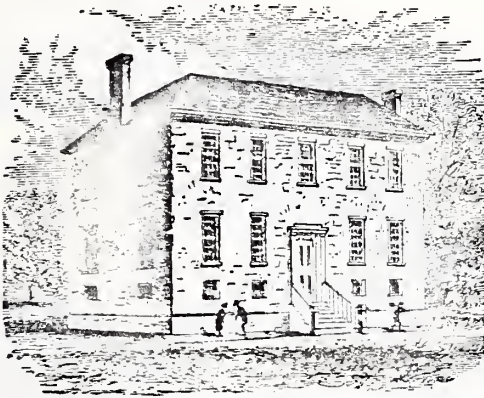
office, the stables, all became a prey of the flames. It was a deplorable destruction, but it was supposed to be due to an accident. Plumbers had been at work upon the roof of the chapel, and one of them was thought to have left some of his coals carelessly about without fully extinguishing them. A week later Captain (afterward Admiral Sir Peter) Warren's house was discovered to be on fire; the contemporary historian Smith describes it as situated "near the long bridge, at the southwest end of the city," thus near the fort. Again a week later, a Mr. Van Zandt's store at the east end of the town was on fire. Three days later a fourth fire occurred, started among the hay in a cow stable. People on returning from this fire were called upon to rush to a fifth, in a room occupied by two negro servants, and caused by coals placed between two beds. Next morning came fire number six, from coals under a haystack in the coach-house and stables of lawyer Joseph Murray on Broadway. Next day there was fire number seven at Sergeant Burns's house, opposite the fort garden, the site of the later Burns's coffee-house at No. 9 Broadway. On the same day fire number eight occurred on the roof of a Mr. Hilton's house, opposite the Fly Market (near corner William and John streets). The same afternoon a ninth fire destroyed Colonel Philipse's storehouse. People were now a little warranted in growing suspicious. It was remembered how a fire had been the signal for the massacre of 1712. A ship manned with "Spanish blacks" had lately come in port, and the crew sold as slaves by the Captain, much to the disgust of the men. Spanish blacks were not necessarily negroes: they were swarthy whites or half-breeds from the Spanish colonies, with much more intelligence and spirit than the negroes. Citizens began to put two and two together. So many fires in rapid succession could not be purely accidental; it must be the work of the negroes—the slaves, "the negro and *other* slaves," as a publication of the day puts it. It was only necessary to start this theory to make it gain full credence. On April 11 the Common Council offered a reward of a hundred pounds and full pardon to any one who would give evidence of the existence of a plot that would lead to the conviction of the conspirators. There were those in desperate need of pardon, and ready to earn the money besides. On February 28, thus a couple of weeks before the fire in the fort which began the series, a robbery had been committed. John Hughson, his wife and daughter, two indentured servants, Mary Burton and Arthur Price, and a prostitute by the name of Peggy, were all apprehended for the robbery. Some of the silverware had been found in Hughson's place, which was a low tavern or brothel, frequented by negroes and thieves. These worthies were all under sentence of death, as the law then stood. They heard of the offer of pardon and money combined, and their wits were set at work. Mary Burton seems to have been more inventive than the rest. She soon had a fine tale ready. Twenty to thirty negroes had been meeting at

her master's house, who had plotted to destroy the town by fire, and to massacre the whites. Her master, Hughson, was to be King, and a negro of the name of Cæsar, Governor. Nothing better illustrates in what a state of mind the people must have been when such a cool and-bull story was accepted as serious truth on such testimony. Arthur Price and Peggy took the cue from their worthy mate, and were also soon weaving equally probable and circumstantial stories about midnight meetings of negroes, and dreadful fates prepared for New York citizens. Evidently their imaginations were not of as fine a quality as Miss Burton's, for they overshot the mark a little, and told things a little too hard to be swallowed even by people so greedy for the horrible as New Yorkers were then. Over a hundred and fifty negroes had now been implicated and imprisoned on the strength of these "confessions." The negroes themselves caught the imaginative infection and told lies right and left about their own kind. But were there no white people involved? Could not a popish plot be tacked on to the negro plot? It was only necessary to give Mary that hint, and forthwith she had a tale woven about a Mr. John Ury, a gentleman who was teaching Latin in the city. He was a Catholic clergyman in disguise, according to her, and he, too, had come to her master's place, and had pledged the negroes by mysterious signs and chalk marks on the floor, to murder the Protestant town folk. Hughson's daughter was called upon to corroborate this testimony, and at first she denied having ever seen Mr. Ury at her father's place. But the prospect of the gallows was held vividly before her, and she succumbed to the temptation of lying away another's life to save her own. If Mr. Ury was a Catholic priest it needed but small persuasion to convince New Yorkers of that day that conspiracy and murder were his daily task. Testimony just as valid was brought by Mary Burton against a dancing master of the name of Corry, but he was discharged. Not so Ury, though it transpired that he was not a Catholic at all, but a non-juring Episcopal clergyman; thus a Jacobite and that was next door to a Catholic in loyal Hanoverian eyes. On April 21 the Court met for the trial of the conspirators, and not a lawyer in the city could be found to defend them. On May 11 began the executions of the usual picturesque varieties: burning and hanging; and on June 6 the last batch of negro culprits was sent to their long account. The Ury incident was a little belated, and perhaps conducted with a little more deliberation; at any rate the unfortunate gentleman was not executed till August 29. One hundred and fifty-four negroes committed to prison, of which fourteen were burned alive, eighteen were hanged, and seventy-one transported to various delectable regions; twenty-nine white persons apprehended, of which two, Hughson and Ury, were executed; this is the record of retaliation taken on alleged conspirators by a community of twelve thousand souls, of whom one-sixth were slaves. It is amazing that s

many lives could have been sacrificed on the testimony of persons so utterly depraved, and so obviously eager to earn their own escape from the gallows, and the sum of a hundred pounds, which was untold wealth to them. Long after the panic was over, officials and citizens were still vindicating their severity; and in all sobriety the authorities appointed September 24 as a Day of Thanksgiving for the city's escape from a horrible fate.

In the midst of these vicissitudes and during the generation that was nearly spanned between the arrival of Governor Hunter and that of Governor Clinton, the little city at the southern end of Manhattan was steadily holding its own on the way to its greater destiny. With regard to its municipal being, we have noticed that the period was marked by the reception of a new charter granting important privileges. A feature of interest, too, is that so many Mayors held their office for long terms. Ebenezer Wilson, who was Mayor when Hunter arrived in 1710, had been the incumbent for three years previous. Jacobus Van Cortlandt, a younger son of old Burgomaster Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and a brother of Mayor Stephanus, was invested with the dignity and held it for only one year. Johannes Jansen, also, in 1725, held the position but for one year. But all the others much exceeded this. Caleb Heathcote was Mayor for three years, from 1711 to 1714; John Johnston, for six years, from 1714 to 1720; Robert Walters, for five years, from 1720 to 1725; Robert Lutting, who enjoyed the privilege of receiving the new charter from Governor Montgomerie, was Mayor for nine years, from 1726 to 1735. Then followed Paul Richard, with three years, from 1735 to 1738, and John Cruger, with six years, from 1738 to 1744. These men were all eminent as merchants, having had a variety of experiences fitting them for success in life before they settled down to trade in New York; and then accumulating fortunes as merchants, or in real estate, or as auctioneers, or vendue-masters, as they were called then. Most of them, too, were made members of the Provincial Council, and were led on to other positions of public trust after tasting of the sweets of official power in the Mayor's chair. The municipal finances were not as yet conducted upon a gigantic scale, but the expenses were almost invariably below the income. Between 1721 and 1727 a list shows the highest income to have been £721, in 1723; and then the expenses were £575, exactly the price paid in 1726 for the lot upon which the Nassau Street Church was built. In the next year the outlay was two pounds less than the income, and that was £430. The Common Council meetings were appointed in 1711 to be held on the first Friday of the month, at the City Hall, at 9 o'clock in the morning. Eighteen rush-bottom chairs were purchased that year, and an oval table for the Council chamber. The City Hall up to 1716 had not been provided with a clock. Indeed, there seems to have been no town clock anywhere, and only a sun dial upon the chapel in the fort. When the

wealthy Huguenot merchant, Stephen De Lancey, received his stipend of £50 as Member of the Assembly upon its dissolution in 1716, he generously donated that sum for the purchase of a clock for the City Hall tower. One was put in with four dials, so as to indicate the time to an observer in any portion of the city. From time to time the city watch was increased, first from four to six, and then to ten, as more streets needed protection. It was to Stephen De Lancey's enterprise also that the city was indebted for the importation of two fire engines, of the pattern used in London, to supersede the primitive passing of buckets from hand to hand. They were placed with much state in an apartment on the lower floor of the City Hall, which was flush with the pavement, forming an arched passageway to which access was open at all times. But a few years later an engine house was built on Broad Street, and one Jacobus Turk placed in charge of the machines. In 1737 a volunteer fire brigade was organized, consisting of twenty-five men, who, in consideration of this important service,

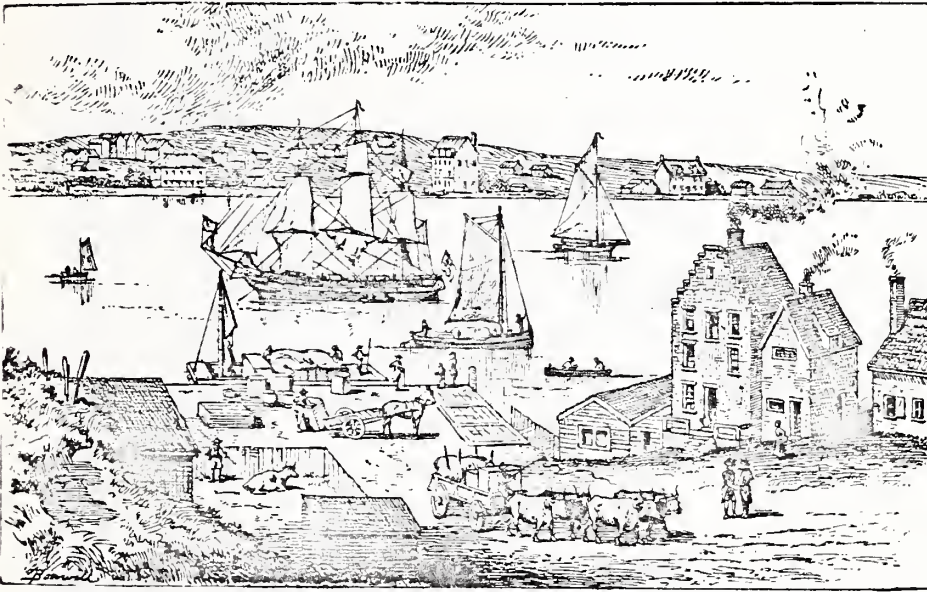


NEW YORK ALMHOUSE. 1734.

were exempt from jury and militia duty, and from serving as constables. Quite early in the century the city fathers were troubled about the pauper problem; at last, in 1734, they had got so far as to be able to put up a substantial, square, roomy building as a Poorhouse. It stood upon the Commons, later City Hall Park; there were cells in the basement, so that correction might accompany charity.

particularly for the benefit of negroes. It is to the credit of the city magistrates that they did not propose to get rid of the poor by sacrificing the liberty of these unfortunates, as they might on one occasion have done. In 1738 Captain Norris, of the English man-of-war "Tartar," arrived in port. He represented to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council that he was very short-handed, and needed at least thirty men. He therefore asked permission to send a press-gang ashore and impress that number from among the city's population. Clarke and the Council granted the request, but Mayor Richard and his Aldermen indignantly refused to allow the English Captain to let loose his gang upon the streets, and Norris was fain to seek his thirty men elsewhere. A considerable portion of the city's limited but evidently sufficient income was derived from leasing ferry privileges. The landing places even on the opposite sides of the rivers stood on property ceded to the city by the Montgomerie charter. In 1708 a charter had been made out referring exclusively to ferry privileges. A ferry

to Staten Island was established in 1713, the fare for a man alone, as well as with a horse, being six shillings. A ferry to the Jersey shore was established at the foot of Cortlandt Street. The fare to Long Island was three shillings the person; the old ferry was supplemented by a second, boats leaving from Hanover Square (or Old Slip) and foot of Broad Street, where was the great dock. In 1728 this ferry paid a lease of £258. On the Long Island shore stood now a goodly brick building three and a half stories high with crow-stepped gable, surrounded by commodious barns and outhouses, while under the shelter of the bold cliff now known as Brooklyn Heights was a pound for the reception of the cattle to be ferried across or just brought over from New York; a short wharf ran out into the river, and the one-



BROOKLYN FERRY.

masted open sloop was kept busy conveying passengers of the human or brute species as fast as it could across the swift current of the East River.

Another source of income was the lease of market privileges. Market houses were built at various times and in different localities. A market house was erected on Broad Street, opposite the City Hall, on the slope from Wall Street to Exchange Place. The open space in front of the fort was no longer deemed suitable for a market; some genial citizens rented it for a nominal sum and converted it into a Bowling Green. In 1739 a large market house, forty-two feet long by twenty-five broad, was built in the center of Broadway opposite Crown (Liberty) Street, presumably to accommodate the Jer-

sey farmers and truckmen. One wonders whether it conducted to the comfort of Chief-Justice De Lancey, whose elegant house stood near it on the corner of Little Queen (Cedar) Street, where the Boreel Building towers to-day. A great variety of produce and provisions came in to these markets from the surrounding country. In addition to all the game, fruit, vegetables, fish, and what not, of a former day, there was added the lobster in abundant quantities. It had not been caught in the vicinity of New York until a fortunate accident happened in Governor Hunter's time. A "well-boat," conveying a load of lobsters stored away in their native element, from the regions of New England to the New York market, struck a rock in the ever perilous Hell Gate. It went to pieces, and thus released its live freight, which ever after made the vicinity of New York their habitat. As for oysters, none better or bigger or more abundant were found anywhere else than in New York harbor. To preserve so delicious a staple the Assembly passed a special act, No. 9, of the year 1730. A too free access to the oyster beds was threatening the extermination of the bivalves. In 1745 Prof. Kalm, a Swedish scientist, descants on the excellence of the oyster, and says they were as big as a plate; presumably a dinner plate, and not a butter plate. It must be added that in 1732 a market was established at the foot of Fulton Street on the North River, and this must have been the beginning of the famous Washington Market. Industries of various kinds were still in their infancy. In 1718 the first rope walk was built, extending along what is now Broadway, about the whole length of City Hall Park from Barclay Street or Park Place to Chambers Street. Many others soon sprang up. One ran all the way from Broadway to the river along Cortlandt Street, cutting off about fifteen feet from every lot on the north side; it was owned or leased by a citizen of the name of Van Pelt. It was doubtless in connection with this industry that the spirit of invention was stimulated, for we find one John Marsh asking the authorities for a patent for the space of fifteen years for a process of dressing hemp and flax by mill. Whales must still have made occasional visits to the bay or nearby ocean, for "James Cooper and Company" were given a license to catch them, in 1721, on condition of paying a tribute of five per cent. of what they got for the oil and whalebones. In 1726 one Lewis Hector Piot De Langloserie was endowed by legislative act with the sole right to catch porpoises; he doubtless made his harpoons of the proper length by painting his name in its full proportions along the shaft. Another act made a widow happy by allowing her to make lampblack exclusively for ten years; but a futile attempt having been made by a certain citizen to become a "sugar refiner," his monopoly was withdrawn in 1727. The map of 1728 showed that Bayard had a sugar house in Wall Street near the City Hall. It seems rather odd that the authorities, while thus encouraging industries of so many sorts.

should have refused William Bradford, the printer, a monopoly for the manufacture of paper. He accordingly established a paper mill in New Jersey. In 1730 there was erected "on the fifth lot from the corner of Centre and Reade Streets" what is described as "a stone-ware kiln or furnace." It is claimed by some that this was the first smelting furnace for the reduction of iron ore in the United States. In 1842 some portions of one of the arches of this kiln were still in existence.

An evidence of the general condition of trade, commerce, and manufactures is afforded by a list preserved among the records of the Chamber of Commerce, showing total imports and exports for several successive decades. From 1710 to 1720 the imports were £365,645; exports, £392,683. From 1720 to 1730, imports £471,342; exports, £518,830. From 1730 to 1740, imports, £660,136; exports, £670,128. Thus within these thirty years at least the balance of trade kept pretty well on the side of the colony. The Custom House stood on Pearl Street, between Whitehall and Broad, or what was then called Dock Street. Here duties were collected on a great variety of articles. Wigs were taxed to discourage the wearing of them. In 1734 the duty on tea was one shilling per pound, and on cider one shilling per barrel. Three shillings had to be paid on every barrel of pork, and two shillings on every barrel of beef imported. An annual tax of one shilling was laid on every slave owned; a duty of forty shillings being exacted for every slave imported from Africa direct, and one of four pounds for those brought from other places. A tax of three per cent. was imposed on auction sales, and as vendues were very frequent in the city, a goodly sum must have been realized from this item alone. So confident were the authorities of good returns from all these duties and taxes that the £10,000 or £12,000 occasionally pledged for the Canadian campaigns, and covered by the issue of paper money, were expected to be redeemed from their income. One very active department of trade was stopped by Governor Burnet. French traders were in the habit of buying goods for their Indian trade at New York. These they carried to Montreal or Quebec, and induced the Indians to come to those places for their supplies, bringing their furs in exchange. Thus the French ingratiated the savages and made them dependent upon themselves alone, which was useful in the event of war. Burnet forbade the merchants of New York selling goods to these traders. It was a patriotic measure, but it roused the bitter antagonism of Philipse, De Lancey, and other great dealers. The Indians were henceforth compelled to get their supplies from the English, causing more friendly relations. It also sent enterprising young men from New York mercantile families into the woods to secure exchanges of furs. This was of incalculable benefit to them in many ways besides commercial profits, and Burnet's act should have brought him lasting gratitude instead of hostility. Piracy was still

active upon the high seas, and near the principal harbors, and did much harm to commerce; but it was bona fide piracy, receiving now no countenance from royal governors or respectable New York merchants.

Turning from the material to the spiritual interests of the people, we note that the march of churches uptown-ward kept steadily on. Beginning with the church of 1633 in Pearl Street, the next was put up in the fort in 1642; and a third in Garden Street (Exchange Place) in 1693. We come upon a new edifice erected during this period on Nassau Street, on a lot reaching from Little Queen (Cedar) Street, to Crown (Liberty). The lot was bought for £575 in 1726, and in 1729 the building was ready for worship, but was not quite complete till 1731. It was a noble building for its day, one hundred feet long by seventy wide inside the walls. When it was all finished a copper plate was made of it, and as a member of the church was then acting Governor, the *plate* was dedicated to him. This has led an excellent his-



DUTCH CHURCH ON NASSAU
STREET. 1731.

torian of our city to state that the *church* was dedicated to Rip Van Dam, Esq. In one corner of the picture we can just see the old French church in King (Pine) Street, facing with its odd tower toward Little Queen (Cedar). Here some trouble had occurred between the elders and one of the pastors. They had two pastors, the Rev. Mons. Rou and the Rev. Mons. Moulinars. The former was brilliant, but a little bad; the latter was good, but a trifle dull. The elders felt they must get rid of Mons. Rou, and he appealed to Governor Burnet, who was a great chum of his, and who was quite ready

to assume his seat upon the Chancellor's bench to try his case. Thereupon the elders withdrew their cause, seeing too well what the issue would be. But what was worse, they withdrew from the church also. One of them was Stephen De Lancey; he became a determined antagonist of the Governor's, a state of mind which was not mended when the latter called in question his citizenship, and would have excluded him from the Assembly to which he had been elected. There was no way of avoiding annoying interference of the state with the church in these colonial days. The French church had found so to their cost; the Presbyterians had even a worse experience. In 1718 they bought a large lot on Wall Street, about opposite New Street. In order to hold this property and build a church on it, they wished to be incorporated. Their petition was refused. They tried again and again through a

number of years, from 1721 to 1724. In vain. At last, in 1724, Governor Burnet wrote to the Lords of Trade about it, and they referred it to their counsel, who wrote this opinion: "As there is no provincial act for uniformity according to the Church of England, I am of opinion that by law such patent of incorporation may be granted as by the petition is desired." Accordingly it was done. But the canny Scotchmen had meanwhile deeded their lot to the General Assembly in Scotland, and in 1719 had put up a goodly building upon it. The Rev. Mr. Anderson was their pastor. It has to be said that the Episcopalians were responsible for this ungracious delay in giving the Presbyterians their rights. They would have it that theirs alone was the established church, that no others had a right to exist, or to draw sustenance from the citizens. Mr. Vesey was led to say very hard things about Governor Hunter because he sought to do justice to the Presbyterians of Jamaica, so iniquitously ejected from their property by Cornbury. Governor Burnet had the honor of finally settling the matter in the interests of the rightful owners in 1728. Stimulated by the activity of the Dutch in church building, the people of Trinity enlarged and embellished their church in 1737. A steeple one hundred and eighty feet high towered above all the rest of the steeples. Inside a fine altar piece was added. The tops of the pillars were adorned with gilt busts of angels, and a glass candelabra hung from the ceiling. Not to be behind its ancient sisters, the French church put on a new and handsomer form in 1741. As regards toleration the Quakers and Jews were given greater privileges than before. It is true that once at a contested election in Westchester, when it was a question whether Adolph Philipse was entitled to a seat in the Assembly, the Jews were counted out as disfranchised; as were also the Quakers when a similarly hot contest at the polls was waged at Morrisania between Morris, the ex-Chief-Justice, and De Lancey, the incumbent who had been put in his place. But the Quakers were distinctly declared entitled to vote upon their affirmation, instead of an oath, when the excitement blew over. The Jews were allowed to build a synagogue in Mill Street, now South William; and also to hold in possession ground for a cemetery, the funds for which were given in 1729 by a Mr. Willey of London, whose three sons were merchants in New York. The cemetery was located in the block bounded by Chatham, Oliver, Henry, and Catharine streets, far out in the country then. As to schools, a draft for an act establishing a free Latin and Greek school was prepared by Adolph Philipse, and passed by the Assembly, and Alexander Malcom appointed the teacher of the same. His salary was £100, yet as some one wrote: "God kens, little he is skilled in Learning, yet they think him a highly Learned man." The preamble of this act caused much merriment at the time. Cooper introduces it in his "Satanstoe," and discusses it with all seriousness. It read: "Whereas the youth of this colony are found by manifold ex-


perience to be not inferior in their natural geniuses to the youth of any other country in the world, therefore be it enacted."

Sanitary conditions were as yet very unsatisfactory in the little city, and frequent were the scourges of the pestilence. In Cornbury's time there was an epidemic. In 1725 a vessel with smallpox aboard arrived from Madeira, and one of the sick men came recklessly into town. He was quickly conveyed back aboard, and the ship ordered to anchor amid stream near Bedlow's Island. It does not appear that the infection spread this time. But in 1731 the smallpox visited the city, so that five hundred perished, and Governor Montgomerie was one of the victims. In 1737 yellow fever raged in the West Indies, and at once quarantine regulations were established. A sloop was sent out to meet vessels coming from West Indian ports, which were compelled to anchor off Bedlow's Island. In 1739 smallpox was again in the city, beginning in the spring. As it continued to rage up to the time set for the Assembly, the Council and Assembly met at the house of Harmanus Rutgers, on the Bowery Road, near the Collect Pond. Curiously enough this very pond had been complained of as a plague spot in Montgomerie's time. Rutgers applied for permission to put into operation a system of ditches and sluices whereby its waters could derive the benefit of the changing tides. This he proposed to do at his own cost if the surrounding land could be guaranteed to him and his heirs in return. The territory must have been granted, and the result of the work done must have been satisfactory if in 1739 the neighborhood was considered a health resort. In 1742 yellow fever claimed two hundred and fifty victims in the city.

With some disadvantages like these, to which cities all over the world were then subject; with frequently unfit or corrupt men as governors; with much that was crude, primitive, tentative, uncertain of profitable results, threatening disaster, and promoting instability of fortune or prosperity; yet New York was a place worth coming to for those who found the ways to promotion and wealth closed to them at home. A relative of lawyer Joseph Murray urged brothers and sisters and friends to come to New York. Trades were good, wages high, provisions plenty and cheap, "a bushel of Indian corn for a day's work." Land was easily obtainable, "ten pounds per acre, and ten years to pay it in," so that small savings could soon make one a land-holder. There was a chance for everybody. Servants who came indentured and had served their time out, were now Justices of the Peace. All that a man worked for was his own. No ravenous hounds "to rive it from us here." No one to take away your corn or potatoes. "Every yen enjoys his ane." No wonder that such a glowing description, based on facts, induced men to cross the ocean and settle in our good city of New York.

CHAPTER VI.

A COLONIAL CAPITAL.

“ T New York.” writes the author of that charming biography “An American Lady,” “at New York there was always a Governor, a few troops, and a kind of little court kept; there too was a mixed, and in some degree polished, society. It was the custom of the inhabitants of the upper settlement [Albany] who had any pretensions to superior culture or polish, to go once a year to New York, where all the law courts were held, and all the important business of the province was transacted. Here, too, they sent their children occasionally to reside with their relations, and to learn the more polished manners and language of the capital.” A colonial capital,—that, then, is what New York was recognized to be at this period in its history. But the time now is hasten-

ing on when there will cease to be a colony here. Ere the change comes let us take a good look at our city under this interesting aspect.

It is not surprising that there gathered about the Governor's mansion, in the fort, what might be called “a little court.” The Governor was the representative of majesty, and the incumbents of the office were men sometimes of noble rank, and always of the circle of the court at home, favorites of royalty, attendants upon the



COLONIAL COCKED
HAT.

King's person. The usages of English society were industriously adapted to social life at the capital, and these radiated from the Governor's mansion or Province House as a center and a source. The appointments of the Governor's household exhibited the state which he affected. An inventory of Montgomerie's effects after his death is preserved, and this shows what even a bachelor Chief Magistrate needed to set forth the dignity of his position. There were fine coaches and sixteen horses; blue cloth for liveries; elegant sets of harness for occasions of state; also a barge of state handsomely decorated and upholstered; and abundance of silver plate. Whenever the Governor rode out, servants in livery, and outriders, attested the importance of the personage approaching. Cosby especially made the Governor's mansion the center of fashionable entertainments. However much he might have been detested by the common people, and by those in official life whom he found it expedient to antagonize, the gay and aspir-

ing *bon ton* of the cosmopolitan town rejoiced in the frequent invitations to functions of importance and brilliancy at his house. These received particular *clat* one winter by the appearance of one Lord Fitzroy, the son and heir of the Duke of Grafton. The sturdy Common Council, defying Cosby's commands to burn Zenger's paper by the hands of the common hangman, were quite obsequious when it came to a real live son of a duke. They waited upon the youth with great solemnity, and presented him with the freedom of the city, encased in a box of gold. Cosby's wife was an Earl's daughter, a sister of Lord Halifax, Minister for the Colonies. Fitzroy's real errand to New York was soon manifest, when he secretly married one of Cosby's daughters. Another daughter married the lawyer Joseph Murray. In such circles the manners of the court at home were diligently followed, and their influence must have been felt in the homes of people of wealth throughout the city, so that a certain polish would be given to society at the capital, worth cultivating on the part of young people coming from Albany and elsewhere. A "little court" was kept, that was certain; but however little, it gave distinction to life in New York.

But while the Governor of New York might reign supreme as a social luminary, he found extremely little deference on points of public policy. No one experienced this more constantly and keenly than Governor George Clinton, who arrived at his post in 1743, and ruled the Colony exactly ten years. He came over with his wife and several children, among whom was the future Commander-in-Chief of the British forces during the War of the Revolution, Sir Henry Clinton. The Governor was a younger son of the Earl of Lincoln, and so far his appointment secured the maintenance of the traditions of the little court. He was a naval officer of high rank, and not at all fitted by his experience or temperament to deal with a colonial assembly that had had a taste of liberty, and the exercise of important prerogatives ever since the days of Cornbury. Then the representatives of the people had arrogated to themselves the right to vote supplies for the needs of government only from year to year, and had taken it upon themselves to appoint a provincial treasurer; all for the reason that Cornbury was not to be trusted. These privileges once exercised in an emergency such as the authorities at home doubtless recognized, and on which account they tolerated them for the moment, were not now so easily to be wrested from the Assembly. Every Governor from Lord Lovelace to Clinton, and many a one later, was expressly instructed to demand grants in the lump sums, and for several years at once; it was of no avail. The New York Assembly was not to be moved from their position; indeed they became more aggressive. In the course of the controversy they even refused to grant money for salaries of officers, except by name; which amounted to an assumption of the appointing power, usually the province of the exec-

utive alone. Holding the purse, they had a powerful advantage over the Governors, and instructions from the home government went for very little, or nothing.

Clinton's long term was one incessant contest with the Assembly, much aggravated by his constant want of tact. He gratified at first the soaring ambition of Chief-Justice De Lancey, but when he had alienated him in some hasty moment, this able man and all the influential following he could command was turned against him. As a matter of course, after the stand he took during Cosby's term, De Lancey might be regarded as devoted to the "Court" party; and in the beginning Clinton was prepared to take things easy, and leave the real brunt of government to the Chief-Justice. During these days of friendship and harmony De Lancey constantly urged him to change the tenure by which he held his office from one "at the pleasure" of the Governor, to one depending upon

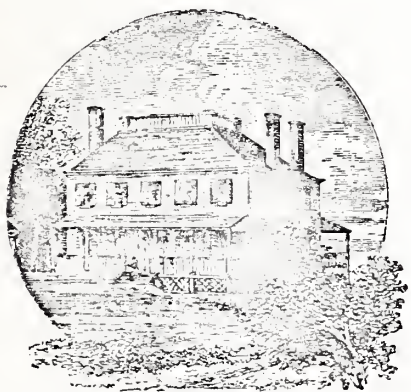
"good behavior." The latter, of course, relieved the incumbent from dependence upon the caprice of the Governor; he could only be removed for cause, and not at a mere nod, as Morris had been. Whether De Lancey was only waiting for this change of tenure in order to show his real hostility, as Clinton charged, or whether some good cause for offense was given him, at any rate soon after the change had been effected the Chief-Justice made a complete turn about in his relations to the Governor. It was said they quarreled over their "cups." Little as the Assembly was disposed to heed Clinton's instructions before, now, under the leadership of De Lancey and his adherents, the opposition was unremitting and often acrimonious. But as another result of this detachment of De Lancey from the court party, it must be noted that thereby, from their inveterate antagonism to him, Smith and Alexander, of the popular party, were perforce driven to side with the Governor.



CADWALLADER COLDEN.

This shifting ground of politics also brings into relief another citizen of New York, who deserves more than a moment's notice, and will play an increasingly conspicuous part as the years run on toward the Revolution. Dr. Cadwallader Colden, after taking his degree in medicine at the University of Edinburgh, came to Philadelphia in 1716. Two years later he was induced by Governor Hunter to settle in New York. He soon turned from the practice of his profession to the more profitable business of landholder. He occupied various positions of honor and trust in the province. But while a man of affairs in the con-

duct of civil government, he was active also in the pursuits of science and literature. He wrote a "History of the Five Indian Nations," printed by William Bradford in New York in 1727, which was considered an authority of the highest value. He kept up correspondence with men of learning and science, including Franklin himself, and gained an enviable reputation both in Europe and America. In Cosby's time his liberal sentiments placed him on the side of Smith and Alexander, his fellow-countrymen; and after De Lancey's change of front, he still kept in line with them in their unnatural attachment to Clinton. It may be said right here, however, that before the end of Clinton's career as Governor of New York, even Colden had to withdraw his support. But at first, in the dismay caused by De Lancey's sudden defection, Clinton turned to Colden and bestowed upon him that friendship and reliance which the other had forfeited and betrayed.



ADMIRAL WARREN'S HOUSE AT
GREENWICH.

Clinton had conceived an idea, which he was constantly pressing upon the Lords of Trade, that it would be highly beneficial to make the office of Lieutenant-Governor a permanent one concurrent with that of Governor. He was evidently bent on shifting the burdens of government as much as possible upon other shoulders than his own. That new office he had intended for the Chief-Justice, who had been acting the part of it without the title. But when De Lancey turned against him he thought at once of Colden for the position and urged his

name. At the same time he argued that the commission as Chief-Justice should be taken away from De Lancey, intending thus to humble his enemy in a double way; for even if the commission were not revoked, Colden, as Lieutenant-Governor, would considerably reduce De Lancey's importance in the Colony. It must be said that the result of these machinations bore rather hard on the poor harassed Governor. De Lancey was a man of powerful connections. A private tutor of his while at the University was now Archbishop of Canterbury. Captain (later Admiral Sir Peter) Warren was the husband of one of his sisters. These men had a greater influence at court than Clinton. Hence the commission of Chief-Justice was not taken away from De Lancey; and while Clinton's desire to create the position of Lieutenant-Governor was granted, it was not Colden who received the appointment, but again De Lancey. The only way in which Clinton managed to relieve this humiliating situation was to indulge in the somewhat petty spite of withholding the commission. It arrived in 1747, but not

until his successor had actually landed in New York, in October, 1753, did he hand it over to the appointee.

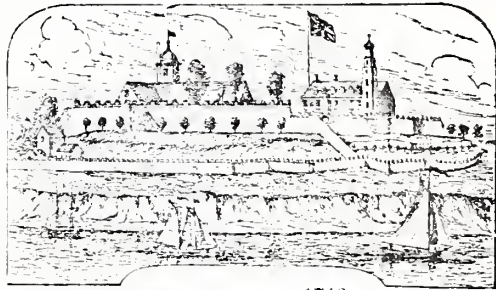
In the midst of these conflicts of a political character, imbittering the leading participants quite sufficiently, events were occurring in other directions which brought in more of a personal element than was already at hand. Oliver De Lancey, a brother of the Chief-Justice, was somewhat of a roisterer and man about town, fond of race-horses and a *habitué* of taverns. In the summer of 1749 he got into an altercation in a tavern with a Dr. Calhoun, in which knives were drawn, and Oliver stabbed the doctor, as Clinton wrote to the Lords of Trade. How could the offender be brought to justice in a court over which his brother presided? There was no lawyer of ability enough to cope with the Justice. Attorney-General Bradley, of the Zenger trial days, was now old and feeble. It was Clinton's desire, therefore, to remove him, and put in his place William Smith, whom De Lancey had disbarred in the course of the same trial, whereby we observe how completely these men had shifted their political affiliations. The next summer, 1750, a relative of the Governor's made himself obnoxious to the laws of peace and good order. There was a man-of-war lying off the city, in the channel separating it from Governor's Island. It was the "Greyhound," commanded by Captain Robert Roddam, who had married Clinton's daughter. One Colonel Ricketts, with wife and family and servants, was on his way in a sailboat from the city to Elizabethtown, carrying a flag. It had come to the ears of the lieutenant in charge on the "Greyhound" that this Ricketts had boasted that he would not observe the rule requiring passing craft to salute the flag of a man-of-war by lowering their colors. Captain Roddam being ashore, the lieutenant acted on his own responsibility when he failed to see the regulation followed by the passing sloop. He first sent a shot across its bows, and when even yet the Colonel remained obstinate, the command was given to fire directly into the little craft. It crashed through the sail and struck a servant girl. Returning at once to shore, the woman expired almost before landing. The whole city was in an uproar. Captain Roddam placed the lieutenant under arrest, and sent the gunner ashore. He was arrested by Chief-Justice De Lancey's directions, and as the provincial courts had no right to try a man-of-war's man, which was reserved to the admiralty courts in England, and as, in spite of this, the trial went on, this action became the basis of another complaint against the Chief-Justice. Clinton inquired if his usurpation of the powers of an admiralty judge would not invalidate his commission as Chief-Justice, hoping thus to be rid of him.

A considerable part of Clinton's administration was contemporaneous with the War of the Austrian succession in Europe, terminated by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. Such wars in Europe, involving France and England, carrying with them also, both in 1715

and 1745, attempts on the part of France to restore James II.'s descendants to the throne of England,—brought down upon the colonies the French of Canada and their Indian allies. The best defense against these assailants was the Federation of Five Nations in Western New York. Frequently did Governors leave their comfortable quarters in the fort at New York to travel into the wilderness about the Mohawk River to hold pow-wows with the savages, in order by all means to retain and cement the alliance with this powerful league. Clinton had had his share of these politic efforts. But in June, 1753, there was a variation in the program. A conference was appointed to be held in New York. Thither came Hendricks, one of the five "Kings" who had been taken over to England by Philip Schuyler, of Albany, in 1710. Other chiefs attended him, and the usual interchange of presents and pledges took place. It was just as well that the Indians should obtain some idea of the strength and stability of the colony, from a view of the city by the sea with its handsome houses and fifteen thousand inhabitants.

The history of that contest for prerogative between Governors and assemblies in New York, which prepared the way for revolution and independence, has in it one tragic incident which deserves more emphasis than it usually obtains in general histories. Governor Sir Danvers Osborn came to relieve Clinton of his onerous duties in 1753. He arrived in the Bay on Saturday, October 6. The next day, Sunday, the 7th, he landed at the foot of Whitehall Street. Clinton was away at his country-seat at Flushing, L. I., but the Provincial Council met him, and a banquet was given him. As the mansion in the fort was undergoing repairs, Mr. Joseph Murray, of the Council, invited him to his elegant home on Broadway. Murray had married one of Governor Cosby's daughters, a niece of the Earl of Halifax, and as Sir Danvers's deceased wife was also a relative of that nobleman, it was but natural he should be welcomed as a guest at that house. On Monday, October 8, Clinton came into town, and there was a private conference between the two. On Tuesday, the 9th, Clinton made a formal call on the new Governor at his host's, and the freedom of the city was presented to him. On Wednesday, October 10, 1753, occurred the ceremonies of inauguration. A procession was formed which marched from the mansion in the fort up Broadway and down Wall Street to the City Hall. The crowds that lined the streets gave vent to their enthusiasm at sight of a new Governor, but they could not refrain from coarse, ill-natured expressions against the retiring incumbent. This feature of the proceedings seemed to depress Osborn very much; he said that he fully expected to have the tide of favor turn against him in the same way. On Thursday, the 11th, he received an address from the city corporation, in which was uttered the hope that the Governor would be as "averse from countenancing as we from brooking any infringements of our inestimable liberties."

These words jarred upon the sensitive ears of Sir Danvers. He knew that his instructions with redoubled emphasis charged him to demand what had hitherto been vainly urged by his predecessors,—to suppress or curtail the liberties which the Assembly had been quietly arrogating to themselves. After the corporation had departed, he asked one of the Royal Council how the presentation of these instructions would be responded to. It was plainly told him that not an iota would the Assembly yield in the way of voting money in annual grants for specified purposes, or even in voting salaries to officials by name, thereby wielding practically the appointing power. This answer seemed to overwhelm him with gloom and dismay. "What then," he exclaimed, "am I sent here for?" That same evening (Thursday, 11th) there was no public function, and Osborn dined quietly at his friend's home. His depression of spirits during and after the meal was so alarming that Mr. Murray sent for the best physician in town, a Dr. Magraw. The Governor retired early to his room, ordering some broth to be brought up to him. Early on Friday morning, October 12, the body of the unhappy man was found suspended by a handkerchief from a picket in the fence of Mr. Murray's garden. His reason had once before been upset by grief at the death of his wife. The hopelessness of the political situation that so early opened before him had again unsettled his mind, and death by his own hand was the startling result. Nothing more vividly



BATTERY IN 1746.

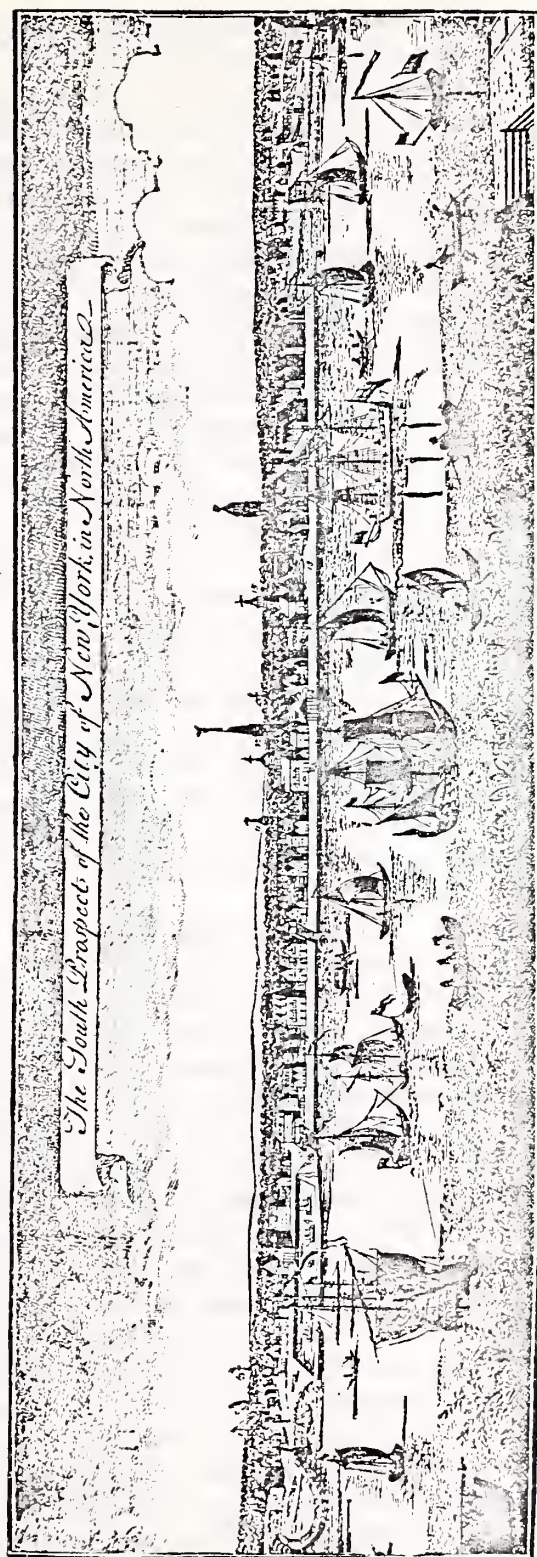
illustrates the determination of the representatives of the colonists to assert their rights and liberties against the repressive measures of the British Crown. If the Royal Georges were obstinate in asserting their prerogatives over England and the colonies, their obstinacy found a match in that of their subjects across the Atlantic; for fifty years of continuous exercise of *their* prerogatives had made them invincible in the purpose of maintaining them. It was a pity it drove Sir Danvers to suicide; but his act was a splendid testimony to the immovable resolution of the colonists to be free and independent.

It was fortunate that Clinton had finally yielded to necessity and had handed his commission as Lieutenant-Governor to De Lancey upon the arrival of his successor, so that there was no confusion regarding the succession as Chief Magistrate added to the consternation caused by Osborn's unhappy end. For about two years the Lieutenant-Governor exercised the functions of this office, the first of the colonists, and a native of the province besides, to be thus recognized and kept in the place by the authorities at home. His position was a

peculiar one, yet favorable to harmony between himself and the Assembly. Having been so strenuous in his opposition to Governor Clinton's attempts to carry into effect his instructions, it would seem as if he were brought into an awkward dilemma, forced as he was to carry out the similar and even more urgent instructions to Osborn. But the Assembly knew he acted as the mere channel of these instructions, and in an official way. As he was known to be in entire sympathy with their position upon the annual grants and salaries, they were little afraid to yield a point now and then on these questions, having entire confidence that the Lieutenant-Governor would carry out their intentions in their own spirit. The appointment of Sir Charles Hardy as Governor in 1755 did not cause any serious interruption to De Lancey's management of affairs. The new incumbent was so thorough a sailor that he wanted to be nothing else. From the first days of his arrival at his post he began to importune the authorities at home to send him on some naval expedition, and from the first he was only too glad to leave the duties of administration to De Lancey's capable and willing hands. In 1757 Hardy's wish was gratified; he was made Rear Admiral of the Blue, and the Lieutenant-Governor was again left the sole responsible head of the province. While he was still acting in this capacity, in 1760, he was suddenly stricken by apoplexy and died in a few hours, whereupon Clinton's wish was fulfilled at last, and Dr. Colden assumed the government. He did so at first as President of the Council, like Rip Van Dam nearly thirty years before; but a year later, in 1761, the commission of Lieutenant-Governor was made out for him. He was then seventy-two years old, but for fifteen years longer he bore with undiminished powers the burdens of office, occasionally giving place to Governors who came and went with bewildering frequency, so that most of the time the power was practically in his hands.

The "half century of conflict" between France and England in America,—which so aptly summarizes the occasional but frequent and more or less systematic attacks upon the English colonies by the French in Canada during the former half of the 18th century,—had its culmination at last, after fifty years of desultory warfare, in the "French and Indian War," lasting seven or more years. It would be impossible, under any circumstances, to avoid mention in a history of our city of a war which swept over the whole of the colonial empire on the Atlantic coast, engaging the attention and demanding the participation of the people of every province. But aside from this general interest, New York came to be specially concerned in its conduct in many particulars. The province itself, by the very conformation of nature, was of necessity the center of operations against the foe. After Braddock's expedition had come to utter ruin in its march toward Pittsburg in July, 1755, still more was all effort concentrated here. A highway to Canada was laid by nature along the banks of

the Hudson, over the waters or along the shores of Lakes George and Champlain; and this plan of campaign always made New York City the base of military operations. General Lord Loudoun came to the city, in June, 1756. He had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in America, the union of all the forces under one head being intended to consolidate the several colonies for more effective defense. The title was bigger than the man. In New York he proved himself a bully and blusterer, such as cowards and incapables are apt to be. He had sent arrogant commands ahead to the corporation that they must find quarters for his soldiers in the people's homes. The forced quartering of soldiers upon a population is not usually a measure adopted in a friendly country. The authorities built hasty barracks along the line of the present Chambers Street, well out into the country, just beyond the "Fields" or "Commons" (later City Hall Park). There the men of the rank and file could have their quarters, but for the officers no provision was made. Loudoun demanded that free quarters be instantly given to officers also, and threatened to bring all his ten thousand troops to New York and quarter them upon the inhabitants if the city officers refused the demand. Governor Hardy supported the Generalissimo; the corporation hesitated. The citizens, however, with Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey at their head, stood out for their rights, and flatly refused to obey the insulting and belligerent behest. A compromise was finally effected. It was arranged that the officers' lodging and board should be paid, and Mayor Cruger started a private subscription among the wealthier citizens to meet the expense. But the exasperation caused by the incident put the people of the city into an excellent frame of mind for the pending revolution. Nevertheless, whatever might be the objection to giving them free quarters, New York was the place that naturally suggested itself for the landing of the troops, and for the concentration of the naval forces sent from England. De Lancey, with an eye to the commercial benefit as well, pointed out to the British ministry the advantageous location of the city for "a general magazine of arms and military stores," and for the source of supplies for the commissary department. This was too obvious to be gainsaid. Hence, whatever of that nature was transmitted to America was ordered to "be lodged in a storehouse at New York, subject to the controul and direction" of the Commander-in-Chief, or of the Governor or Commander of New York. This gave immense stimulus to business; trade in arms and in farm products, vegetables, horses, cattle, increasing, of course, very greatly. In connection with the most famous episode of the French and Indian war—the victory by Wolfe over Montcalm on the plains of Abraham, and the taking of Quebec in September, 1759—the plan of campaign, as formerly, included a movement up toward the St. Lawrence from New York, and in conducting it the Commander-in-Chief, General Amherst,—as effi-



VIEW OF NEW YORK IN 1761.

cient as his predecessor was incapable, and that is saying much,—began and ended his operations at New York City. When the task of the Conquest of Canada was finally completed by the taking of Montreal, just a year after Quebec, in September, 1760, and Amherst returned to New York, the importance of the achievement called forth a cordial and eulogistic address from the city corporation. In this, while they dilated courteously upon the glory won by the Major-General for himself and his country, they particularly emphasized the advantages secured for the colonies by the removal from the north of the ever-threatening danger of invasion and massacre. "The numerous settlements," they said, "abandoned to the relentless fury of an insatiable foe, were soon reduced to dismal and undistinguishable ruin. Husbandry felt the fatal effects of such a waste of country, and this city, famous for its commerce, beheld and wept the diminution of its staple. . . . But Canada is no more. The peasant may return in security to his fields; husbandry will soon revive; the face of nature smile with the blessings of peace, and this flourishing city in the plenty of its markets." This address accompanied the presentation of the freedom of the city in a gold box, and was graciously responded to by General Amherst, it being his "most hearty wish that this city may reap all the advantages it can desire from this conquest, and that it may prosper and flourish to the latest time." On Wednesday, November 26, 1760, a public dinner was tendered the Commander-in-Chief, and the whole city put itself in gala attire, and by booming cannons and flying flags and illuminations at night, gave expression to its joy and gratitude for the fortunate termination of so prolonged and terrible a war.

Meanwhile this war, as already seen, had but served to point out the fact that New York was made by nature and Providence to be the colonial capital. Troops and generals seemed there to concentrate, and expeditions to emanate thence, as by a common confession of its fitness to be a center. In the early days of Clinton's administration Stephen Bayard, a son of Nicholas Bayard, was Mayor of the city. He held the position for three successive years. Then followed two long terms, one of nine years from 1747 to 1756, with Mayor Edward Holland in the chair; and one of eight years, with John Cruger, Jr., the son of the John Cruger who retired from the position in 1743. It was a little remarkable that Mr. Holland should have retained the position so long. He owed the appointment by Clinton to his friendship for that Governor, by reason of which he had suffered a bit of political persecution. In 1745 he had been elected a member of the Provincial Assembly for Schenectady, although a resident of New York City. Perhaps to avoid a precedent like this, of electing men non-resident in the counties to be represented, but mainly because he was an adherent of Clinton's, he was refused admission to his seat. Yet De Lancey continued him in the Mayoralty, which he occupied till

his death in 1756. He, like Colden, may have finally disapproved of Clinton's course. Mayor Cruger had to bear the brunt of displeasure from the Commander-in-Chief Loudoun for refusing free quarters; and he also showed a spirited regard for the citizens under his care by imitating his father's resistance to the press gangs. When they proposed to come ashore and capture men for unwilling service in the navy, the corporation invariably forbade it. But the Mayor could not prevent the same arbitrary proceedings far out in the Bay, where repeatedly boatloads of sailors from men-of-war were sent to board merchant vessels and force men to enlist. In August, 1760, a ship arriving from Lisbon, a gang was sent from a British frigate to impress a number of her sailors. The crew, on seeing them approach, seized captain and mates (possibly not without cordial consent on their part) and imprisoned them in their cabin. The officers, through the cabin windows, informed the press gang, whom the crew did not allow to board, that they were prisoners and could do nothing in the matter. Thereupon fire was opened upon the crew, resulting in the killing of one man and the wounding of several.

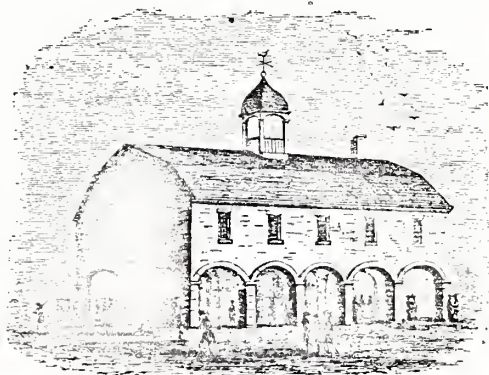
Just before Cruger became Mayor a regular ferry was established between the city and Staten Island. The one previously in operation does not seem to have had sufficient business for regular daily trips. But now the island contained twenty-three hundred inhabitants, and intercourse with the city had become more brisk. Nevertheless, crossing the Bay was a serious undertaking, especially in unfavorable weather; indeed, it was in coming home from Staten Island after a dinner at the country-seat of a friend there, that James De Lancey caught a cold that fatally aggravated his chronic asthma, and the next morning he was found dead in a chair in his library. The next year, 1756, the beginning of Mayor Cruger's term, was made memorable by two other events in the history of transportation. A line of stages was started, advertised to run between New York and Philadelphia *in three days only*. In 1733 or 1734 Solomon and James Moore had begun to carry passengers per stage from Burlington on the Delaware to Perth Amboy, the remainder of the journey being by water. But three days, all per stage, from Philadelphia to New York, was a transit uncommonly quick. About the same time a packet service was initiated between New York and Falmouth, England. Mails were carried for four pennyweights in silver per letter. A census in Mayor Holland's time, in 1749, revealed the fact that the city counted 13,294 souls; in 1756 another census brought the figure somewhat nearer fourteen thousand, but the historian Smith for some reason discredits that computation, and puts the population at the round number, 15,000. The city's revenue on the same contemporary authority amounted to £2,000. The town militia had grown to a body of twenty-three hundred men; and there were one thousand stands of arms held in re-

serve for arming the poor or the sailors in case of an emergency, at the City Hall.

While the city had been increasing in population, the commercial statistics do not furnish as favorable a record during the two decades ending 1760; for while the figures indicating imports and exports are larger than they were during the three previous decades, the balance of trade is *against*, instead of for, New York, the exports being less than the imports. Thus from 1740 to 1750 the imports amounted to £12,647; the exports to £708,943, while from 1750 to 1760 the disparity between the two amounts was still larger, and again on the wrong side of the sheet—imports being £1,577,419, and exports £802,691. This state of affairs was doubtless due to the wars; there would be less opportunity for manufactures or products to be dispensed to a foreign market. There would be call for more consumption at home, and larger quantities of supplies would be brought in from abroad. As these would pass mainly through the hands of the New York merchants, there need be no question but that commercial prosperity attended the conduct of the war, to counteract its drain upon the pockets of the colonists.

Smith gives as a reason for the little manufacturing done in the colony that there was too much land in proportion to the small number of people. He states that about this time felt was largely manufactured in the city, and that felt hats were exported in large numbers to the West Indies.

This was a state of things which the manufacturers at home could not permit to continue, and pretty soon the new article was placed upon the list of forbidden exports by Parliament. Between December 9, 1755, and February 23, 1756, no less than 12,528 hogsheads of flaxseed were shipped to Ireland to be converted into linen. The sowing of flax in the vicinity of the city had been somewhat of an experiment, but the success of it is evinced clearly by this statement. Undressed skins were sent to Holland, of course in English bottoms, and a trade in duck was kept up with Holland and Hamburg both. About the year 1761 it was estimated that for some time previous one hundred thousand dollars' worth of dry-goods had been imported into the city and province from England per year. There was now a Royal Exchange, somewhat in keeping with these portentous transactions. It stood not far from the spot where merchants were wont to meet, the bridge over the canal in Broad Street, but at the foot of Broad now, hard by the great dock or basin



ROYAL EXCHANGE, 1752.

that ran out into the East River. It was built in 1752, a substantial brick structure, two stories high, with a pointed roof, or, to be precise, a "hip" roof. A cupola rose from the center of the ridge whence the bell rung to call the merchants together, as is done in Dutch cities to this day. The lower story was open to the view, being merely brick arches to hold up the rest of the building. Here business was done, without much shelter from either cold or wet. The markets affected by transactions in this exchange were not so various as at present, when almost every kind of merchandise has its own exchange, and there is a Stock Exchange besides. It was mainly a "Produce Exchange," like that which almost overshadows the ancient spot. Some prices of provisions in 1761 are preserved: beef was quoted at 4 1-2 pence per pound; pork at 5 1-2 pence; veal at from 4 1-2 to 6 pence. Butter was 15 pence per pound, and milk sold for "six coppers the quart." Bread was held at four pence per loaf of one pound. Vegetables were plentiful and delicious, thanks to the world-renowned skill of the Dutch farmers, and the taste of the Dutch families, which had passed over to the English in the city. Potatoes, once grown in city gardens for their flowers, soon became valued as a food. In 1748 a specimen was shown in the New York market weighing 7 1-2 pounds. Asparagus was brought from Coney Island in stalks white as snow, veined with delicate pink, and topped with bright green heads. Before the Revolution several large sugar houses had been built in the city. The Bayard's stood in Wall Street, in a line with the City Hall and the Presbyterian Church, perhaps about where the Manhattan and Merchants' Bank building is now. The Livingston's was located in Crown (Liberty) Street, near the Nassau Street Church; Van Cortlandt's to the northwest of Trinity, about where the rear of "Trinity Building" stands on Trinity Place. The wars with France stimulated young men of spirit again, as formerly, to enter upon perilous, but profitable, privateering enterprises, merchants in the city fitting out the ships. In 1761 a petition was sent in to the Assembly asking that a lighthouse be set up on Sandy Hook. It being granted, a lottery furnished the funds, but not till 1763 did its light flash forth upon the sea.

As the years creep on toward the middle of the century and beyond to the Revolution, we behold spire after spire rising from amid the lowly dwellings of the colonial city. Every steeple then told against the clear blue sky, none of them being buried, as are even the tallest now, among office buildings that tower in all their huge bulk above their highest tapering point. Fortunately one of these early structures still stands amid its modern surroundings, to bring back to our imagination the appearance of all the rest, for we need but look at St. Paul's on Broadway to behold what was the appearance of its ancient sister churches. It was built in 1765. Passing along the line of Broadway the Trinity of 1737, and the Lutheran Church on the corner

of Rector Street, would be encountered. Going down the hill from Broadway along Exchange Place, in the latter street on the other side of Broad, still stood the "Garden Street" Reformed Church, long past its half-century, therefore more frequently called the *Old Church* now, with reference to the one on Nassau Street and, again, designated as the *South Church*, when, in 1769, the Dutch congregation built their third and still handsomer *North Church* on Fulton Street, corner of William, which stood intact until 1869. The French Church, altered and improved since 1704, held its old place in King (Pine) Street. It received a near neighbor in Little Queen (Cedar) Street in 1768, when the Scotch Presbyterians, aspiring to something more blue than those in Wall Street could exhibit, built a church for themselves there, excluding carefully the vain trumpery of a church organ. The Wall Street congregation showed no signs of suffering from this desertion. In 1768 it had become so numerous as to need a new church, and so prosperous as to be able to build one. This was done "away up town," in the "Fields," or on the block now occupied by the *Times* and Potter buildings, the triangle between Nassau and Beekman streets and Park Row. It was familiarly called the Brick Presbyterian Church, a name now borne by its successor on Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh Street. It was the farthest "up-town" church of that day. Next farthest was the St. George's Episcopal chapel on Beekman Street, corner of Cliff, erected in 1752; and finally the three Dutch churches were nobly matched by three Episcopal ones, when, in 1765, St. Paul's was erected on the spot it now occupies. All the others have disappeared: St. Paul's alone abides, for Trinity's vastly altered form brings up no memories of the days before the Revolution. It may be useful, if we would vividly set before our minds the city as it was during those momentous times, to fix firmly in thought and picture to our imagination the number, form, and location of these churches. Other municipal conditions—the city's dimensions, appearance, topography, its distribution of streets and population—will then the more readily rehabilitate themselves.



NORTH DUTCH CHURCH ON FULTON STREET, 1769.

We have, in speaking of the churches of the town, somewhat exceeded the limit of years we had set to ourselves for consideration in this chapter. But all through the period herein embraced a noted

religious movement swept over America which had a decided effect upon church life in the city as elsewhere. Between 1740 and 1770 the Rev. George Whitefield visited the American colonies seven times, addressing audiences in every important city from Boston to Charleston. Everywhere he aroused the greatest enthusiasm. People were awakened to a livelier interest in religion as an emotion and a life rather than a profession by mental consent to certain theological tenets taught in the schools and recited in the confirmation class. He arraigned the dead formalism of the ministry as well as of the people. Bitter opposition was excited quite as much as a hearty assent given to his just rebukes. But the result was a general conviction that religious life and church-membership should be something different from what it had ordinarily been before—a thing more of the heart and conduct than of the head. Hence the work of Whitefield



WALL STREET
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

in America was attended by results everywhere which have entitled it to be designated appropriately as the "Great Awakening of 1740." It is of course of special interest to us to notice that Whitefield also visited New York City. On his tour through the colonies, starting from New England he first came within the present limits of our city at East Chester, where he addressed an audience of three hundred people. At Kingsbridge he preached from the steps of a public house to five hundred, but with no effect that could be visibly appreciated. He arrived in the city proper on October 30, 1740, and was entertained at the house of a Mr. Noble, an elder in the Wall Street Church, who had invited him to come to New York. The Episcopal ministers refused to let him speak in their

churches, although he was in the orders of the Church of England. But Mr. Pemberton, pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, cordially gave him the use of his pulpit. As the church could not accommodate the crowds that flocked to hear the famous evangelist, he addressed audiences also in the open air "in the fields" or Common. His first sermon was preached on the morning of Friday, October 31, in the church. He preached also in the evening. On Saturday, November 1, he again preached twice to increasing crowds. He had come to New York with misgivings, fearing he would have no results. But he had no cause to be discouraged. The next day, Sunday, he preached morning and evening. At the second service the peculiar demonstrations usually attending his exhortations were apparent in full force. On Saturday

evening, indeed, some people had fainted away; but on Sunday evening "the whole congregation was alarmed. Shrieking, crying, weeping, and wailing were to be heard in every corner, men's hearts failing them for fear, and many falling into the arms of their friends." On Monday Whitefield again preached twice in New York, but on Tuesday he left to continue his journey to Philadelphia and the South. He preached that day on Staten Island, standing upon a wagon, to an outdoor audience of some three or four hundred people. In 1748 he was again in the country and possibly at New York; but on his visit in 1764, he writes that his work here was attended with even more marked effect than at the first visit just described.

Other than the leading sects possessed fine churches. New York now, as of old, had its share of all kinds of sects; and they existed without molestation. The Lutherans had two churches, one on Rector, the other on Frankfort streets; and the Quakers had a meeting-house on Crown (Liberty) Street. The Moravians also had a congregation, with a modest chapel on Fair (Fulton) Street. Their services were in the English language, and a contemporary says that they "consisted principally of female proselytes from other societies." The Baptists had a small meeting-house on Vandercliff (Cliff) Street; and the Jewish synagogue in Mill (now South William) Street, while of no architectural pretensions outside, was said to be very "neat within." A curious instance of a condition of affairs that has now utterly passed away, and an evidence that church and state were not as yet severed in America, is the record upon the Common Council minutes of 1747, that four pounds be paid the public printer to defray the cost of printing fifty copies of "An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen." We note once more that William Bradford was still alive to see to this ecclesiastical job, for he did not die till five years later. As regards schools in 1743, we find as yet no buildings put up for their special accommodation; and in regard to their quality, we have only the most gloomy contemporary testimony: "The schools are in the lowest order, and the instructors want instruction." In 1748 the first schoolhouse was put up on Rector Street for the Episcopal children; and in the same year one was built by the Dutch people in Garden Street, opposite the church, containing also accommodations as a residence for the teacher. In 1743 a school had been opened by the Dutch deacons in a house in Cortlandt Street, with Abraham De Lahoy as teacher, presumably a son and namesake of the person who taught school for the Dutch congregation in 1679. Free education was an established fact in the city as early as 1749. The chorister of the Middle Church, who was its teacher, had at least twelve of his scholars on the free list, six in reading and six in writing, for whom he received from the consistory a load of wood, "half nut, half oak," for each scholar, and £12 10s. per annum in money.

A great step forward in education was taken in the founding of

Columbia College, at first called King's. A bill passed the Assembly on October 22, 1746, authorizing the raising of a fund of £2,250 by lottery. Large gifts also came from individuals, among them Governor Hardy. Classes were not formed till about 1750, and in 1753 the first President was called, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut. He was an Episcopal clergyman, and the charter called for membership in that church as a requisite for the position. This gave great offense to people of other communions, and unfortunately this excellent undertaking led to another division of New York City into parties, headed in this instance by the De Lancey family and following on the side of the Episcopalians, and by the Livingston family and following on the side of the Presbyterians and others. Perverse and embittered relations in politics for many years thereafter. The collection of funds went on slowly. Trinity Church gave ground for the buildings, comprising the block bounded by Murray, Church, and Barclay Streets and College Place, and here at last, on August 23, 1756, the cornerstone was laid by Governor Hardy. Among the



COLUMBIA (KING'S) COLLEGE, 1758

early graduates of the college were such names as those of John Jay, Robert R. Livingston, and Governor Morris.

Another evidence that New York people were alive to something more than commerce and politics, is afforded by the founding of the "Society Library" in

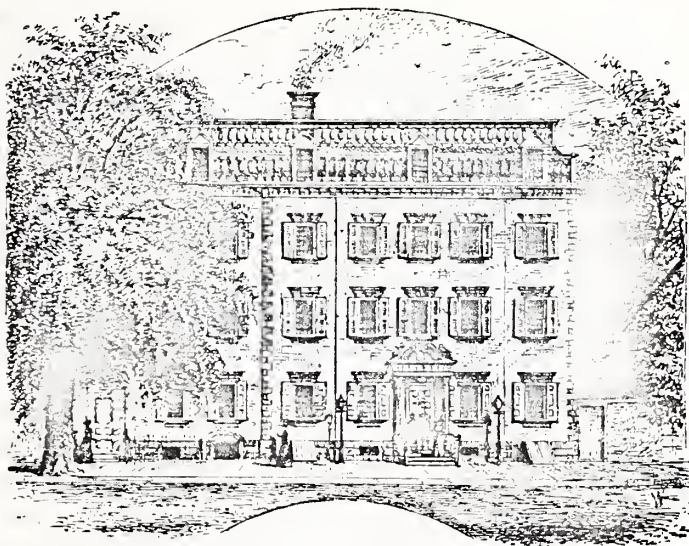
1754. The corporation had come into possession of a library much earlier. In 1700 the Rev. John Sharpe, Lord Bellomont's chaplain-in-the-fort, having been much worried by Rector Vesey's conduct toward him, left to return to England, and generously donated his library to the city. This was supplemented in 1728 by the gift of another clerical library. A Rev. Mr. Millington had bequeathed his books, over sixteen hundred in number, to the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," who decided to bestow them upon the benighted town on the shores of the Hudson. Thus the "City Library," doubly theological, had attained some respectable size, and the corporation devoted a room in the City Hall to its proper preservation. As Mr. Sharpe was back in the country, he was made custodian; but being well stricken in years he did not long live to attend to this congenial duty, and after his death the books fell into sad neglect. In the month of March, 1754, there were

together at an evening company the three brothers, Philip, Robert R., and William Livingston; with John Morin Scott, later to be heard from; William Alexander (afterward General and Lord Stirling of the patriot army) and William Smith, Jr. The last two will be recognized as sons of James Alexander and William Smith, respectively. They determined to start a movement to found a library "toward promoting a spirit of inquiry among the people, by a loan of books to non-subscribers." These few young friends, four of them graduates of Yale College, went to work so energetically that before the end of March six hundred pounds had been raised. Permission was readily obtained from the Corporation to add the City Library to their own, and to place the whole in a room in the City Hall.

Taking our stand—anywhere between the years 1743 and 1769—on the heights above the Brooklyn ferry we could have taken in the whole City of New York at one glance, from Peck Slip to the Battery. A few scattered houses might have been seen on the hills back of Corlaer's Hook; then in quick succession would have been counted the steeples of St. George, Brick Presbyterian, North Dutch, St. Paul's, and all the rest down to the one in Garden Street. Here and there an elegant mansion might have been picked out—Walton's, and De Peyster's, in Queen Street; possibly De Lancey's on Broadway. Generally the houses were of modest elevation, and of no very great size, but all very neat. Most of the blocks between the fort and Hanover Square were now solidly built up; east of Broadway this feature was apparent as far as Wall Street, and east of William Street as far as Golden Hill, the continuation of John Street; or even as far as Fair (Fulton) Street. But west of Broadway the blocks were sparsely beset all the way from the fort to Chambers Street, and in that far-away region the streets—Warren, Murray, Robinson (Park Place), Barclay, and Vesey—were scarcely more than laid out on paper. In 1756 a line of palisades extended from the North River to the East River, just beyond Chambers, running along the hill that sloped down toward the Collect Pond (Tombs Prison), and then cutting through some of the laid-out streets on the east side, leaving a few clusters of dwellings outside the defenses. Who could expect, living, say, at Park Row and Pearl Street, to be included in the protection of the city proper? It was too unreasonably far out of town! But within the palisades there were several large vacant spaces even in 1756. For instance, the entire triangle bounded by Fulton Street, Park Row, and Nassau Street, was quite innocent of habitations. Several streets were now paved; Broadway and others beset with trees. Altogether the appearance of the town was quite respectable, if we are to judge from the enthusiastic language of an officer in the Royal British navy writing home in 1756. "The nobleness of the town," he observed, "surprised me more than the fertile appearance of the country. I had no idea of finding a place in America, consisting of

nearly 2,000 houses, elegantly built of brick, raised on an eminence, and the streets paved and spacious, furnished with commodious keys, [quays] and warehouses, and employing some hundreds of vessels in its foreign trade and fisheries—but such is this city that a very few in England can rival it in its show, gentility, and hospitality.”

Some particularly handsome private residences deserve notice. The finest of all was that built by a merchant of the name of William Walton. He had acquired great wealth in the trade with the Spanish colonies. In 1738 Lieutenant-Governor Clarke had written of him to England that he was “the only person in the place whom the Spaniards permit to trade at St. Augustine.” His means increasing with the years he resolved to build him a house in keeping therewith. He was living on Hanover Square, but he selected for his new house a spot further up town, on a hill along the line of Queen (Pearl) Street



THE WALTON HOUSE.

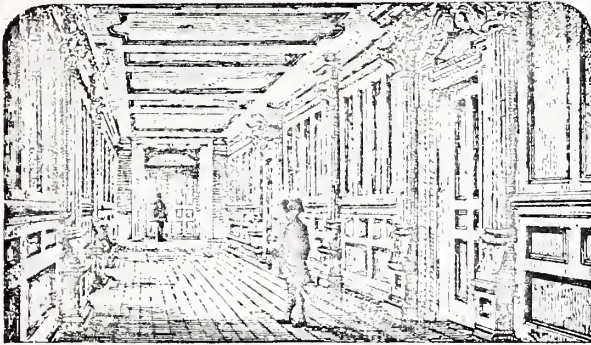
where now we have Franklin Square, and the numbers 324 to 328 Pearl Street will pretty nearly indicate the precise location. Here, as late as 1867, a sign still announced “The Old Walton House,” it being then used as a boarding-house or hotel for sailors; but in 1881 it was torn down to make room for business. In the *New York Mirror* of March 17, 1832, there is a description of its appearance as it was then: “A brick edifice fifty feet in front and three stories high, built with Holland bricks, relieved by brownstone water tables, lentils, and jams. The superb staircase in its ample hall, with mahogany hand rails and banisters, by age as dark as ebony, would not disgrace a nobleman’s palace.” A lady who had seen it illuminated in celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, spoke of it as having “five windows in front, a double-pitched roof covered with tiles, and a double course of balustrades thereon.” The garden extended down the hill as far as the river. No wonder some one in 1762 referred to it as “the nonpareil of the city.” Mr. Walton lived in a style suitable to his dwelling-house, so that the dinners, the plate, the wines, were

where now we have Franklin Square, and the numbers 324 to 328 Pearl Street will pretty nearly indicate the precise location. Here, as late as 1867, a sign still announced “The Old Walton House,” it being then used as a boarding-house or hotel for sailors; but in 1881 it was torn down to make room

quoted in the House of Commons, to prove the wealth of the colonists in an argument for their taxation. The De Lanceys also had fine residences. Stephen De Lancey, the founder of the family's fortune, built a noble mansion on Broad Street on the corner of Dock (Pearl) Street. This fell to Oliver De Lancey, his son, and became later the Fraunces Tavern. Stephen De Lancey built another large house on Broadway, between the Trinity churchyard and Cedar Street. This became the property of his son James, the Lieutenant-Governor, and still later was transformed into the "City Hotel." Abraham De Peyster had long before this built a broad mansion on Queen (Pearl) Street, just opposite Little Queen (Cedar) Street. It was within sound, therefore, of that beautiful bell which he had ordered cast at Amsterdam, and had donated to the Nassau Street Church; and which still rings out from the 48th Street Collegiate Church on Fifth Avenue.

It has already been observed that life in New York was of such a nature as to entitle it to be regarded as a colonial capital. From the standpoint of the strictly conservative colonist, who would never have had it anything else but a colonial capital, it had at this time reached a very ideal condition. "In the year 1752 New York was in its happiest state," wrote a loyalist historian afterward, deploring severance from the mother country. To him this was the "Golden Age of New York," which could not be improved upon. "The colony was extending its trade, encouraging the arts and sciences, and cultivating its lands. Its inhabitants were daily increasing in riches and wealth and opulence. They were at the same time laborious, industrious, and frugal, lived in the most hospitable manner, though with great economy." It was too bad that all this should have been disturbed by a struggle for independence, but there are some that do not regret it quite so much as honest Judge Thomas Jones. Perhaps one reason that the people could not be kept contented with a meek colonial condition, in which they might be happily robbed, and prosperously trampled upon, was that newspapers were increasing among them, for, of course, their business is to find fault with all existing things. The old New York *Gazette*, as already stated, was taken in hand by James Parker in 1743 and published under the name of the New York *Gazette and Weekly Postboy*. In a conflict of authority between Clinton and the Assembly in 1747, James Parker boldly defied the Governor. But when the Assembly ordered the arrest of him and his partner in 1756 for having criticised sharply the people of some of the upper counties, the two editors very meekly apologized and retracted their statements. The New York *Journal* held on to life until 1752, but it must have been somewhat precarious, for in 1751, in the issue of February 25, we find an earnest appeal to the "country subscribers" to pay their arrears. Some of them were behind upward of seven years. "Now," continues

young Zenger with much pathos, "as I have served them so long, I think it is time, ay, high time, too, that they give me my outset, for they may verily believe that my very cloathes (*sic*) are almost worn out." In 1746 the *Evening Post* was added to the number of the city journals, and died soon from a "looseness in grammar and complications in orthography." In 1752, Hugh Gainé, printer and bookseller at the sign of the "Bible and Crown," in Hanover Square—where he sold theatre tickets, as duly recorded in Cooper's "Satanstoe"—added also this other service to the public by starting a new paper, which he gave the airy title of the *New York Mercury*. It was well conducted and won fame as the best paper in the colonies. In 1763 the name was changed to *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*; it was then inclined to be patriotic, but its politics changed with the advent of the British in town. Out of the controversy between Episcopalian and Presbyterian leaders anent the control of Columbia (King's) College, grew the establishment of a



WALTON HOUSE—INTERIOR.

periodical that was somewhat of the nature of a magazine. It was called the *Independent Reflector*. Its first issue was dated November 30, 1752, but its last came out as early as October, 1753. Its literary standard was quite in advance of its contemporaries, and it counted among its con-

tributors William Livingston, the Rev. Aaron Burr, President of Princeton College, and William Alexander.

The sociability and hospitality of New York people are constantly spoken of by those whose words have come down to us from these early days. It was their uniform testimony that New York was one of the most social places in the world. Smith, the historian, tells of weekly clubs among the men, and doubtless it was at one of these happy, informal meetings in March, 1754, of which he writes, that the project of the Society Library was started. The ladies, he says, were not readers; but they were extremely fine housekeepers, which he is just enough to ascribe to the influence of Dutch traditions. Yet the ladies enjoyed "concerts of music," while balls and receptions, too, were not infrequent. These that were held at the houses of the great, were, of course, exclusive. But there were also those of a more public and promiscuous sort, which were held usually in the large assembly or reception-rooms, called "Long Rooms," of the principal taverns, and frequently also in the spacious hall in the second story of the

Royal Exchange in Broad Street. It is stated that dancing assemblies were held once a fortnight during the winter seasons. Gayeties like these were of course quite in keeping with the city's character as a colonial capital, and would give the young people from up the river all the polish they needed in the elegancies and graces of society. Again, as a result of the constant presence of the troops in the city, these entertainments were supplemented by performances on the stage. There had been theatrical performances in New York before this period, in storehouses on the wharves, and other places. In 1750, however, something more nearly like a theater was begun in a barn-like structure on Kip (Nassau) Street not far from the Dutch Church, which had belonged to Rip Van Dam, and could hold only about three hundred people. Here, still, in November, 1753, Shakespearian plays were given, followed always by some brief farce. It was then called the New Theater, so that the place first occupied in 1750 may have been enlarged and better adapted to its purposes. A second theater must have been put up soon after, for in 1754 the deed for a lot at 144 Fulton Street mentions that its situation was in "the rear of the theater-lot." This brings the theater at 17 John Street, between Broadway and Nassau. In January, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey gave permission to build another theater in Chapel Street, near Beekman. In November it was ready for the public, a tragedy being presented, followed by a farce, according to the regulation-program of those days. Boxes were sold for 8s. Tickets for the pit cost 5s, for the galleries 3s. But the population of New York was not yet ripe for this advanced state of "capital" existence. When Colden granted a license for another theater in Beekman Street, the Assembly disapproved of his act. Mayor Cruger even urged the passage of a law forbidding theatrical performances altogether, and in 1766 a mob destroyed the Beekman Street theater.

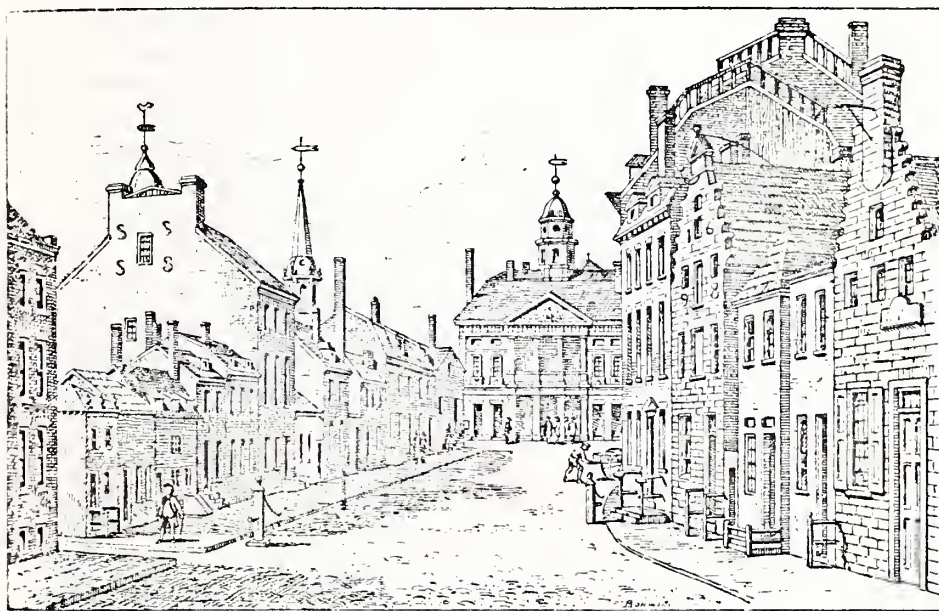
There were other evidences that New York was as yet quite provincial, however much of a colonial capital. The dress was modeled after the costumes of the Court of St. James. Gentlemen in evening companies wore long-waisted coats of velvet of various colors, embroidered with gold or silver lace; the vests were long and of brilliant patterns and hues; small clothes of rich stuff, silk stockings, with diamond, or gold, or silver buckled shoes. There was of course the peruke upon the head, and the handsome, straight rapier by the side. The ladies dressed their hair low or high, whatever the latest mode demanded; wore stiff-laced bodices, high-heeled colored shoes, or slippers of the daintiest make. They carried costly fans. Yet while these fashions remind one of polite circles "at home," there is something suggestively bucolic about the fact that when, in 1757, the wife of General Gates was seen riding abroad in a riding-habit such as English ladies were accustomed to wear, people raised their hands in holy horror, saying that she wore "men's clothes," and protested that

"the manners of the times did not admit of such female display." A serious drawback to the city's growth in good social material was the abominable practice of the transportation of criminals to which the mother country was addicted. There were bitter complaints in the *Independent Reflector* on this subject, the transportation of felons to the colonies being freely characterized as an outrage to the decent element there—relieving one part of the British dominions from the plagues of mankind, to cast them upon another. The climate of the city was so good that to this cause was attributed the fact that so few suicides occurred there. Nevertheless, the increasing population, without sanitary precautions on the basis of the best scientific knowledge, entailed upon New York, as upon cities in Europe, frequent visitations of the pestilence. It was lamented that there were such loose regulations about physicians. "We have no law to protect the lives of the King's subjects," writes William Smith, Jr., about the year 1762, "from the malpractice of pretenders." Any man might set up for a physician, or apothecary, or surgeon. No candidates for these important professions were examined, licensed, or sworn. In 1753 New York had forty doctors, and the *Independent Reflector*, taking up this question of public interest also, recommended earnestly that regulations should be established to save the people from quacks. In 1760 rigid provisions of that kind were enacted by the Provincial Assembly.

The capital, with English gentlemen in it, officials, civil and military, and withal, plenty of the fair sex tinged with English notions of what was *au fait*—could hardly fail to have racing among its attractions. A race track was laid out in 1742 on the Church property where the Astor House now stands, and eight years later it was still there, for Lewis Morris, Jr.'s horse won a prize from five entries. There was a racecourse also at Greenwich in 1753, on Admiral Warren's estate, Oliver De Lancey being in charge of the "events." A third course was laid out at Harlem. Meanwhile the track at Hempstead, Long Island, was still very popular. "Society" in chairs and chaises crossed the ferry on the day before the races and spent the night in taverns conveniently near. In May, 1750, it was estimated that as many as a thousand horses had collected in the neighborhood. In 1756 there was a famous boat race on the river. Sixteen whaleboats had gathered at New York, all from Cape Cod. These were manned by fishermen who had been engaged to do bateau-service on the Canada waters, in the campaign then planning. One of these boats, manned by six men, was pitted against a boat manned by six of New York's best oarsmen. But it was hard to cope with such sturdy knights of the oar as the men from Cape Cod, who were in constant and hard practice all their lives long. They easily beat the men of the city.

In the early months of 1756 our little colonial capital was thrown

into a flutter of pleasant excitement by the arrival of a very important personage, who was worth more than all the royal Governors since Burnet put together, with a few generals like Londoun and Abercrombie into the bargain. The fame of the hero of "Braddock's defeat" had gone through all the colonies, since that melancholy event on the banks of the Monongahela, July 9, 1755. "Your name," wrote some one from Philadelphia, "is more talked of in Philadelphia than that of any other person in the army." We refer of course to George Washington, now Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of all the Virginia militia. A captain of the regular army, with a company of thirty men under him, claimed to outrank the Militia-Colonel, making considerable trouble for Washington in conducting his operations



BROAD STREET AND CITY HALL.

against hostile Indians on the borders. So he resolved to come North and have this vexatious question of rank settled once for all. The successor of Braddock was Major-General Shirley, whose headquarters were at Boston, and Washington determined to visit this officer in person, and get his decision. On February 4, 1756, thus a few weeks before he completed his twenty-third year, he and two companions started from Mt. Vernon. They traveled on horseback, and each was attended by a mounted black servant. The party stopped at Philadelphia, and were received there with great enthusiasm. The next stop was at New York City. It must have created quite a sensation in the town to behold three mounted officers and three servants behind them, clattering through the streets on their way to the Black Horse Tavern, on Garden Street near Broad, or to the Royal Oak on

Broadway, below Exchange Place. Or perhaps Washington was entertained at the home of his friend Beverley Robinson, the son of Speaker John Robinson, of the Virginia House of Burgesses. There was a house on the corner of Park Place and Broadway at that time, and the street running to the river was not known by the modern name, but is called Robinson Street on a map of 1756. Possibly young Robinson was living there. He had married a wealthy New York lady, a daughter of Adolphus Philipse, the prominent merchant, landholder and counselor. The cavalcade must have excited considerable attention. Washington's figure was a splendid one, in size and proportion beyond ordinary men, and his horses were always of the finest breed and form. The three young officers were gorgeous in their colonial uniforms, sword knots of gold and scarlet, hats of the latest fashion, glittering with gold lace. Upon the housings of man and master was embroidered the Washington crest. They wore flowing military cloaks, adorned with gold lace. The servants too were richly attired: what in the masters' accoutrement was gold-laced, was silver-laced for them, and Washington's was in complete livery corresponding to the color of the arms of his house.

After a brief stay the party sped along out of town by the Bowery Road, through Harlem and so on to Kingsbridge on their way to Boston. But off a little from the road, standing high on the bluffs beyond the Village of Harlem and commanding a wide view of the country beyond the river, stood a handsome country house. We will come across it later as the Morris House, again later as the Jumel Mansion, and as such we can go and look at it as it stands in its original position on 161st Street, near St. Nicholas Avenue. This was the country seat of Beverley Robinson, and, of course, the party must halt here. Washington's mission at Boston was accomplished after a stay of ten days, the commander of thirty men being put into his proper place. He and his friends then started back for home. A second time they stopped at New York; but we read of no second sojourn at Philadelphia. Was it then true that the impressionable Washington, already hit hard by the arrows of Cupid on more than one previous occasion, was smitten by one of the New York belles? Mary Philipse, stately, beautiful, and wealthy, was the sister of Mrs. Beverley Robinson, and Washington must have been thrown familiarly into her society. Hence tradition has it that he fell in love with her, but that she declined his addresses. She must have been obdurate indeed. Washington had all the graces of person to attract the female eye, and his fame for unparalleled bravery in the field was in the mouth of all the colony. His character too was of the finest and loftiest quality. It seems as if he must have been irresistible. Perhaps he made no advances: the Philipse blood was not inclined to pulsate vigorously on the side of the people against the crown, and even then intimations of that loyalism which bade her finally marry Captain Roger

Morris, an English officer, and prefer exile to England to independence in America, may have cropped out. Such was her reputation for strength of mind, that some one ventured to say that if Washington had married her he would never have fought on the side of the patriots. This is all conjecture, of course, and very doubtful at that. It may have been this very attitude of mind which prevented cordiality and affinity between two young people otherwise so handsomely matched. In March, 1756, he was back in Virginia overwhelmed with work, and though rallied about Miss Philipse, and warned that Captain Morris was about to capture her, he serenely kept on in the line of duty, with no evidences of a broken heart.

It may be stated here that in the autumn of 1582 an important change in the calendar was made by the English authorities for England and her colonies. The ten days dropped out of the calendar by Pope Gregory in 1584,—the accumulations of a slight error in the calculation of the length of the year,—had not heretofore been recognized by England as it had been on the Continent, and they had accordingly grown to eleven days. They were now ordered dropped between September 2 and 14, so as to advance England's dates of record and harmonize them with those of other civilized nations. At the same time the year was decreed to begin on January 1, instead of on March 25 or 27, as before, which had always necessitated a double marking of the year-number during those nearly three months. One wonders whether Washington celebrated his birthday on the 22d or on the 11th of February, during his visit to New York and Boston.

CHAPTER VII.

PREPARING FOR INDEPENDENCE.



ELL might the corporation of the "ancient city" of New York pay compliments to General Amherst and present him with the freedom of the city. Prosperity was bound to visit her citizens at the restoration of peace, the threat of the North removed and the seas cleared of the preying enemy. The progress of the war, however, had only made the people of New York better acquainted with their own importance in the guidance of legislation. They had not lost sight for a moment of the fact that the people had a voice in the administration of government, because they, through their representatives in the Assembly, held the purse-strings. Cornbury's rascality had taught them this useful lesson. They had assumed the right to vote appropriations in order to save the treasury: to keep it up now was to save the State.

The war against the French and Indians of Canada had had a glorious issue, but it had caused a vast increase of England's public debt, which now attained the alarming figure of one hundred and forty millions of pounds. To meet this heavy obligation England had need of drawing upon her resources in every quarter of the empire. Certainly she might confidently look to America for support in this particular. Her colonies there were perhaps more directly and largely benefited by the defeat of the French and the conquest of Canada than any other part of the English dominions. They had borne a noble part in the conflict, having furnished no less than twenty-five thousand men. No one appreciated more keenly than Pitt, the statesman to whose sagacity the present results were mainly due, how important was the share contributed by the colonial forces to those results and the benefits accruing therefrom. Yet it was but reasonable that they should now also bear a part in the burden of debt. No valid objection could have been brought against this proposition: no lawful complaint would have been made against the carrying into effect of any such purpose. It all depended upon the manner in which it was done.

It was not apt to be well or wisely done under the King now upon the throne. George III. had begun to reign only a year or so before this. It was his aim not only to reign, but also to govern. "Be a king, George," had been the constant admonition of his mother, from

his boyhood up. He had hardly intelligence enough to comprehend that personal government had become out of date since James II.'s flight, and the "Bill of Rights" under which William III. consented to sit upon the throne. Yet by a peculiar combination of circumstances he was actually enabled to reproduce something of the state of things he desired. Men had their price in that day, and parties were ready to split up after standing nearly a century. Nevertheless it seemed as if the region where the most distinct assertion of the King's personal will could be most safely made, would be England's colonies on the American continent. Here certain crown prerogatives had been clearly usurped, without Bills of Rights or anything of that sort, seized in moments of exigency, and held on to only upon the practical but yet rather unconstitutional basis that possession is nine points in law. "It is historically correct," says Prof. John Fiske, speaking of George III., "to regard him as the person chiefly responsible" in bringing on the American Revolution. "For him, as well as for the colonies it was a desperate struggle for political existence. He was glad to force on the issue in America rather than in England, because it would be comparatively easy to enlist British local feeling against the Americans as a remote set of rebels, with whom Englishmen had no interests in common, and thus obscure the real nature of the issue. The victory of the Americans put an end to the personal government of the King."

The English statesmen had quickly seen what it meant when the Assembly of New York, under Cornbury, had taken upon themselves to vote government supplies only from year to year, to vote no salaries to officers except by name, as well as to elect their own Treasurer. It rained instructions to every Royal Governor since, insisting upon the abandonment of such practices. Lord Lovelace had to meet the first brunt of the refusal which grew only the more determined as the demands were repeated, and as the urgency of the rulers at home convinced the colonists more thoroughly of the value of the prerogative they had seized. Hunter and Burnet, men of liberal sentiments, struggled with more or less grace to be loyal to their instructions. Cosby trampled upon the most clearly established colonial rights, but could do nothing with this, and so the Assembly was neither called nor dissolved, and legislation and appropriation were paralyzed together. Gov. Clinton, imagining he was still the commander of a ship, was kept in a continual turmoil by vain efforts to make his injunctions tell. Poor Osborn was driven to despair and suicide, but the Assembly could not be moved from their position, and thereby commit political suicide. George III. thought it was high time to put an end to this persistent, high-handed disregard of the instructions given to Royal Governors. Neither he nor his ministers did or would see the unwisdom of coercion. They did not appreciate that this practice, whatever might have been its origin, after being the vogue for

more than half a century, had better be recognized as a right. After all, the colonists were British subjects, and, respecting these prerogatives of legislation, they stood upon the precise ground of subjects at home. If money had to be raised in the colonies to maintain the empire as now extended, or to meet the obligations of the great debt, it would have been wiser to have done so along the lines hitherto followed in the administration of the colonial funds. There can be no doubt there would have been a generous and cheerful response. Such had been made to every appeal for the frequent and usually abortive Canadian campaigns, from that of 1710 to the last. There was the warmest feeling of affection, even of deference and devotion, toward the home country. Benjamin Franklin truly informed the House of Commons that the feeling of the colonists everywhere was "the best in the world. . . . They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners."

Instead, then, of going to work in the proper way, depending upon this almost devout loyalty, and recognizing the methods that had grown to be rights,—quite the contrary was done. To reach the reasonable and commendable object of subsidies or appropriations or a revenue, all former concessions were withdrawn, and all the accustomed practices of legislation upon the model of the Parliament at home, were swept away. This was sowing the wind, and the whirlwind was soon ready for the reaping. It was announced by the King's ministers that disobedience to the instructions would no longer be tolerated. The Assemblies could not be allowed to limit the supplies in amount or time, nor even to discuss them at all, but were simply to vote them as demanded. The colonies would be taxed directly by Parliament. A civil list must be voted first of all, thus making utterly independent of the will or criticism of the people's representatives, the governors, judges, and all other royal officers. Moreover, after this, tenure of these offices was to depend solely upon the King's pleasure without regard to behavior. To make this scheme most steadily effective, the disturbing element of possible appeals to earlier grants and instruments was to be removed: that is, all the colonial charters were to be annulled at one fell sweep. The old navigation laws, so rigorous and galling that they had been regularly evaded under every governor, were to be put into rigid execution. Finally, in order to secure obedience to these various measures, a standing army was to be stationed and maintained in America.

It can easily be imagined what an effect such a program of administration would have upon a people accustomed to all the essential parts of self-government for over fifty years. It is an exceedingly superficial view of the situation that the historian Lecky displays when he says that all that Pitt wanted to do was to establish an army of ten thousand men for the protection of the colonists, and that he

asked them to contribute to its support only about £100,000, or a third of the cost of its maintenance. Pitt in the first place had nothing to do with the measures just mentioned. It required men of other and less caliber to propose such outrages upon free subjects. While to such measures as described above,—however mildly administered, however materially beneficial to themselves, and however lightly bearing upon their pockets,—the colonists could not consent and remain worthy of freedom. The whole case was well put by John Morin Scott, whom we met as one of those young friends who founded the Society Library in 1754, and of whom we shall frequently hear amid the agitations soon to be recorded. In an article in one of the journals of the day he wrote: "If the interest of the mother country and her colonies cannot be made to coincide; if the same constitution cannot take place in both; if the welfare of the mother country necessarily requires a sacrifice of the most valuable natural rights of the colonies, their right of making their own laws and disposing of their own property by representatives of their own choosing,—then the connection between them ought to cease, and sooner or later it must inevitably cease."

The doubtful honor of having suggested to the English Government the idea of taxing the colonies by compelling the use of stamped paper in all legal and mercantile transactions, as well as for marriage licenses,—belongs to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke. It was not acted upon at his sugges-

tion, but the times were ripe for it now. On March 9, 1764, notice was given in Parliament by Lord Grenville, the Prime Minister, that a bill would be introduced shortly providing for the raising of a revenue from America by stamped paper. The New York Assembly led the other Colonial Assemblies in petitions to King and Parliament, begging that such a direct infringement upon their liberties be not perpetrated. The King's Privy Council advised him to place these petitions before Parliament. But in his effort "to be King," he acted on his own counsel, and did not present them. Nearly a year after Gren-



PROVINCIAL SEAL.

ville's notice the *Stamp Act* was introduced. It passed the Commons on February 7, 1765, went sailing through the Lords without debate, and on March 22, 1765, received the King's signature and became law. In April the news of passage and signature reached New York City.

It was unfortunate that at this juncture the Chief Magistracy should have been held by one so entirely out of sympathy with his own people. Colden's career as Lieutenant-Governor presents a remarkable record. The post was advocated as a permanent one by Clinton with the idea of bestowing it on him. But it did not come to him until a year after the death of James De Lancey, or in 1761. Three months later General Monckton arrived to assume the Governorship. But he soon left, and Colden was in power again for a few months, or till June, 1762. Monckton came back and ruled for a year, when Colden assumed the duties of administration from June 28, 1763, to November 13, 1765. On that day Sir Henry Moore became Governor. He died in September, 1769, when Colden again officiated for thirteen months, or until October 19, 1770. Earl Dunmore, appointed to succeed Moore, remained only about nine months, when he became Governor of Virginia, and was succeeded in turn by William Tryon, in July, 1771. Tryon went to England in 1774, on a leave of absence, when once more Colden took up the reins of government until his return, or from April, 1774, to June, 1775. He then finally retired to his country-seat near Flushing, L. I., and died in 1776 at the age of eighty-eight. Colden was a thorough Tory to the end. Although opposed to some of Clinton's most despotic tactics, he himself, in the conflict between the people and the royal prerogative, became a staunch, uncompromising upholder of the latter, thereby making himself thoroughly unpopular. He went so far as to propose a measure which struck at the most cherished and vital rights of freeborn Englishmen, advising that appeals be allowed from the verdicts of juries, to be decided in England. The most conservative of the colonists were justly alarmed at such an innovation. From all sides petitions were addressed to the Ministers against the proposition, and so oppressive was the scheme that even the King and his Councilors in their present temper dared not impose it on the colonies. They decided that there could be no appeal from the verdict of a jury. The attitude of Colden was all the more discouraging from the fact that he was so closely identified with the colony and all its interests.

No wonder then that he entirely misrepresented the attitude or spirit of his fellow countrymen. "I am fully persuaded," he wrote a month after the news of the passage of the Stamp Act had come to New York, "the People of this Province will quietly submit to the King's determination, whatever it be." What he learned of disaffection he ascribed to a mere faction. But it was more than that, as he had cause soon to know. The burst of indignation and resentment was universal throughout the colonies. And New York was not be-

and. As some one says, she did not wait for inspiration or leadership from elsewhere. Colden also saw this, and wrote to the British government: "Whatever happens in this place has the greatest influence in the other colonies." The united sentiment that resistance must be made to the attempt now pending to tax the colonies in defiance of their rights and against their custom, bore fruit in a suggestion that went from one legislative body to the other. It was to the effect that a Congress of delegates from all the colonies be called to discuss the Stamp Act, and take measures to prevent its execution. In June and July, 1765, news came of the appointment of Agents for the distribution of stamped paper, and also that on November 1, 1765, the Act itself would go into effect. This only stimulated the scheme of a Congress, and it was appointed for October 7, so as to give ample time for the discussion of methods for opposing the Act before it went into force. The place appointed for the meeting was New York City, as the most central in location.

Much of this determined opposition and aroused sentiment as well as organized movement was due to a body of agitators known as the "Sons of Liberty." The term originated, as historians uniformly tell us, with Col. Barré, the companion of Wolfe in the Quebec campaign. He had been favorably impressed with the conduct of the Americans in that undertaking, and always remained their friend and defender. Townshend in the course of a speech on the colonies in Parliament had made the remark that the Americans were "children planted by the care of Great Britain." At the close of the speech Barré leaped to his feet, and in an impassioned defense repudiated that statement, and retorted that the Americans were "Sons of Liberty." This phrase struck a sympathetic cord in the colonies, and the agitators for resistance to proposed oppressions selected that name as a term of honor. This is the account of the origin of the name usually given; yet some writers make mention of "Sons of Liberty" as active in the defense of Zenger in his famous trial, the procuring of Andrew Hamilton being due to them. They were also called "Liberty Boys" at times. There are no clear evidences of their organization into societies until they had been operating for some time, because their proceedings were in a measure kept secret, and their earlier exploits mostly conducted under cover of night. Many of them maintained a discussion of public questions in the journals of the day, the articles being signed, as was then the custom, by pseudonyms. The Sons of Liberty represented perhaps the rather more violent or radical wing of the popular party, and it needed at times the restraining hand of the more moderate patriots to keep them within the bounds of propriety or wisdom. Societies seem to have sprung up spontaneously in every colony, who established communication among themselves for the purpose of concerted action. In January, 1766, these plans for an association on an intercolonial basis had assumed definite

shape, and now also the precaution of secrecy ceased to be observed. The leaders of the New York Sons of Liberty were men of force in several ways. We find familiar names among them. Among the more moderate men were William Smith and William Livingston, the former the son of the lawyer disbarred in the Zenger case. John Morin Scott, another lawyer, and also a graduate of Yale, as were the others, was the author of several trenchant articles in the newspapers, usually signed "Freeman," boldly deducing the logical necessity of independence from existing conditions. He leaned toward the more violent counsels. A picturesque character was Captain Isaac Sears: he came to be called "King Sears" in connection with his exploits as a leader among the Sons of Liberty. In 1759, when in command of a privateer sloop of only fourteen guns, he fearlessly attacked a French ship of twenty-four. He grappled with his superior quarry three times, when they were separated by a gale. A man of such resolution would be apt to engage in enterprises requiring courage, and the times offered many such: John Lamb was another leader, who championed their cause as member of the Assembly; and still another hero was Alexander McDougall, of whom more anon. Among the earliest enterprises indicating organization among the Sons of Liberty in New York was the rescue of some impressed seamen. The practice of impressment, as we have had occasion to mention more than once, was always hotly resented by the people of New York. At the present time it was but adding fuel to the flames to engage in such attempts. In 1764 four fishermen were one day taken from their boat in the Bay, and compelled to enlist on board of a British man-of-war lying in Harbor. The next evening the captain of the ship came ashore, doubtless without the least thought of being molested. He soon discovered his mistake. A party of men met him at the wharf, took quiet possession of his person, and marched him to the Merchants' Coffee House in Wall Street, where he was compelled to sign an order for the discharge of the four fishermen. Another party had in the mean time dragged the captain's boat on shore and bearing it in triumph to the green on the Commons, they made a bonfire of it there.

The summer of 1765 passed away and November 1 was drawing near apace, when on Monday, October 7, gathered in the Assembly Chamber of the City Hall at New York the Stamp Act Congress called for that date. Twenty-eight members took their seats. The delegates had in most cases been appointed by the Colonial Assemblies. Virginia and North Carolina had none present, because their Assemblies had been prorogued. The Governor of Georgia had forbidden the Assembly to send delegates. New Hampshire was not able to send any. The New York Assembly was not called together by Colden and could not appoint representatives, but the committee that had been in correspondence with other colonies were admitted as

members of the Congress. These were John Cruger, just retired from the Mayor's chair; Robert R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard. Thus nine of the thirteen colonies were represented, the number that was later required to make valid the Federal Union. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen chairman, and the sessions were held with closed doors. A committee appointed to draft a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances," reported on October 19, and their report was adopted. Thereupon three committees were appointed: one to prepare a petition to the King; a second to prepare one to the House of Lords; a third one to the House of Commons. On three successive days these petitions were discussed and adopted, and on a fourth a resolution was passed calling upon the several colonies to appoint agents in England to present the petitions and to seek relief. Strangely enough the Chairman and one member from New Jersey declined to sign these petitions. Exactly three weeks after the beginning of the session, or on Monday, October the 28th. the Congress adjourned. It had not met with any recognition from the Lieutenant-Governor, as might be expected.



BURNS'S COFFEE HOUSE.

It is not quite certain who was the first to suggest the Stamp Act Congress, probably Massachusetts. But there is no doubt whence came the suggestion of the "Non-importation Agreement." No measure was more effective in thwarting the purposes of the Stamp Act; indeed, it was this which led to its prompt repeal as the result of clamors by Englishmen at home. It was fitting that this "agreement" should originate in New York, even then to so great a degree the commercial center of the Atlantic border. The *New York Gazette* contained a call in its issue of October 31, inviting the merchants of the city to meet that evening in the Long Room of Burns's Coffee House, at No. 9 Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green. There, on "Hallow E'en," the evening before All Saints' Day, November 1, 1765, the fateful day when the Stamp Act was to go into effect, two hundred or more gentlemen engaged in commercial pursuits met and subscribed to these drastic agreements: 1. To import no goods from England until the Stamp Act be repealed. 2. To countermand all orders already sent, on the same condition. 3. To sell no goods on commission sent from England after January 1, before which date notice of the agreement might be expected to have reached the shipping merchants there. 4. To abide by the agreement until abrogated

at a general meeting called for that purpose. As a corollary to these resolutions retail merchants agreed to sell no goods after January 1, unless the Act were repealed. This "Non-importation Agreement" was soon adopted by the merchants of other cities: in Philadelphia on November 7; in Boston on December 3. Even in November it was estimated that the value of the goods countermanded would reach the enormous sum of £700,000. It was most religiously kept at New York, although its merchants were the heaviest sufferers. No committee was appointed to enforce it, but the Sons of Liberty in an unofficial way were constantly on the alert to prevent infringements. One merchant, Theophylact Bache, having his residence and store on the south side of Hanover Square, received notice of the arrival of a ship on May 24, 1766, with a cargo of goods consigned to him from Bristol. They were of course shipped after January 1. Mr. Bache had no knowledge of its coming, and cheerfully acquiesced when the Sons of Liberty, led by "King Sears," went on board the ship, and, stamping its papers with the arms of New York, sent it back to England. A feature of the times during which the Agreement was in force was the wearing of nothing but homespun clothing by the men. The *New York Gazette* printed in large type on its first page the patriotic sentiment: "It is better to wear a homespun coat than to lose our liberty." Under the brick arches of the Royal Exchange, foot of Broad Street, a sort of fair or market was held for home-made goods exclusively.

While the Stamp Act Congress was still in session the vessel carrying stamped paper for use in New York arrived in the Bay. The paper had reached Boston in September, and Philadelphia on October 5; it reached New York on October 23, 1765. Lieutenant-Governor Colden apprehended trouble, and had requested Captain Kennedy, of the man-of-war "Coventry," to watch for the arrival of the ship bearing the stamps. They came in the "Edward" in ten packages, stowed promiscuously among the cargo, without mention in the bill of lading, and, it was claimed, without the knowledge of the Captain. The *Edward* was conducted in state up the Bay between the *Coventry* and a smaller war vessel, and anchored under the guns of the fort. Cannon were fired to announce the important arrival, perhaps to defy the excited people. Two days later Colden summoned his Council; only three attended. They advised that a sloop be hired to carry the paper on shore. Not one could be obtained for the purpose. Then the Captains of His Majesty's ships agreed to unload and land the unwelcome packages. They were brought ashore and lodged carefully within the walls of the fort, either in Colden's mansion, or the Secretary's office. Sir Henry Moore was expected at any moment, and the packages were not to be opened until he arrived.

Everything was as yet quiet. On the arrival of the "Edward" all the merchant ships had half-masted their colors. On the morning of

October 31 the New York *Gazette* displayed mourning lines and types. It contained a funeral oration, or sermon, headed as follows:

“A funeral lamentation on the
DEATH OF LIBERTY
Who finally expires on this
31st of October, in the year of our Lord, MDCCLXV,
And of our slavery,
I.”

A week before, on the night of the 24th, when the “Edward” had been in port one day, and was not yet discharged of her papers, manuscript placards in large letters were pinned on the doors of public buildings, and on street corners, bearing the words:

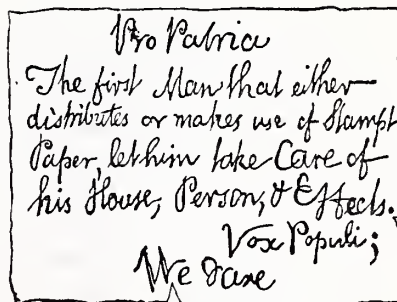
“Pro Patria.

The first Man that either distributes or makes use of Stampt Paper, let him take Care of his House, Person & Effects.

Vox Populi; We dare.”

So something was evidently brewing. Colden remained in a fool's paradise, and was certain he could put the law in force on November 1.

His son, David Colden, solicited the office of Stamp Distributer, which McEvers, the original incumbent, had prudently resigned as the result of some unmistakable representations by the Sons of Liberty. In writing for this appointment on October 26, young Colden informed the Commissioners in London that “the Act would be quietly submitted to in a few days.” The prediction was hardly borne out



Pro Patria
The first Man that either
distributes or makes use of Stampt
Paper let him take Care of
his House, Person, & Effects.
Vox Populi;
We dare

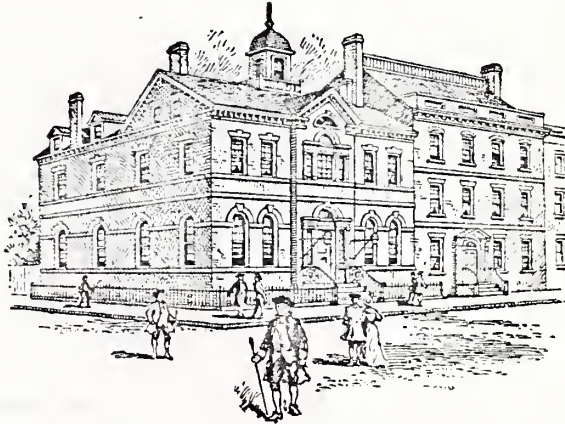
LIBERTY BOYS' PLACARD.

by the events. The Lieutenant-Governor felt safe in his fort, repaired and strengthened, with one hundred men from a royal regiment of artillery back of the ramparts. A Major James commanded the garrison. He, too, had to have his say about the people and their reception of the Act. He boasted that “he would cram the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword, and if they attempted to rise he would drive them all out of town for a pack of rascals, with four and twenty men.” It was fine language, and the response to it could wait, but it was not for long. The day for the Stamp Act to go into effect at last dawned, and intimations of trouble began to fill the air. Toward evening a great crowd had gathered in the “Fields” (City Hall Park). Here was to be seen a portable gallows upon which were suspended two figures. One was an effigy of the unpopular Colden, Acting-Governor, bearing the inscription, “The rebel drummer of 1715,” a bitter reminder of Colden's past disloyalty to the present reigning house, which he served with such unseemly zeal against his

fellow-colonists. The other was a representation of the devil, carrying a boot, a somewhat lame pun on the name of the King's favorite minister, Lord Bute, to whom was traced most of the advice for oppressing the colonies. While the people were gazing upon these suggestive effigies, a procession carrying six hundred lights came in sight, in the midst of which was a sailor carrying a chair on his head, in which was seated a figure of Colden in paper. Marching down Fair (Fulton) Street to Queen (Pearl), through Queen and past the Fly Market to Wall, they turned into Wall, receiving encouraging shouts from the company gathered in the Merchants' Coffee House on the corner, and giving three cheers for McEvers for having resigned the stamp agency, as they passed his house. On approaching the City Hall the Mayor and Common Council met the procession, attended by constables with their staves. But the leaders, with perfect good humor, yet unmistakable firmness, commanded the city authorities to make way for the Provincial Chief Magistrate. The order was obeyed, and soon the procession turned into Broadway and so down to the Bowling Green, stopping in front of the fort gate. Here were the artillerymen under James, and a force of marines and sailors under Captain Kennedy, drawn up upon the ramparts. Loaded guns were pointing their muzzles directly at the people. Some were for breaking down the fort gate, and many tauntingly dared the soldiers to fire into the crowd. The people were prevailed upon not to storm the fort gate, but it was impossible to prevent all acts of violence. They broke open Colden's coach-house, which was outside the fort, dragged forth his coach, placed the paper effigy within it, and with the sailor, who had carried it, on the driver's seat, the torchlight procession marched back along Broadway to the Fields. On the way they met the party who had charge of the gallows with the two effigies upon it. A halt was made, a loud voice proclaimed that no stones should be thrown, nor windows broken, nor bodily harm be done to any person. Then the torchlight crowd turned about, and the whole multitude marched back to Bowling Green. Here the gallows was planted, around it were piled the pickets and planks of the fence, and upon this heap of improvised faggots was drawn the coach, still occupied by the Lieutenant-Governor in paper. The torch was then applied to the pile and a lusty bonfire soon lit up the November sky, consuming gallows and coach and effigies and all. Not very gentle, or perhaps proper, proceedings these, but yet pretty moderate for a mob excited by the threat of a grinding injustice, and the suppression of their dearest liberties. It is a pity that there now followed an act of wanton rowdyism; but Major James had not had his answer yet, and the sight of him upon the ramparts in impotent rage, may have reminded the populace that they had a score to settle with him. At any rate, after the holocaust of coach and gallows and effigies, a section of the mob rushed up Broadway back to the Fields, and then down Warren

street to its terminus at the river. Here stood an elegant villa, surrounded by a beautiful garden, with trellises and arbors and summer-houses. It was owned, or occupied, by Major James, who must have been a man of means and of literary and scientific tastes, as well as a braggart, for it contained a library, costly sets of mathematical instruments, fine furniture, and no end of good wines and liquors. By two o'clock that morning there was nothing left of all this but the charred remains of the house, a ruined garden, and scattered wine casks. It was the one blot upon New York's resistance to the Stamp Act. The Major was afterward compensated for his losses by the British Government.

The stamped paper packages were all this time behind the ramparts of the fort. Colden and his Council wanted to remove them to Captain Kennedy's frigate, but that officer had a wholesome fear for his many valuable houses in the city, inherited through his wife, who belonged to the Watts family. He declined to touch the papers. The people meantime were not content to let the hated paper remain beyond its reach. To avert worse violence than had hitherto been committed, the corporation resolved to request that it be placed in their custody. The Mayor, accompanied by all the Aldermen, and followed by a great multitude of people, loudly cheering, repaired to the fort, and desired of Colden that the packages be deposited in the City Hall. Taking a receipt for them Colden readily



KENNEDY AND WATTS HOUSES, 1 AND 3
BROADWAY.

handed over the dangerous material. This occurred on November 5. On November 13 Sir Henry Moore arrived in the *Minerva*, but no consignment of stamps was aboard this ship, although it was fully expected that this would be the case. Not till January did a vessel arrive with the second installment. The Sons of Liberty at once boarded her, compelled the delivery of the ten packages of stamped paper she had on board, carried them from Cruger's Wharf to one of the shipyards further up along the East River shore, and burned them in tar-barrels. Everything was conducted in the most orderly manner. Meantime the resistance to the use of stamps which the people had imposed upon themselves tested their patriotism severely. Tradespeople and day laborers felt the stagnation of business as a heavy drain upon their scanty income.

The merchants lost great sums, but had plenty to fall back upon. Yet all was borne cheerfully and patiently, with no infringement of the non-importation agreement. The boycotting of stamped paper affected family life in other ways: as no marriage license could be issued without a stamp, marriages were performed without licenses, the bans being proclaimed publicly in church. But the people were getting a powerful ally across the water in the distress caused in Great Britain by the non-importation agreement. Manufacturers and merchants besieged Parliament with complaints of the ruinous falling off of exports to the colonies. At last, on February 22, 1766, a date to become auspicious in American history, and at that time celebrated only at Mt. Vernon, the motion for the repeal of the Stamp Act was first made in Parliament. Pitt, in agony from the gout, made out to get to his place in the Commons to speak in favor of the motion, which he said was a debt owing "to the liberty of unrepresented subjects," and should prevail "in gratitude to their having supported England through three wars." At midnight, March 4, the motion was carried; on March 17, the House of Lords confirmed the action, and on March 18, the King gave his assent, but not with very good grace. The repeal was greeted with joy in London. It may be imagined with what delight the news of it was received in America. Premature accounts reached New York at various times, even as early as April 4. But not till May 20 did authentic information of the happy event get to this city by an express sent from Boston, where one of John Hancock's vessels had brought it from England. The Sons of Liberty were at once on hand with a celebration. There was a dinner at Howard's Tavern in the Fields, salutes of guns, and in the evening bonfires and illuminations galore. But the joy was reserved for its most effusive expression until June 4, King George's birthday. A banquet was spread for three hundred and forty of the best citizens, very nearly the present "400" already, as it appears. For the more plebeian citizens an ox was roasted whole on the Commons, flanked on either side by platforms bearing twenty-five barrels of beer. A hogshead was made the receptacle for rum, sugar, water, and other ingredients for a huge supply of punch. Twenty-five cords of wood were piled about a tall pole bearing on top twenty-five kegs of tar, and a fine blaze the whole made at night. The houses in every street were illuminated. Twenty-five guns were planted on the Commons, for firing salutes; and everywhere the people shouted themselves hoarse over the rather dubious title: "Long live the King, the darling of his people." As this peculiar darling was twenty-eight years old in the year 1766, one wonders why "twenty-five" prevailed so much in the celebration instead of the other figure. A more permanent form of recognition was an appropriation by the Assembly for statues of the King and Pitt, the great friend of America. Four years later they arrived: that of George III. was of lead, richly gilt.

It was placed in the center of Bowling Green, and became useful for making bullets which served the cause of patriotism in 1776. It was unveiled August 16, 1770. On September 7, Pitt's statue, of marble, was placed in Wall Street at its intersection with Smith (William). The British soldiers dealt severely with it in the later war, and its headless remains are treasured among the relics of the New York Historical Society, at Second Avenue and 11th Street.

The Stamp Act was repealed, the dagger was drawn out of the nation's heart, but a twist was given in the very act of withdrawal. Even Pitt himself not only had assented to, but insisted upon the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and to make laws binding on the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." Accordingly in May, 1767, the British Ministry was at work again providing a measure of taxation without representation for America, not in the way of stamped paper this time, but by means of port-duties on wine, oil, and fruit when carried directly from Spain and Portugal; and on various other articles of every-day use, such as glass, paper, lead, painters' colors, and tea. In somewhat ominous combination with this action of Parliament, an act was passed forbidding the Governor of New York to consent to the legislation of its Assembly, thus disfranchising that body. Neither the one action nor the other was likely to assure the colonists that they might now give up all resistance to the mother country. There was a meeting of citizens at Boston which resolved to act with regard to the articles mentioned as the colonists had done before with regard to all goods until the repeal of the Stamp Act. But there was no great concerted movement again all along the line until 1769, when was formed the second non-importation agreement. As in the former one two calls for a meeting were necessary to bring the New York merchants together. They gathered at a place to become historic later, and which still bears the name that has made it so. A tavern called the Queen's Head was kept at the corner of Broad and Dock (Pearl) streets, by two men in partnership. Later it was bought by Samuel Fraunce, who had a place somewhere near the Fields at this time. Fraunce's Tavern still bears its old name on the old spot. A committee was appointed to arrange for making the agreement general among the colonies. Goods of all kinds, with but few exceptions, were forbidden to be bought or sold on one's own account or on commission, if imported from England,—after October, 1769,—until the Act of Parliament imposing duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, tea, and other articles, was repealed. A provision was attached that Boston and Philadelphia merchants should join in the agreement, before June 1st. Somehow these other cities did not so quickly fall into line as desired. Importers at New York signed the paper almost to a man. As the merchants of the two other cities seemed ready toward autumn, another meeting was held at New York on August 25, when the previous action was confirmed, forti-

fied by the actual signatures now collected. By September 5 the Boston merchants and traders had signed, and on September 22 a meeting of merchants was called at Philadelphia. The agreement as now made set the time for the non-importation from January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1770. It was carried on into the year 1770, and then when Lord North had become Prime Minister, its effect became apparent in the repeal of the duties on all the specified articles except tea. In July, 1770, the New York merchants sent letters to those of Boston and Philadelphia stating that they would cease to hold themselves to the non-importation agreement. It was thought that this action was due to the withdrawal of the duties from all but the one article, and New York was bitterly denounced then by both Boston and Philadelphia for breaking faith while one of the specified items still remained in the Act. But New York had another reason, which so philosophical and usually so fair a historian as Prof. John Fiske seems to miss strangely. Bancroft is more just, and declares: "New York alone had been true to its engagements . . . it was impatient of a system of voluntary renunciation which was so unequally kept." Boston and Philadelphia merchants while openly making a boast of adherence had shamelessly broken it in secret. An appeal to figures will show the facts in the case. While in New England imports had fallen off from £419,000 in 1767-8, to £207,000 in 1768-9; and in Pennsylvania from £432,000 to £199,000, in New York was realized the enormous reduction from £482,000 to £74,000. It was no wonder New York men were tired of carrying the sacrifice on their shoulders alone. Lord North, in his speech on the repeal of all duties except on tea, in March, 1770, informed the House that "New York has kept strictly to its agreements, but the infractions of them by the people of Boston show that they will soon come to nothing." And it was the opinion of one of the American agents in England that the whole of the tax,—that on tea also,—would have been removed if "the non-importation agreement had been as virtuously observed throughout America as it had been in New York." With such plain statements within easy reach it is somewhat discouraging to read what some men make of history.

The non-importation agreements were thus annulled, and at the same time no duties were left but that on tea. Without any special concert in action that one article seems to have been pretty effectually boycotted, for the English East India Company was brought to the brink of ruin by its inability to export its tea to America. Thereupon, in August, 1773, the Company made request to export tea to America free of duty. Tea furnished by the Dutch East India Company, and carried to America in English bottoms, was freely sold there. The idea suggested itself to Lord North and his Royal Master that it would be a good thing to grant the Company's request. By taking off the export duty of 12 pence per pound, and requiring the

payment of only 3 pence in American ports, 9 pence per pound were gained, and by so much cheaper the English Company's tea could be sold, and thus undersell the foreign Company. The temptation of getting their tea cheaper than before it was hoped would blind the colonists to the fact that they were introducing the taxed article. It was a stupid subterfuge, however, worthy of such brains as those of George III. and his Premier. Nobody in America was deceived for an instant. The moment the East India Company sent out its six hundred chests of tea, to be distributed among the cities of the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Charleston, the colonists were on the alert for the arrival of the ships, and preparing to prevent the discharge of their cargoes. All the struggle for privileges and liberties dear by long possession and exercise was concentrated on the rejection of tea. Openly at last an announcement was made that on a certain day an association had been formed under the name and style of "The Sons of Liberty." Five resolutions were adopted for the subscription of members, and all of them called for patriotic action in regard to the expected tea. Its date was November 11, 1773. But by that time there was in the city another organization, "The Friends of Liberty and Trade," of the more moderate men, merchants, and landholders, who did not find it necessary to burn effigies, and have bonfires, or liberty-poles, in order to show their determination to uphold American liberty. The Sons of Liberty, who were of the more boisterous and less responsible class, appealed to the more dignified rival body, to unite with them on the tea-question, and of course they did. Three merchants of New York, Henry White, Abraham Lott, and Mr. Benjamin, having received the appointment of Commissioners for the sale of the English Company's tea, they were waited on by a committee of these associations, and as a result they declined to handle the tea at all if liable to duty. Governor Tryon, who was now in the chair, proclaimed that in order to prevent trouble, and out of respect to the prejudices of the people, he would receive the tea in the fort, and leave it there undisturbed, until satisfactory measures could be taken for its distribution. At a meeting of the Sons of Liberty this proposition was at once rejected, for it was seen that if landed anywhere the duty on it would have been paid, and the people would get taxed tea without knowing it. This meeting was held on December 16, 1773, the very date of the Boston Tea Party. It was not till April



SAMUEL JOHNSON.

18, 1774, that the first tea-ship arrived in New York Harbor. As fate would have it, now that trouble was again at hand, Colden was also again at the head of affairs, Tryon having sailed to England April 7, on a leave of absence on account of ill-health, to be gone about fourteen months. The ship carrying the tea was the *Nancy*, Captain Lockyer. The pilot refused to bring her through the Narrows until the Sons of Liberty were heard from. They permitted the captain to bring his ship up to the city, but not to enter it at the custom house. The *Nancy* was therefore laid alongside of Murray's wharf at the foot of Wall Street. The captain came ashore, was conducted courteously to the consignees, and learned from them that they would not receive the cargo. He then made preparations for his return to England, the date for which was set on April 29, and a program of ceremonies arranged fitly to celebrate the happy result so peacefully secured. But on the very day appointed another tea-ship had come into harbor, the *London*, Captain Chambers. He had told the pilot he had no tea aboard, and hence the *London* had been permitted to enter. But it was not easy to deceive the "eternal vigilance" of the Sons of Liberty. They had certain information that tea *was* aboard the *London*. Owners and captain were summoned to appear before an investigating committee, and then it came out that Chambers had eighteen cases of tea on board as a private speculation. This afforded a chance for a repetition of the Boston Tea Party: in the evening a number of Liberty Boys boarded the offending ship, found the tea cases, broke them open, and gave the tea in a summary way to the waters of the river. Although the next day, April 30, was a Sunday, the ceremonies intended to grace the departure of Captain Lockyer and the *Nancy* were now carried out. He was conducted from the Merchants' Coffee House on Wall and Queen (Pearl) streets, down Wall to Murray's wharf; as he stepped into his boat, cheers were given and guns fired, and all this occurring before nine o'clock in the morning, the church services were not disturbed. It was duly reported in the evening by a committee of observation at Sandy Hook, that the *Nancy* had cleared that point and was well out at sea. The work of rejecting taxed tea was therefore thoroughly done at New York. The New England historians must be of an amazing state of mind, when they carefully note how the tea-ships were treated at Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, and have not a word to say about this city. Even Professor Fiske is guilty of this inexcusable wantonness of historic unfairness.

Matters were now rapidly hurrying on toward independence. The King wanted a test of obedience, and he staked the issue on tea. The duty would have brought in a mere pittance as revenue to England: it would have cost the Americans a mere bagatelle as tax. But it was not a question of money now, and never had been. Committees of Correspondence had been established in New England and Virginia.

on May 12, 1774, news came to New York of the passage of the Boston Port Bill by the ship *Samson*, after a record-breaking voyage of only twenty-seven days from London, thus strikingly supporting the old adage that bad news travels fast. On May 14, the "Sons of Liberty" and "Friends of Liberty and Trade" were assembled in mass-meeting in the Exchange on Broad Street, Fraunce's Tavern hard by being too small for them. Isaac Low was made chairman of the meeting. Two tickets were presented for the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence. The "Sons" had twenty-five names; the "Friends," i.e., the merchants, had these and twenty-five more. Some warm debate followed the double presentation, but the larger committee was elected, and one name added later, making a "Committee of Fifty-one" of the New York Corresponding Committee. Three days later a character destined to become picturesque in the history both of American Independence and its literature, came to New York. This was Paul Revere, a continental post-rider, who came with dispatches from the Boston Sons of Liberty to those of New York and Philadelphia. They referred to measures to be taken in concert throughout the colonies in resentment for the despotic closing of the port of Boston as the punishment for her Tea Party. The whole country was soon aflame.

The precedent of the Stamp Act Congress led to the calling of another to consider measures expedient under the increasing misunderstanding between home country and colonies. Massachusetts sent out the invitation for a congress of deputies to meet at Philadelphia in September, 1774. She appointed five delegates. On July 4, auspicious date, New York patriots were in excited session, the two parties again in conflict, yet acting as beneficial balance-wheels to each other. They chose as New York's deputies five men: three merchants, Philip Livingston, John Alsop, the chairman of the Committee of Fifty-



AUGUSTUS JAY.

one, and Isaac Low; and two lawyers, James Duane, afterward Mayor, and John Jay, a name destined to become illustrious. Jay was the eighth son of Peter Jay and Mary Van Cortlandt. Peter was the son of Augustus Jay, the founder of the family in America, who was a prosperous merchant of New York, with a country-seat at New Rochelle. Augustus Jay had married the daughter of Balthazar Bayard. Thus John Jay was thoroughly

identified with the best life in the city, of intermingled Huguenot and Dutch blood. He was born in 1746, graduated from King's (Columbia) College in 1764, was now twenty-eight years old, and a bridegroom, having recently married Sarah, daughter of William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, an ardent patriot; thus in another way linking himself with a prominent colonial New York family, for William was of the numerous Livingston clan, though in official connection with New Jersey.

The Congress met in Philadelphia at Carpenters' Hall on September 5, 1774. Jay had left without any demonstration on August 29. The remaining four deputies took their departure on September 4, attended to the ferry by a great crowd, carrying flags, and with bands of music. John Adams and the other New England deputies passing through New York City were also enthusiastically cheered on their way. The Congress of 1774 did much the same work as that of 1765. A declaration of rights was prepared and issued; a non-importation agreement was again recommended. On October 26 it dissolved, but in expiring it provided for a resurrection which meant the beginning of independence and national life. It was voted to provide in each colony for the election of delegates to another Congress to meet on May 14, 1775. By that time the die had been cast, the appeal to arms made, and thereafter union among the colonies would be necessary not only to arrange commercial tactics, but to secure the independence of a nascent nation.

The presence of the troops in New York had not mended the situation but rather aggravated it, and introduced the elements of violence and bloodshed. There was a constant and fierce feud between the citizens and the troops. It began with the sacking of Major James's house on November 1, 1765. The guard there belonged to the royal artillery regiment, and they had to fly ignominiously before the mob to save their lives. This disgrace rankled in their breasts and was shared by the entire regiment, no doubt fomented by an abundance of taunts. In December, 1765, an imperious demand was made by the British government upon the New York Assembly to provide free quarters for as many troops as the ministry might choose to send over; and to supply them besides with firewood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles. The Assembly as peremptorily refused; for troops on the march it would provide quarters, but then only after an estimate of the cost. It was for persisting in this refusal that the Assembly was disfranchised, as told on a previous page. Such arbitrary demands and condign punishment on account of the troops, were sure to result in collisions between the citizens and soldiers in town. The first occurred on the night of July 21, 1766. Four officers who had been indulging too freely in liquor at one of the taverns in Broadway opposite the Commons, started out for a lark, breaking the street lamps as they went. Pretty soon thirty-four lamps along Broadway

toward Wall Street were in ruins. This naturally brought the City Watch down upon the officers, and a lively fray occurred in which wounds and knock-down blows were liberally exchanged. One of the officers was finally arrested and locked up, whereupon the three others summoned the sentinels stationed nearby to their help, and rescued their companion. But the next day he was recognized when upon the streets, and re-arrested, and one of the others was also caught. They were taken before the Mayor and Aldermen and compelled to pay for the lamps and a heavy fine besides, General Gage, the Commander-in-Chief, facilitating the action of the magistrates in every way.

The main feature of these collisions between the troops and the citizens was the frequent altercations about the liberty poles. A huge mast, called a Liberty Pole, was first raised by the Sons of Liberty at the enthusiastic celebration of the King's birthday on June 4, 1766, after the repeal of the Stamp Act. It stood on a spot in the Commons opposite the block between Chambers and Warren streets. A large number of soldiers were quartered in the barracks running in a line across the northern end of the Commons, where Chambers Street is now. As the pole was raised to celebrate the triumph of the Americans in forcing the repeal, it was peculiarly annoying to the soldiers, and any injury to the pole was sure to exasperate the people of the town. After the fracas of July 21, out of which the officers came rather badly, the soldiers planned revenge by cutting down the Liberty Pole. This was done on the night of Sunday, August 10, but not without being opposed by a crowd of citizens who had got wind of the purposed outrage. A battle royal was fought, with brickbats and sticks on one side, and bayonets on the other, and many persons were hurt. The soldiers who had done the act belonged to the 28th regiment, then in barracks. On August 12, the Sons of Liberty had another pole up, flying the colors, and bearing the device "George, Pitt, and Liberty." The soldiers of the 28th were arraigned before the Mayor, and bail demanded for future good behavior. But on the night of September 23, the second Liberty Pole was cut down, but so secretly that the act could not be surely traced to the soldiers. The third pole was erected the next day. It lasted till the celebration of the first anniversary of the repeal, March 18, 1767, going the way of the others a day or two later. Presumably the soldiers had perpetrated the act, but no one saw them do it. A fourth pole was set up promptly the following day. It was larger than the others, and bound with iron bands far up from the bottom. Three nights later gunpowder was applied where the ax could do no execution, but it did not work. Now precautions were taken to frustrate the outrage. A watch was set in a tavern near by and when a party of soldiers were seen to approach the pole, they were soon driven away. The authorities of the city and of the province also interfered seriously.

and for a few years the liberty pole was left at rest. In 1770, however, the conflict broke out afresh. Another regiment was now in the barracks, the 16th having superseded the 28th. The new occupants took up the traditions of the former regiment, and began their attempts to destroy the pole on January 13, 1770. They failed and then marched into a tavern on Broadway kept by one La Montagne opposite the Fields, breaking the windows. Four attempts followed the other, and finally, on January 16, the pole was destroyed and its pieces piled up in front of Montagne's tavern. An indignation meeting was held in the Commons on January 17, at which three thousand people were present. The soldiers were roundly denounced, and declared to be public enemies. The citizens asked leave of the Mayor and Corporation to erect another pole in place of the one destroyed. But it was feared that it would only give rise to more disturbances, and the petition was denied. The Sons of Liberty were ready for the emergency: they found that a strip of land in the Commons, 11 x 100, was private property. It was at once purchased, and upon this was erected, not far from the former site, a fifth liberty pole, consisting of two sections, a mast forty-six feet high and a topmast twenty-two feet. It bore a gilt vane with the word "Liberty" inscribed upon it. The soldiers did not interfere with its erection. But on March 24 trouble again broke out on account of the pole. A party of fifteen soldiers were seen by some boys attempting to unship the topmast and take off the vane. They spread the news and soon the Sons of Liberty rushed in hot haste to the Commons to defend their trophy. The soldiers drove them off and they sought shelter in their tavern, Hampden Hall. The bell of St. Paul's chapel now rang an alarm, and the soldiers thought it prudent to retire to their barracks, where their colonel kept watch for the remainder of the night. The Sons of Liberty determined to disappoint the boast of the men of the 16th to carry a portion of the pole with them when they left the city. Their departure having been fixed for May 3, a guard of Liberty Boys surrounded the pole every night until that date. The 16th was succeeded by the 26th regiment, and no further trouble was had about the liberty pole, for the conduct of the new regiment was so exemplary as to win the praise instead of the resentment of the citizens.

It was due to the animosity awakened by the offensive conduct of the 16th that New York must be accorded the honor of precedence to Boston, in spite of its much famed "Massacre," for the first blood shed and first life sacrificed in the cause of independence. The Boston "Massacre" took place in March, 1770; the New York "Massacre" of quite as portentous a nature as to numbers involved, took place on January 18, 1770, on Golden Hill, the part of John Street between William and Cliff. This was the next day after the great meeting in the "Fields," at which the soldiers were declared to be public enemies. In response to this severe aspersion, the soldiers of

the 16th prepared a placard, exalting their own character and services, and full of taunts and flings at the Sons of Liberty, even going so far as to call them rebels. At the bottom was printed: "Signed by the 16th Regiment of Foot." While a party of three soldiers were engaged posting this placard, the resolute Captain Sears ("King Sears") and another Liberty Boy, Walter Quackenbos, came upon them. Sears seized one and Quackenbos another, and when the third soldier advanced upon Sears with his bayonet, the latter hurled into his face the first object upon which he could lay his hands, and with such force that he reeled back. The two patriots conducted their captives to the Mayor's office at the City Hall. Before they reached it twenty soldiers had collected and prepared to rescue their comrades, but citizens in abundance had also flocked together, and a battle was imminent. At this juncture Mayor Hicks appeared and ordered the soldiers to retire to their barracks. They moved in the direction of Chambers Street, but when they had gone as far as John Street, they met a larger party led by one who pretended to be an officer in disguise. A halt was made at the corner of William and John streets, and the command given to charge upon the people down the slope called Golden Hill, toward Pearl Street. The citizens had nothing but stakes wrenched from some sleighs or wagons standing near, the soldiers had their bayonets and side-arms. No bullets seem to have been fired, but in the fray some very serious wounds were given. Sailors from the merchant vessels were always ready to fight on the side of the citizens, and one of these sturdy fellows received a thrust from which he died. Another man "got his skull cut in the most cruel manner," of which probably he died also, making two martyrs to the cause of liberty. The soldiers were pretty badly cut up also, figuratively as well as literally speaking, and as the citizens kept increasing in numbers, completely surrounding them upon the hill, it might have gone very hard with them, had not a detachment of their comrades come up in the rear of the crowd. As they were about to charge and penetrate to the rescue, a party of officers appeared on the scene, and ordered the soldiers back to the barracks, the people opening their ranks to let them through. The next day two conflicts took place, one on the Commons in front of the new jail, and the other in



MAYOR WHITEHEAD HICKS.

Chapel Street (West Broadway), near Barelay. No lives were lost in these affrays, however. "We are all in confusion in this city," wrote a citizen of New York to a friend in London, on January 22, 1770, "on Friday last (18th) was an engagement . . . when much blood was spilt, one sailor got run through the body, who since died; on Saturday (19th) the Hall Bell rang for an alarm, when was another battle. . . . What will be the end of this God knows!"

Out of the disaffection between citizens and troops also grew an interesting case bearing on the freedom of the press. Just a month before the Golden Hill affair the Assembly, at Colden's instance, and by some sudden and unaccountable impulse of compliance, had voted the supplies for the troops so often refused. It roused the anger of the citizens to the highest pitch. There appeared in one of the journals of the day an article entitled "To the betrayed inhabitants of the City and Colony of New York," in which the Assembly was openly accused of having betrayed the common cause of liberty. The members were also challenged to appear at a meeting in the Fields set for December 18, when they would learn what their constituents thought of them. At that meeting resolutions denunciatory of the Assembly were adopted. The Provincial Council offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery of the author of the paper, and John Lamb, secretary of the Sons of Liberty, and member of the Assembly, was summoned by the latter body to the bar of the House. He was dismissed, as he claimed his action at the meeting was not based on the paper declared to be "an infamous and scandalous libel." Next James Parker, the printer of the *Gazette and Post Boy*, was arrested, and upon information elicited from him by Colden and the Council, Alexander McDougal, one of the most turbulent spirits among the Liberty Boys, was arrested as the author of the "infamous" article. He refused to give bail and was confined in the new jail on the Commons, the present Hall of Records. He was called the American Wilkes, and as the latter's offending criticisms of the King had appeared in No. 45 of the *North Britain*, that figure became prominent also in McDougal's case. The prisoner held regular receptions at the jail every afternoon between the hours of three and six. On March 18, 1770, another anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act, forty-five toasts were drank to Wilkes and McDougal at the Hampden Hall, a tavern put up on ground purchased for that purpose by the Sons of Liberty opposite the Commons, upon the site of the recent *Herald* building. After the banquet the company marched over to the jail and gave McDougal forty-five cheers. The day happened to be the forty-fifth of his imprisonment. His case lingered along for over a year, part of which time, from April to December, he was out on bail. In December, 1770, he was summoned to the bar of the Assembly; he refused to answer and was committed to jail for contempt. On April 17, 1771, he was finally released from jail.

demand of his counsel, John Morin Scott, upon his own recognizance.

Among the many meetings called in order to take action in concert with the other colonies to manifest their detestation of the Boston Port Bill must not be forgotten one held in the Fields on July 6, 1774. It will be remembered that, on July 4, five delegates had been elected to represent New York at the Colonial Congress called to meet in Philadelphia in September. But there had been some friction between the more violent and the more moderate spirits, and to secure final harmony a meeting of citizens was called to assemble at the City Hall on the 7th at noon "to concur in the nomination or choose others." The more aggressive party, led by Sears and McDougall, issued a call the next day (5th) for a mass meeting on the Commons on July 6, and at this open air assembly McDougall, the American Wilkes, presided. The people were treated to a genuine surprise. After several addresses had been made, they beheld the slight figure of a boy making his way to the speakers' stand. It was a piece of immense audacity, and no wonder the bold boy was a little embarrassed as he began to speak. But to the amazement of the audience the embarrassment soon changed into the ease and confidence of the practiced orator. Words of eloquence, closely packed with thought, reason, and logic, at white heat, marked even that maiden speech, as it marked the thinking and speaking of that remarkable boy all through his eventful life. He was recognized as an attendant at King's College; "it is a collegian, it is a collegian," passed from mouth to mouth. And it was: it was no less an individual than Alexander Hamilton, then just about seventeen years of age.



ALEXANDER MCDUGALL.

In the midst of the events and agitations that were preparing the people of New York, along with those of the other colonies, finally to assert and battle for their independence, the newspapers of the city played an important part. There were three that were published regularly through the period now in hand. The *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy* was printed and edited by John Holt. It served the cause of the patriots consistently, publishing the boldest attacks on the measures of oppression. In 1774 Holt adopted as a device on the first page of the paper he then published a snake broken into pieces, with the motto beneath "Unite or Die," derived from the cut in Franklin's Philadelphia paper when he was advocating union against the French and Indians in 1754. In 1775 Holt printed the cut with the pieces united. Huger Gaine, of Hanover Square, still con-

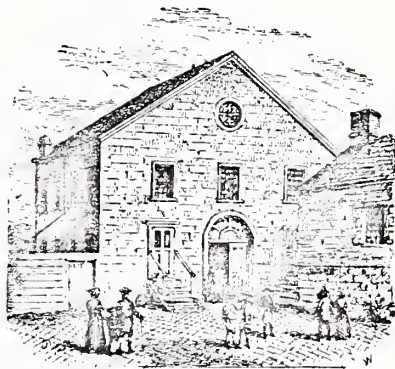
tinued his *New York Mercury*, in which the Tories sometimes found a vent for their ideas, but its columns were open also to the Sons of Liberty. In 1766 James Parker, who had taken over the *Gazette* from Bradford as far back as 1743, resumed its publication, and Holt started the *New York Journal, or General Advertiser*, which was again consolidated with Parker's *Gazette*; whereupon the *Journal* appeared as a separate publication. The most notable articles published in these exciting days were those signed "Freeman," by John Morin Scott. A series of letters in the *Gazette and Post-Boy* on Liberty were signed "Sentinel," and were also attributed to Scott, or Livingston, or William Smith, but they were inferior to the others. Dr. Myles Cooper, President of King's (Columbia) College, tried to set the colonists of New York right on their duties to the home government in a number of ponderous articles in the newspapers. To his astonishment they were not only answered but completely refuted by some writer of the patriot party. It is not known whether he ever learned that his brilliant opponent was none other than that precocious boy in his college, Alexander Hamilton.

The churches were just pouring forth their audiences at noon of Sunday, April 23, 1775, when the devout frame of mind of the worshipers was very much upset by a rumor that they found circulating among the people who had not been in church. It was said that a battle had been fought between English soldiers and New England militia, or "minute men," four days before, on Wednesday, April 19, at Lexington and Concord. There was not much sleep the night following such a rumor, we may be sure, and at two o'clock in the morning of Monday, April 24, the express from Boston with the official information, found Isaac Low, chairman of the Committee of Observation, awake and ready to sign his dispatches, and to pass him on upon his way to Philadelphia. Prompt action was taken on the basis that the revolution had now been begun, and that a new order of things must prevail in the city. On May 1 a "committee of one hundred" was chosen, with Isaac Low in the chair, to take charge of the municipal government. Captain Isaac Sears happened to be under arrest for some treasonable language. He was at once released. He was just the man for the present emergency. The Sons of Liberty, led by Sears and Lamb, proceeded to the City Hall, seized the stands of arms then kept for sudden invasions, and distributed them among the people. All vessels in the harbor laden with provisions for the British army were embargoed. The collector of the port was forced to give up the keys of the custom house. The employees were dismissed, the building closed, and the money and arms taken into custody. Yet the change to independence was not yet permanently established in New York. A Provincial Congress, called to consider the emergency which met on May 22, was found to be decidedly Tory in complexion. Its members were for proposing measures of conciliation instead of

making vigorous preparations for war in line with the other colonies. On June 28, Governor Tryon, ordered to hasten back to his post, arrived, superseding Colden for the last time. But the last Colonial Assembly also had met, and afterward it was formally declared that Royal Rule in New York ended on April 19, 1775.

But few words will need to be added to complete the picture of municipal life during this period preparatory to independence, because, amid the startling events, we constantly catch glimpses of the city, its streets, its buildings, its people. We anticipated the period of this chapter in the last to complete the account of the churches which graced the streets of New York before the Revolution. We must add that the Methodists began to hold services in the city in a humble way in a rigging loft on William Street, in 1766. Two years later, on the site of the present modest structure, was built a church forty-two feet wide by sixty long, on John Street, between Broadway and Nassau. At that time the society had a membership of one hundred and eighty. As late as 1775, on the very eve of the Revolution, the Quakers put up a meeting-house on Queen (Pearl) Street, near Oak, a little above Franklin Square. It will serve later to locate the precise spot where John Jacob Astor began business. It affords a curious and instructive insight into the composition of the New York population to observe that a large section of the inhabitants, occupying and filling three of the largest and finest churches, were still accustomed to worship in a foreign language, up to this very time, and were only just now beginning to make arrangements to accommodate themselves to their surroundings in church-life, as they already had abundantly done in other directions. We refer of course to the Dutch congregation. In 1764, exactly one century since the sur-

render of New Amsterdam to the English, the Consistory, or Board of Elders and Deacons of the Dutch Reformed Church, called their first English pastor, the Rev. Archibald Laidlie. He had been pastor during four years of the Scotch Church in Flushing, Holland, so that he was familiar with the Dutch language and customs. There he had preached in English amid Dutch surroundings; here he was to do the same with no Dutch surroundings except in his own church. In March, 1765, Dominie Laidlie arrived, and on April 15 preached his inaugural sermon in the renovated church on Nassau Street. Five years later a young man, raised in the Dutch Church, a graduate of Yale College, and of the Theological department of the University of



JOHN STREET METHODIST CHURCH.

Utrecht, Holland, was called as the second English-speaking pastor, and the church, corner of Fulton and William streets, was just ready for his occupancy. This was the Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston, a scion of the important colonial family of that name. The name is enough to indicate that he was favorably affected toward the patriot cause. So were all the Dutch Reformed pastors, those who preached in Dutch as well, for they all left the city when the English came in to occupy it in 1776. This cannot be said of the Episcopal clergymen. They kept to the traditions of their church, non-resistance to the crown however arbitrary its measures and unconstitutional its oppressions. They took an active share in the newspaper debates against the Sons of Liberty.

The Mayors during this exciting period were John Cruger, Jr., and Whitehead Hicks. The latter assumed the chair after the repeal of the Stamp Act. He was a descendant of the Quaker family of that name prominent on Long Island, and a lawyer instead of a merchant, which was unusual for New York. He was not so ardent a supporter of the movement for independence as his predecessor, yet he leaned to that cause, and was not sufficiently friendly to the home government to wish to remain in the city during the occupancy of the British. He ceased to be Mayor in 1776, and then retired to a farm or country-seat at Bayside, L. I., where he died in 1780, at the comparatively early age of fifty-two years. He seems to have made no resistance to the temporary charge of municipal affairs taken by the Committee of One Hundred in 1775. His term was signalized by one achievement for peace and compassion, amid such a multitude which were warlike and bitter. The cornerstone of the New York Hospital was laid on September 2, 1773, by Governor Tryon. The site is familiar to New Yorkers of middle age, between Duane and Anthony (now Thomas) streets on Broadway. The walls were up and roof and interior nearly completed, when a fire completely gutted the building. During the Revolution in this its incomplete state it afforded good barracks for the troops; after the war the construction was carried on as originally planned, and the edifice was first opened as a hospital in 1791.

John Adams, on his way to Philadelphia in 1774 to attend the Continental Congress, was astonished at the evidences of luxury he discovered in New York. There were indeed several people of the kind classified by Carlyle as keeping a "gig." In 1770 twenty-six New York families possessed coaches of the same elaborate pattern as that of Lieutenant-Governor Colden's, which graced the torchlight procession of November 1, 1765, and then became a prey to the flames on Bowling Green. Thirty-three persons were able to keep a chariot or post-chaise, of less pretentious proportions, but still elegant, and indicating wealth. Twenty-six again, still of comfortable competence, owned phaetons, which were two-wheeled vehicles in those days, and

more like the typical "gig." Yet people lived simply even where there was wealth. The gentleman of the household in person visited the markets before breakfast, and ordered the meats and vegetables for the day's dinner. The dinner hour was from 1 to 3 o'clock, becoming later with the influx of English customs to suit the officers quartered in the city. Tea was in the early evening, which might be supplemented by a social supper among a number of friends at the tavern or hotel to which they were accustomed to repair for the exchange of news, an important matter in the scarcity of newspapers. On June 15, 1768, some one wrote to England complaining of the weather. "So uncertain is this climate, that in the morning you may wear a suit of cloathes, at noon sit in your shirt with windows and doors open, and in the evening of the same day wrap yourselves up in a fur cloak." Even then Philadelphia was "slow" compared with New York, for the same gentleman wrote: "This is a better place for company and amusements than Philadelphia; more gay and lively. I have already seen some pretty women." Yet to a European life was dull even at New York. "With regard to the people, manner, living, and conversation, one day shows you as much as fifty. There are no diversions at all at present. The plays are over. . . . You may tell my sister that I get acquainted with families, and drink tea, and play at cards, and go about to assemblies [receptions], dancing minuets."

The interests of commerce were so closely linked with the progress of political events that the picture of life in that sphere is pretty well complete. Yet it is worth while stopping to note one year amid all the rest when trade seemed brisk and the pressure of politics was lifted from its operations. This was in 1768. The exports that year were principally bread, peas, rye, sheep, beef, pork, meal, corn, horses, and eighty thousand barrels of flour. With Hamburg and Holland a trade was carried on in which £246,522 were handled. The ships that entered the harbor in 1770 numbered one hundred and ninety-six; sloops, four hundred and thirty-one; ships cleared, one hundred and eighty-eight; sloops, four hundred and twenty-four. But an event of prime importance was the foundation of the Chamber of Commerce in this same year. On April 8, 1768, twenty-four merchants engaged in foreign trade met in the Long Room at the Queen's Head, later Fraunce's Tavern, corner of Broad and Dock (Pearl) streets, and formed an association under the name and style of "The New York Chamber of Commerce"; ex-Mayor John Cruger was elected President, and Elias Desbrosses, Treasurer. On March 13, 1770, a charter was granted by Lieutenant-Governor Colden. "This," writes John Austin Stevens, its secretary for many years, and its historian; "this was the first mercantile society formed in the colonies, and the modest beginning of the important institution which has since maintained its organization without break, and to-day has a membership of one

thousand of our principal merchants, and the finest gallery of merchant portraits on the American continent."

The population of the city was put at twenty thousand in 1768. It remained about the same up to the Revolution. The streets were beginning to be laid out on the west side of Broadway beyond the Commons (City Hall Park). One block of Reade was graded, and about the same extent of Duane, the Hospital standing quite on the outskirts of the town, and overlooking the Fresh Water Pond at the foot of the hill sloping rapidly down east of Broadway. Along the Bowery road quite a network of streets are seen in 1782 (on paper mostly) between Bayard on the south and Hester on the north, extending eastward toward Division Street or East Broadway. Chatham Square is quite deserted as yet, but there are streets laid out as far as Mott, west, and James, east, of Park Row. The streets in the more populated portions were lighted at night by means of lamps and lamp-posts put up and maintained at the expense of the city.



JOHN JAY.

John Jay —

CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE HANDS OF THE ENEMY.



HE discharge of Major Pitcairn's pistols on the green of Lexington had sounded the signal for the uprising of a nation. "From the 19th of April, 1775," said a speaker on its first anniversary, "will be dated the liberty of the American world." The news of that great occurrence, as we saw in the previous chapter, reached New York on Sunday, April 23. The dispatch carried by the express-rider was dated at Watertown, Wednesday morning, near 10 o'clock. It read: "To all friends of American liberty be it known: That this morning before break of day a brigade, consisting of about 1,000 or 1,200 men, landed at Phip's Farm, near Cambridge, and marched to Lexington, where they found a company of our colony militia in arms, upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed 6 men and wounded 4 others. By an express from Boston we find another brigade are upon their march from Boston, supposed to be about 1,000. The bearer, Israel Bessel, is charged to alarm the country, quite to Connecticut, and all persons are desired to furnish him with fresh horses, as they may be needed." The dispatch was signed by a member of the Massachusetts Committee of Safety. Copies of it were soon printed and the placards posted where the people would be most likely to see them.

The die was now cast. The call everywhere was to arms. Boston, all New England, had been severely punished before, and the colonies had rallied the best they could to neutralize the punishment or protest against it. But this open exchange of battle between New England men under arms and British soldiers could mean and bring only one thing—war. That war must be shared by all the sister colonies, and independence must be the result. New York saw the issue thus raised, cheerfully accepted it, and rose to meet it. Yet there was apparent an early hesitancy which savored of caution, as if the matter was deemed too serious to be entered upon with rashness. The element represented by Sears and McDougall were for headlong measures, and carried out some plans of immediate violence, one of which was the seizure of a storehouse at Turtle Bay. But men such as Jay and Duane and Gouverneur Morris moved more slowly, yet with no less steadiness of force and purpose. Under their influence it was still voted to address a petition to King or Parliament. It was odd, also,

with war trembling on the horizon, to observe with what consideration the movements of British soldiers were treated. On May 26, 1775, the British frigate *Asia*, of 64 guns, Captain Vandeput, came into the harbor to take on board and convey to Boston the regiment quartered at the fort. Congress had previously given instructions that the landing of troops should not be opposed. It was advised, however, to prevent them from erecting fortifications; while the people were told to be in readiness to answer force with force. Thus peace and war measures were strangely mixed. New York's Committee of One Hundred, presumably in the spirit of these Congressional directions, announced that the "Royal Irish" regiment might betake itself to the *Asia*, but the men must not carry more arms with them than those



THE NEWS FROM LEXINGTON.

upon their persons. Accordingly, preparations were made to leave their quarters in the fort about noon on June 4, 1775. They were to march across the Bowling Green down Beaver to Broad, and so to the foot of Broad, where, in the Great Dock, lay transports to carry them to the *Asia*, out in the River. Crowds collected as usual, and very soon they beheld something which needed prompt attention. After a corporal's guard had issued from the fort gate, a rumbling of carts was heard, and four or five of these vehicles followed in quick succession, loaded with stacks of arms. Word of this breach of faith on the part of the soldiery flew rapidly from mouth to mouth, and soon came to the ears of some of the Liberty Boys, who were together at a tavern frequented by the patriots in Water Street, near Broad. They imme-

diately started forth into the street, led by Marinus Willett, a descendant of the first Mayor of New York in 1665. He reached the corner of Broad and Beaver just as the first cart was about to turn into the former street. Now the Sons of Liberty had not much liked the moderate stand of the Committee of One Hundred. They had wished to arrest the whole regiment in their barracks, rather than let them go unopposed to aid the forces in Boston against their fellow-patriots. When, therefore, the soldiers made themselves guilty of this breach of faith, the opportunity, as well as necessity, for decisive action seemed to have come. Willett was the man for that critical moment. He boldly seized the horse by the reins, and ordered the driver to turn about. The sudden stop of the procession of carts brought the commanding officer to the front, who naturally demanded an explanation. This brought other citizens around the bold aggressor and the officer, and in these few moments evidences were given of the different spirits that actuated the men of our city in the pending crisis. First spoke David Matthews, who remained a Tory all through the war, and was made Mayor of New York during the British occupation. He expressed his surprise that Mr. Willett should so endanger the peace of the city and invite bloodshed, when he knew that the troops had permission to depart unmolested. Willett did not give much weight to this remonstrance from a well-known Tory and British sympathizer. But the next speaker almost staggered him. It was Gouverneur Morris, a prominent patriotic agitator; the friend of freedom and independence. He unaccountably supported the future Mayor in his remonstrance and disapproval. Morris had only recently maintained in Congress that the mother country had the right to regulate trade, and that the colonies were in duty bound to aid the royal treasury by grants made by the local Provincial Assemblies. He was acting now in keeping with this pacific attitude. Willett was wellnigh persuaded to retreat from his bold stand, when our old friend, John Morin Scott, appeared upon the scene. He was a member of the Committee of One Hundred. He heartily seconded Willett against Matthews and Morris. "You are right," he shouted, in a voice loud enough to be heard above the increasing din. "You are right, Willett, the Committee have not given them permission to carry off any spare arms." No sooner were the words of encouragement uttered than Willett turned the horse's head back up Beaver Street to the Bowling Green, and ordered the driver to proceed in that direction. He did so, the Major commanding making no protest. As the last cart was about to turn, Willett, at Scott's suggestion, jumped upon it, and addressed the troops marching behind it, urging them to give up the unnatural business of shedding the blood of their countrymen, and promising protection to any who should leave the ranks and come forward. One man responded to this appeal, and he was loudly cheered by the crowds. Thereupon the Major ordered his men to

march back to the fort, while the carts with their chests of arms were conducted up Broadway to the corner of John Street. Here was a bowling alley and yard kept by one Van Wyck, a friend of the good cause, and the arms were deposited in the alley, under his care. They were afterward used in equipping the first companies of soldiers raised in our city for the defense of the country. It may be interesting to remark that the officer whose cowardice or moderation prevented a bloody encounter, resigned his commission the next month. It is to be hoped it was a sincere sympathy with the cause of the colonies which prompted him in both of those actions. A tablet with a bas-relief representation of the incident of June 4 is properly placed on the building on the corner of Broad and Beaver. Marinus Willett became a Colonel in the patriot army, was appointed Mayor of New York in 1807, and died in 1830 at the great age of ninety years. Thus we shall meet him again in this history.

Less than a month after Lexington, on May 1775, Congress had adopted a general plan for the creation of an army. Its points were: A Commander-in-Chief; troops to be enlisted "for the war," as distinguished from the provincial levies that served but for three months, or less than a year at a time; a provision for the care of soldiers' families, or pensions; the troops to serve wherever needed, not for particular duties only; a loan for the equipment of the army, which was to be designated "The American Continental." Under the limitations of their financial condition, the matter of uniform for the army was left in abeyance, and it was a motley assortment that the defenders of liberty usually presented all through the war. As late as July 24, 1776, Washington issued an order declaring that "he feels unwilling to order any kind of uniform, but as men must have clothes and appear decent and tight, he encourages the use of hunting shirts, with long breeches made of the same cloth, gaiter-fashion, about the legs." In this Washington had an eye to inspiring a wholesome fear in the breast of the enemy. The hunters were known to be remarkably good marksmen. They charged their long carbines with three or four bullets at once, and each discharge was wont to go through somebody of the opposing ranks. A Hessian officer wrote home that these riflemen were terrible; the only consolation and safety lay in the fact that their pieces could not carry further than eighty paces. Four New York counties each formed one regiment for this Continental army—New York, Albany, Ulster, and Dutchess. Of the New York county (or city) regiment, our truculent pamphleteer, the American Wilkes, Alexander McDougall, was made Colonel. Secretary John Lamb undertook to organize one company of artillerymen.

As another illustration of the mixture of things early in the war may be noted the passing of Washington through New York, on his journey to take command of the army before Boston. On June 11.

1775, three days before Bunker Hill, he had been appointed Commander-in-Chief by the Congress, on motion of John Adams. On Sunday, June 25, he reached New York. He had been met at Newark, N. J., by a committee, at the head of whom was Gouverneur Morris and Richard Montgomery, so soon fated to die in his adopted country's cause before the walls of Quebec. The party crossed the river from Hoboken, and landed at two o'clock in the afternoon at about the foot of Laight Street, near Greenwich. Here eight or ten companies of militia under arms met the distinguished visitor, and escorted him to his hotel, presumably the old Fraunce's Tavern. Early the next morning Washington started for Boston, escorted for some distance out of town along the Bowery and King's Bridge roads by the militia. At eight o'clock of the same day on which Washington arrived, Gov-



EXPLOIT OF MARINUS WILLETT.

ernor Tryon reached his post again, after a hurried shortening of his leave of absence. The Commander-in-Chief of the Patriot Army had been received in state in the afternoon; the representative of the old régime was none the less honorably recognized. A delegation of magistrates, attended by companies of militia, met him at his landing place, at the foot of Whitehall Street. It still looked as if the Colonists were trying to serve, or felt obliged to serve, two masters. Yet none the less went forward the work of preparing for the extremities of war. Only three days after this double demonstration Colonel McDougall's regiment, and Captain Lamb's artillery company completed their organization.

It was this artillery company which set the ball rolling, both figuratively and literally speaking. About eleven o'clock on the night of August 23 a number of the Liberty Boys proceeded to carry out a

request of the Provincial Congress, to remove the guns from the Battery, so that they might be transferred to fortifications up the river. To cover their exploit a part of Colonel Lamb's company stood guard, and when a barge sent from the *Asia* to reconnoiter the suspicious movements on shore came near enough, they sent a volley of musketry into the boat, killing one of the occupants. Instantly putting back, a broadside was opened upon the town from the ship. Several houses were damaged, one ball going through the roof of Fraunce's Tavern, and three citizens were badly wounded. The whole town was soon in a frenzy of excitement. Several families gathered their portable property together and fled into the woods and fields. Others raged around mob-fashion, threatening the lives of Tories. Dr. Cooper, the Loyalist President of Columbia, was chased through the streets to his home. The crowd were about to beat down the door, when they were confronted by that strange youth who had harangued them in the Fields the year before. Alexander Hamilton had joined Lamb's artillery company, and had just been seen doing duty valiantly at his post. He had divined the purpose of the mob, and now stood on the steps of the College, arguing the mob out of their mad design to hurt the poor doctor. It was a foreshadowing of the day when the same magnanimous patriot would defend Tories at the risk of his life against cruel retaliations after the war. He appeased the violence of the people, and saved Dr. Cooper, although the old gentleman cried lustily from a top-story window not to heed the mad-cap boy whom he supposed was urging them to the very opposite of what he did. The guns meanwhile had been safely captured and were sent northward to serve in a better cause.

To the convenient *Asia*, so ready to use her guns against the city, although commanded by a captain whose name, Vandeput, suggests a Dutch ancestry or derivation, it was found best for Governor Tryon to retire. He occupied certainly a most peculiar position as Royal Governor, with rebel Commanders-in-Chief crossing his path, and Provincial Congresses ordering the guns of his fort to be removed, and war waging in a neighboring Province, in which his own was bound to bear a part. Early in October it was intimated to him that the patriotic Congress at Philadelphia had recommended his arrest. The Mayor assured him that he would guarantee his safety, but, nevertheless, on October 13, he removed his family and effects on board the British frigate. He continued, however, to annoy his former government. In the first place he took away the records from the secretary's office, so that hardly any landholder could prove title to his estates in a court of law. They were carried to England three years later, but again three years after they were returned. Nevertheless, much harm had been done by these unnecessary travels of papers so important, and so necessary to be kept in a permanent situation. On October 19 Tryon took up his abode on the sloop-of-war *Halifax*.

and again later on the Duchess of Gordon, whence he acted as Governor of New York as best he could. In December his influence was exerted to prevent delegates from counties strongly Tory, such as Queens and Richmond, from attending the Provincial Congress. And when, in the next year, a plot was concocted to remove Washington by poison, it was not without the connivance or knowledge of the ex-Royal Governor. Colden, who was superseded as Lieutenant-Governor for the last time when Tryon came back in June, 1775, was not living in the city. He had retired to his country-seat near Flushing, and died there in September, 1776.

The very last day of the year 1775 had been marred by the disastrous failure of the Canadian campaign before the gates of Quebec. During the early months of 1776 Washington kept drawing the lines tighter around Boston, occupying the time spent in waiting in trying to make something like an army out of the enthusiastic crowd of patriots called from plows, or fishing boats, or counting-houses by the whirring bullets at Lexington and the glorious action of Bunker Hill. At last, in March, 1776, Boston was evacuated by the enemy, and now came New York's turn. It was morally certain that this city would be the next point of attack. Its openness to attack by a power in absolute command of the sea was notorious, and its situation was such that without a navy to support the army, defense on land was hardly possible. Therefore the Continental Army began to wend its way hither. Some months before the movement had already begun. In January, 1776, Washington received word that Sir Henry Clinton had left Boston for New York with a man-of-war. General Charles Lee was thereupon hurried off to the latter city, and reached it on February 4, the same day that Sir Henry came into port. At once there was much ado, but it proved to be about nothing. Sir Henry was one of the numerous sons of Governor George Clinton, and he had spent ten years of his boyhood life in New York. He informed the citizens through the Mayor that he had only come to visit Governor Tryon, and to renew his juvenile impressions of the place. Meantime, although it was a Sunday, loaded carts and boats full of passengers were leaving town as fast as they could, under the supposition that Lee and Clinton must necessarily have a battle in the streets. Lee did not have the best of feelings toward the town he came to defend. The Provincial Congress, still tampering with pacific endeavors, had sent word to him not to come on the very day before he left the camp before Boston; he came therefore with the idea that he must overawe the city as a Tory stronghold. Whether welcome or not, however, his undoubted familiarity with military science enabled him to put New York into as good a state of defense as circumstances made possible. A redoubt protected by fascines was stretched across Broadway where it faced the open country. Bayard's Mount, later called Bunker Hill (also sometimes called Mount Pleasant), covering

the space now bounded by Grand, Centre, Broome, and Elizabeth streets, afforded an advantageous position for fortification, commanding a view across country all the way to Greenwich. Further out, Horn's Hook, or Gracie's Point, opposite Hell Gate, now part of the park at Eighty-sixth Street, East River, was also fortified by Lee while he occupied Jacob Walton's elegant country-seat there as headquarters. After Boston was evacuated nothing was looked for but the appearance of the British in the Port of New York. Guards were stationed at the Narrows and at Rockaway to watch for the first appearance of the enemy's fleet, and signals arranged to quickly communicate the fact. On April 4 General Putnam was placed in command of the city, superseding the more scientific but less popular Lee. The work of fortifying points of vantage went on diligently. Red Hook was provided with breastworks and cannon. Governor's Island received a garrison. On Bedlow's Island buildings intended as an asylum for banished Tory New Yorkers were burned, and stores, such as clothing and poultry and tools for making trenches, secured. Three



VIEW OF HELL GATE IN 1776.

companies of riflemen were placed on Staten Island to worry boats landing from the enemy's ships. On April 14 Washington himself came to the city, and carefully surveyed what had been done. His

main anxiety was getting the raw troops into soldierly trim, with which their thirst for independence sadly interfered. In fact, he actually was forced to send many home again, because they refused to go through the necessary drills. Alarm signals were arranged, to consist of two cannon fired in quick succession, either in the day or night; in daytime this signal was to be accompanied by a flag hoisted above the General's headquarters, and at night two lanterns similarly hoisted. These headquarters, according to some authorities, were at No. 1 Broadway; others place them at Richmond Hill, a fine country-seat, about where now lie the blocks between Charlton and Spring streets, on Varick. This would seem rather far away for the utility of danger signals. On still other authority Washington resided during the first weeks of his stay at the old De Peyster house in Pearl Street, opposite Cedar. No. 1 Broadway was General Putnam's residence during his command of the city. It was estimated that no less than ten thousand troops had been collected in and around the city

before the end of April. By request of Congress, New Jersey and Connecticut were to hold their militia in readiness to serve in New York at the first call for them, during which service they would receive pay as Continental regulars. A brigade under John Morin Scott was stationed in the city itself; another along the East River shore within the city boundaries; a third from the shipyards above Peck Slip along the East River beyond Kip's and Turtle Bays, as far as Jones's Wood. Lord Stirling (William Alexander) and MacDougall's brigade were stationed near Bayard's or Bunker Hill, and another brigade along the Hudson shore from Greenwich down to Canal Street. A brigade under General Mifflin was placed at Fort Washington, and one under General George Clinton at King's Bridge. At the same time extensive defenses had been erected on all the elevated points on Long Island now within the limits of Brooklyn, reaching from Wallabout to Gowanus and Red Hook. Back of these ran a line of intrenchments within a narrower circle, making a sort of fort in the vicinity of the present Fulton Ferry. It was not yet certain that the enemy would approach that way, and only General Nathaniel Greene's division was stationed among these defenses. Naturally of the troops concentrated here for her defense those of New York City herself were found most active and ready for service. The regiments already organized in 1775 were re-organized, as the terms of some had expired, and they had seen service in the Canada campaign. Colonel MacDougall was soon made Brigadier-General. Captain Lamb, of the artillery company, had been wounded and made prisoner at Quebec, and but thirty of his seventy men returned home. It needed building up again, and now became "the New York Provincial Company of Artillery," choosing for Captain, on March 14, 1776, the youthful Alexander Hamilton, whose versatile mind had rapidly mastered the principles of artillery service. While drilling his men one day on the Commons, his superior knowledge and ability in training his men attracted the attention of General Greene. He introduced the youthful prodigy to Washington, and thus began that intimate relation between the two men which became of such immense service to their common country, and which lasted to the end of Washington's life.

It was to be expected that the Tories in the city, the upholders of the old state of things, would not be looked upon with a very friendly eye. Their British friends sought to provide a place of safety for them on Bedlow's Island, but, as we saw, this scheme was frustrated by the patriots. The more violent party among the populace could not be altogether restrained within the bounds of propriety by the generals in command. In the month of June outbreaks of hostility occurred more than once. An eyewitness tells of Tories being hauled about through the streets by night, lighted candles being placed in their hands and forced into their faces. A few days later the aggressors became bolder, and in broad daylight they took several people

of standing in the community, stripped them naked and rode them around on rails. Perhaps they were tarred and feathered also, as was done frequently in country districts. Putnam had great trouble dispersing the mob and stopping such discreditable business. As yet there was much to provoke the people at that very time. During this same month a conspiracy was discovered which had for its object the poisoning of Washington and other generals of the patriot army. A free use of gold was made, issuing, without doubt, from the Governor's ship. Several arrests were made, the most prominent one that on June 21, of David Matthews, the Tory who opposed Willett, at the corner of Beaver and Broad streets, and who was made Mayor when the British came in. A gunsmith and some other tradespeople, and Thomas Hickey, a private of Washington's bodyguard, were also taken into custody. Investigation pointed clearly to some significant dealings between Governor Tryon and Matthews and a few more citizens, in regard to the supply of arms and ammunition for suspicious purposes; but nothing could be proved, and the prisoners were released. It was different with Hickey, who had made definite propositions to cooks at headquarters, so that a case was made out against him for attempt at poisoning, as well as holding communication with the enemy. On June 28 he was hanged for the offense, much to the satisfaction of a large gathering of people.

The somewhat anomalous conditions under which the war had hitherto been carried on were relieved very greatly by the Declaration of Independence. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, had offered his famous resolution in Congress at Philadelphia, "that these united colonies are and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams, of Massachusetts, seconded the motion and its discussion was made the order for the day at 10 o'clock on June 8. The 9th was Sunday; on Monday the debate was resumed, when a motion to postpone action for three weeks was carried, with the proviso that in the mean time a Declaration of Independence should be drafted and be submitted at the next discussion. On the 12th of June the committee to draft this paper was appointed, consisting, as is well known, of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and a prominent citizen of New York, Robert R. Livingston. On July 2 the resolution of Independence was adopted, and the discussion of the Declaration written almost unaided by Jefferson, began. It was finally adopted on July 4, which thenceforth became the date to mark the birth of the nation.

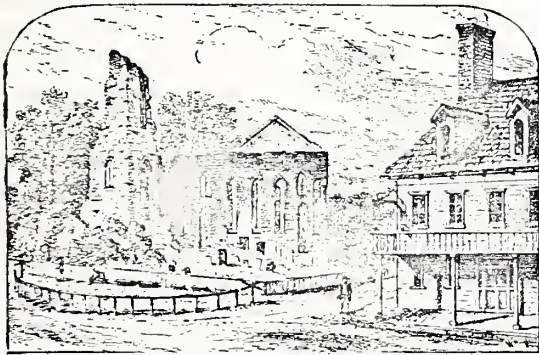
The news of the event that occurred at Philadelphia on the Fourth, reached New York a few days later, and on the 9th of July preparations were made for paying proper honors to the occasion. All the troops within the city were ordered to collect on the Commons, forming a hollow square about where the plaza in front of the City Hall is

now. Washington rode into the center of it with his staff. The Declaration was then read in the hearing of all. It was an important instrument for the army. Well had Washington said in the general order calling the assembly together: "The General hopes this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend (under God) solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit and advance him to the highest honors of a free country." There were no salvos of cannon or musketry to greet the reading of the Declaration, but a burst of hearty applause rose from the assembled troops and citizens. The latter rushed to the City Hall and tore down the portrait of George III., cutting it into fragments and trampling upon it in the street. The soldiers, not to be outdone in an enthusiasm which, while not altogether commendable, and properly rebuked by Washington, was yet quite natural, showed their zeal that evening by pulling down the leaden statue of his royal majesty on the Bowling Green. Its head was recovered afterward by Engineer Montross and sent to England; the saddle and horse's tail were found at Wilton, Connecticut, in 1871, and are now preserved in the collection of the New York Historical Society, at Eleventh Street and Second Avenue, where may also be seen the stone slab on which the statue originally stood. The rest of the statue, horse, man, and all, was wisely utilized by being converted into bullets for patriotic purposes at Litchfield, Conn. The recognition of the Declaration of Independence by the army was ere long supplemented by a public acknowledgment of it on the part of the municipal government. This, as has been noted, was in the hands of the Committee of One Hundred (or of Safety). By their order the citizens were called together in front of the City Hall on Thursday, July 18, at exactly twelve o'clock noon. The Declaration of Independence was read, and greeted again with enthusiastic approval and applause. The King's coat of arms was removed from the courtroom and burned in the presence of the multitude as a token of the new order of affairs. For already the Province of New York had ceased to be. On July 9, while the troops were listening to the Declaration in New York, the Provincial Congress assumed the name of the "Convention of Representatives of the State of New York." John Jay was appointed to draft a constitution. New York having become the seat of war, it was not till March, 1777, that Jay was ready with his report. In April the convention, then sitting at Kingston, in a house still sacredly preserved, adopted the Constitution, and under its provisions before the end of the same year, 1777, General George Clinton was elected Governor. John Jay was appointed Chief Justice of the State, and Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor. Five citizens of New York, which was then in the hands of the British, were elected delegates of the State

to the Continental Congress: Philip Livingston, James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, and Gouverneur Morris.

The Declaration of Independence had made facing both ways on the part of the Municipality or the Provincial Congress impossible. The lines between submission to English authority and the effort for independence and nationality were now sharply drawn. It was obey or fight; and the English were at hand to give plenty of exercise to the second alternative. On June 29 Washington wrote to Congress that the first view had been obtained off Sandy Hook of the approaching fleet of the enemy. By July 2 a fleet of over one hundred and thirty vessels, ships-of-the-line, frigates, tenders, transports, were lying at anchor in the Lower Bay. The few American troops were withdrawn from Staten Island, and on July 2 and 3 General Howe landed a part of his forces there, distributing them over the island so as to guard against approaches by the patriots. On Friday morning, July 12, Lord Howe, the Commander-in-Chief, arrived, attended by

still more ships. About three o'clock that same afternoon the people of the city were treated to an unpleasant surprise. Washington had already warned them that a bombardment of the town might be expected hourly, in view of the great naval force of the enemy so close at hand, and had recommended the removal of women and children and



RUINS OF TRINITY CHURCH.

aged men to the country, both for their own safety and in order to permit greater freedom for the manœuvres of the troops. The bombardment seemed now to have been actually initiated. Two of the enemy's biggest ships, each followed by its tender, were seen coming through the Narrows and up to the city at a lively rate, favored by the tide and a southerly breeze filling out to the full every inch of canvas set. They reserved their fire till past the batteries on shore, which blazed away at them without much effect. When nearly opposite Trinity Church they opened their broadsides, damaging houses all along the river as far as Greenwich and killing three American soldiers, three others suffering death from careless or unskillful handling of a cannon. The six were buried in one grave in Bowling Green. Meantime the two ships (the *Rose* and the *Phoenix*) had gone rapidly up the river. The intention of the movement had been to cut off communication between the city and interior, to destroy some vessels building for the patriots at Poughkeepsie, and to replenish the larder. The ships met with little success in either of these particu-

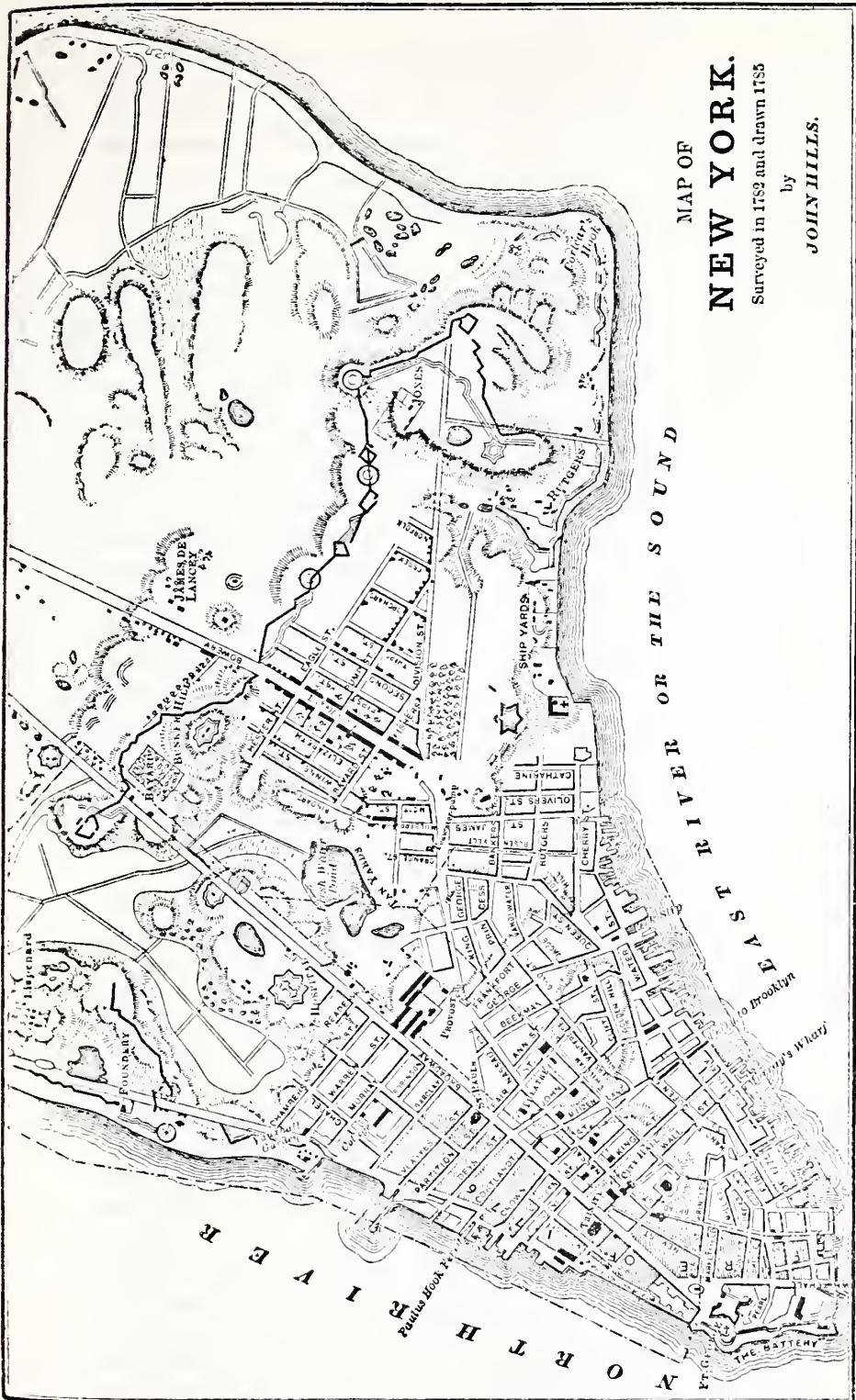
lars, and were fain to return a month or more later (August 17). General Putnam, to prevent their return, and to keep other ships from repeating the experiment, had devised a sort of *chevaux-de-frise* in water. Between ships placed two by two seventy feet apart three large logs were stretched, by which means a length of two hundred and eighty feet of the river was obstructed, the vessels being sunk just below the surface of the water. The *Rose* and *Phoenix* on their way down had no trouble in evading this obstruction, however; but the batteries at Paulus Hook and on the city shore did better work this time, and succeeded in getting a few shot into their hulls. Fire ships up the river too had caused the loss of one of the tenders.

Before the actual clash of arms soon to startle the country with its results, and destined to leave our city for so many years in the hands of the enemy, there was a lull in the tempest, filled with the sweet murmurings of an attempted conciliation and peace. Lord Howe had been authorized by the home government to offer terms of peace, including pardon for all acts of rebellion. He began the effort at reconciliation by sending an officer with a letter to Washington. A boat with a white flag was seen approaching the city, and Colonel Reed, Adjutant-General of the American forces, was sent by the Commander-in-Chief to meet it half way. As the two barges touched in mid-stream, the bearer of the letter handed it to Colonel Reed, informing him that it was intended for Mr. Washington. The Colonel replied that there was no such person in New York City. The letter was then produced bearing the superscription, "George Washington, Esq." Again Reed insisted that he knew of no such person, and assured him that the one whom he surmised was meant would under no circumstances receive a letter so addressed. The disappointed officer was therefore compelled to return to his principal without accomplishing his errand. A few days later, July 19, Howe, abandoning the attempt to forward a letter, sent a representative in the person of Colonel Patterson, the British Adjutant-General. He was accorded an interview at General Putnam's headquarters, No. 1 Broadway. But the conference came to nothing, and as to the pardon, Washington observed that the term was quite irrelevant in connection with the American colonists, as nothing requiring pardon had been committed by them.

Thus there was nothing for it but war, and England's formidable array of land and naval forces was now marshaled together for the long-dreaded assault. The list of Howe's forces before New York in 1776 is preserved. There were the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Regiments of Dragoons; a regiment of foot guards, eleven hundred strong; twenty-three regiments of infantry; the Forty-second Regiment of Royal Highlanders; the Seventy-first Regiment, or Frazer's Battalion, numbering nearly thirteen hundred men; six companies of artillery, and two battalions of marines counting eleven hundred men.

There were also nearly fourteen thousand Hessian troops. The whole force numbered 33,614 men, of whom 24,464 were in actual condition for battle. Four hundred transport boats had been collected to convey the army from Staten Island to any point chosen as the most expedient for attack. For some reason discarding the use of his great naval support, to which the Americans had absolutely nothing to oppose, Lord Howe determined to approach New York by way of Long Island. On August 22, fifteen thousand troops were conveyed across the Lower Bay and landed on the beach at the head of Gravesend Bay, between New Utrecht and Gravesend villages. The story of what follows is familiar to all. The march on the intrenched camp in Brooklyn in three columns; the surprise effected by the detour made by one of these columns, and its descent upon an unguarded point in the rear of the American army; the heroic but fruitless fight; the utter defeat;—all stand vividly before the mind as we recall the Battle of Long Island of August 27, 1776. Not less thrilling is the story of Washington's masterly withdrawal of his army from the trap in which they would have been otherwise inevitably caught. But the story in its details belongs more especially to the history of our sister city, now one with the Greater New York, and a place for it must be reserved in the next volume. We must hasten on to the results and such subsequent events growing out of the Battle of Long Island as had for their scene the island of Manhattan more particularly. There are enough of these to more than occupy the space allowed here.

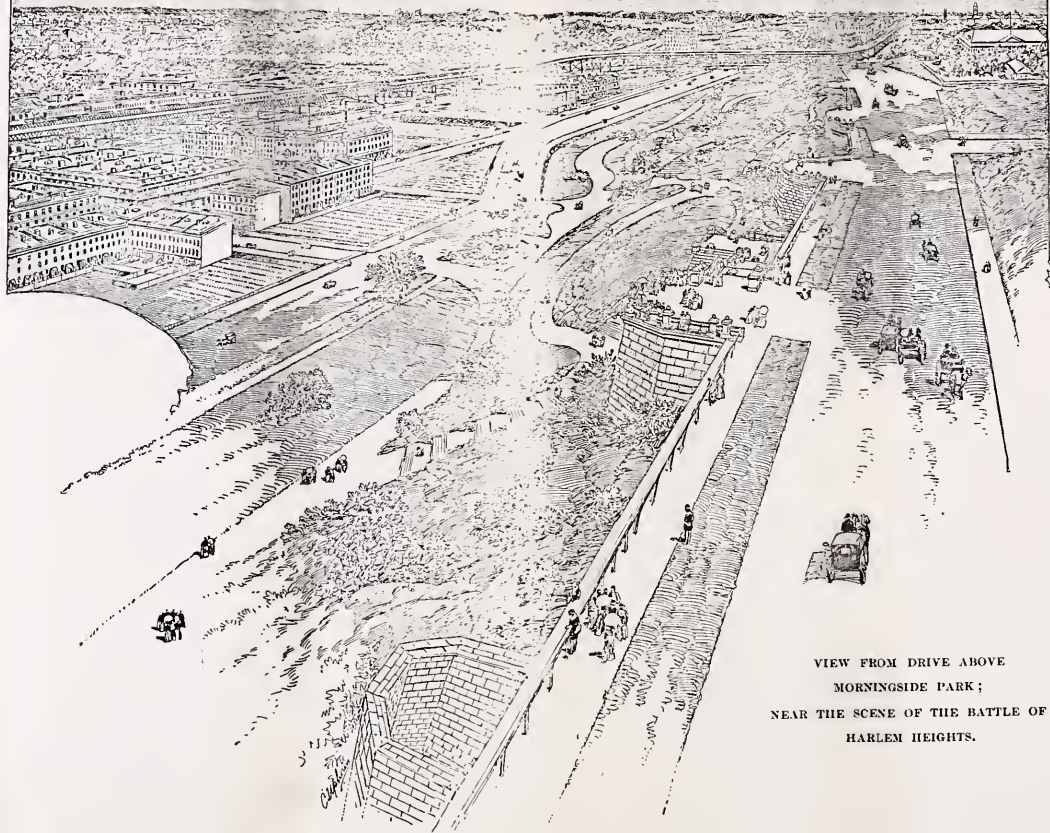
Washington had saved the army from capture by Howe, but it was in a sadly demoralized condition. It was dropping to pieces, too, for militiamen were returning to their native States and towns by companies and even whole regiments at a time. When there was a chance to look around at the remnants, it was found that General Putnam, with the brigades of Parsons, Scott, James Clinton, and two other brigadiers, occupied a position in the city and out as far as a line across the island about where Fifteenth Street is now. Six brigades, among them that of McDougall, took post at different points along the East River, extending their line as far as Horn's Hook, opposite Hell Gate. Generals Heath, Mifflin, and George Clinton were stationed at King's Bridge as before. None of the troops were in a very good frame of mind for fighting the enemy, while the latter were preparing to make an attack with both their naval and land forces at once. They possessed a fearful advantage. On September 3 the *Rose* frigate sailed up the East River and anchored in Wallabout Bay. She was fired on by our batteries, but without effect. On the 14th four more frigates, among them the *Phoenix*, sailed past the patriot batteries and joined the *Rose* in the Wallabout. All this was but in preparation for the effort contemplated for September 15. Early that morning the five frigates sailed up the river and anchored opposite Kip's Bay, at Thirty-fourth Street. The same favoring



MAP OF
NEW YORK.
Surveyed in 1752 and drawn 1755
by
JOHN HILLS.

HILLS'S MAP OF NEW YORK, SHOWING INTRENCHMENTS, BRITISH — AMERICAN

breeze took three men-of-war up the North River as far as Bloomingdale. No American forces could get in the rear of the British in the East River, for there was a long line of posts occupied by the enemy, including Governor's Island at the south, and Montrossor's (Randall's) and Buchanan's (Ward's) islands at the northern extremity. Troops were stationed also on the hill at Astoria, commanding a view of the approaches of Hell Gate on both sides, and a line of posts ran down through Newtown to Wallabout and Gowanus. Thus masters of the situation in every particular, the British proceeded to accomplish their design in a very elaborate and picturesque manner. Eighty-four boats were filled with troops, standing up, muskets in hand, in the middle, while six or more sailors were at the oars in each. They were rowed leisurely in two lines toward the head of Kip's Bay. As they started the five frigates poured in a deadly fire from decks and tops upon the spot selected for landing, the smoke in the mean time hiding the boats. Whether the American forces were in a condition to withstand the enemy and prevent the landing may be a question: it was certain no one was there to dispute their progress. Two Connecticut regiments had been stationed near Kip's Bay. When Washington rode to the scene of the firing he met them on the road that then ran across the island to Turtle Bay, about where Forty-third Street is now. On the site of the Grand Central Depot he stopped and sought to rally them, but it was too late. Riding toward the river he met still more of the fugitives, pursued by a party of sixty or seventy of the enemy. Washington in disgust threw down his hat and sat motionless, facing the pursuers; only after much urging could the staff officers induce him to leave the spot, so that he was nearly captured or shot. There was nothing to prevent the British marching down the Boston post-road into the city, and Putnam's division was in imminent danger of being caught there. Stationing lookouts on Bayard's, or Bunker Hill, near Grand and Elizabeth streets, Putnam held his men ready for any emergency. At this critical moment a young officer of the name of Aaron Burr dashed up to the General and promised to conduct him out of the trap, by the use of his familiar knowledge of the topography of the island. He led the division across country to the road called Monument Lane, now Greenwich Avenue. Thence it was an easy march to the Bloomingdale Road, which was then followed with occasional retirement into the woods, to escape the view of the British ships in the North River. It is said that the opportunity would have come too late if General Howe had not been detained at the house of a Mrs. Murray, a Quakeress, on Murray Hill. As it was, by forced marching, hampered by superfluous baggage, accompanied and obstructed by the terrified multitudes of escaping citizens, under a fearful heat which claimed many a victim by the roadside, the last remnant of the American army was safely removed from the city it had vainly undertaken to defend. The Americans



VIEW FROM DRIVE ABOVE
MORNINGSIDE PARK;
NEAR THE SCENE OF THE BATTLE OF
HARLEM HEIGHTS.

now camped on Harlem Heights, and Washington established his headquarters in the Roger Morris mansion (now called the Jumel mansion, and still preserved on One Hundred and Sixty-first Street near St. Nicholas Avenue), the property of his former reputed flame, Miss Mary Philipse, now the wife of Morris, and an escaped Tory.

The 16th of September was destined to cause a slight rift in the clouds of adversity that were settling over the patriot cause. Early that morning two battalions of light infantry and a few companies of the Forty-second Highlanders made a sally beyond their lines, which ran from Bloomingdale Heights to Horn's Hook on the East River. They crossed the deep depression through which Manhattan Avenue now runs, and drove in the pickets and some posts on the extreme line of the Americans above the Point of Rocks. They pursued the retreating Americans about as far as One Hundred and Fifty-third Street, or where Audubon Park is now, and then returned, sounding in defiance a fox-hunter's peal upon their bugles. Washington was determined to punish them. Sending out some troops to deploy in their front in the plain or valley north of Bloomingdale Heights (*i.e.*, Manhattan Avenue) to engage their attention, or to tempt them down from the hill, he sent a detachment of rangers under Colonel Knowlton and another of Virginian troops under Major Leitch, to get into their rear, by going around the heights on the land side (or Morningside Park) and the river side (or Riverside Park), respectively. By some blunder of an aide the ascent of the hill was made too soon, so that the Americans struck the enemy in the flank instead of in the rear. Nevertheless, the British troops were driven back to their lines, and the Battle of Harlem Heights may be claimed as a victory for the patriots, the first one achieved in a contest with the enemy in the open field. It cheered the army of Washington, restoring some of that confidence which the occurrences of the few previous weeks, and especially of the day before, had brought to a very low ebb. Yet it cost the lives of two valuable officers, the two leaders of the expedition, Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch. They fell almost side by side, about where One Hundred and Nineteenth Street runs now, and between Ninth and Tenth Avenues. Recently the spot has been marked by a memorial, although some time before a tablet was placed in One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, near where the slight preliminary affair of the morning took place, and which has been often mistaken by writers for the real battle of Harlem Heights. Knowlton died almost immediately. Leitch lingered till nearly October. From the Point of Rocks, at One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street and Ninth Avenue, Washington, attended by Putnam, Greene, and Clinton, watched the engagement, stimulating the men to do their best under the eyes of the Commander-in-Chief. A week later, on September 24, the Americans took advantage of a very dark night to deal the enemy a blow in another quarter. On Montrossor (now Randall's) Island the British

had located, as a place of security, a goodly quantity of ammunition and other stores. Major Henley, aide-de-camp to General Heath, commanding at King's Bridge and along the Westchester side of the Harlem, knew of this. Being familiar with the vicinity, he offered to guide a battalion of two hundred and fifty men under Colonel Jackson to the island. The surprise would have been complete in the darkness had not a careless soldier discharged a gun too soon. The alarm having thus been given, the enemy quickly manned the earthworks, numbering at least five hundred men. The case of the patriots was now desperate, but they boldly attacked the superior force behind their breastworks. They were, of course, repulsed. Major Henley and twenty-two men were killed, but they retired in good order from the island, taking with them the Major's body, which was buried by the side of Colonel Knowlton's.

Lord Howe, with his accustomed deliberation, undertook no decisive movement against Washington until October 12. His purpose was to get into the patriot army's rear. Accordingly, transports with troops were sent through Hell Gate, and on the 18th a large force was landed near New Rochelle. But Washington had been advised of the movement, and marched toward the Bronx River. The British then proceeded northward, and Washington on the west side of the Bronx marched up in a line parallel to theirs. The result of these maneuvers was the engagement at White Plains, on October 28, 1776, a drawn battle, but with all the force and effect of a victory for the Americans. When Washington left Manhattan island he stationed a considerable force under Colonel Magaw in Fort Washington, overlooking the Hudson River. It was much against his own judgment, but he was overruled by the advice of his generals, Greene among them; his counsel being to abandon all posts on the island, or wherever in the way of the enemy's overwhelming forces, as they could not be held by the undisciplined troops, and a more effective warfare could be carried on, more adapted to the condition of the American army. Events justified Washington's idea. On November 15, 1776, the British troops under Percy Knyphausen, Cornwallis, and Rahl, the leading officers of their army, invested the fort on all sides. A powerful ship of the line took up a position opposite the fort in the river. The demand to surrender, on the alternative of being put to the sword, was refused with proper spirit, but when the attack was made it was but the work of a few hours to reduce the stronghold to the necessity of surrender. This was made on honorable terms, but over two thousand six hundred men were compelled to linger in the deadly prisons of the enemy, instead of serving their country, already too sadly lacking in the number of defenders. Greene acknowledged the mistake of not having abandoned the fort, and never again set his own judgment against Washington's. With an army that could do no conquering, and only an occasional spurt at fighting, brave indeed

to temerity, but utterly without training for regular engagements, it was Washington's greatest glory that he had saved this army from capture during the campaign in the neighborhood of New York.

The whole island of Manhattan was now in the possession of the enemy. We may therefore return to the little city at the southern extremity and see what was going on there under these new and startling circumstances. Governor Tryon could now again leave his floating castle and resume the reins of government on terra firma. On September 16, while the Harlem Heights battle was going on, Howe began to march his troops into the town. The Tories were, of course, in high feather, and were very zealous in marking the houses of their patriot neighbors, which were forthwith confiscated by the conquerors. With gratuitous wantonness the libraries in the City Hall and Columbia College were destroyed by the soldiery. Howe, after a while, made the Kennedy house at 1 Broadway his headquarters, where Clinton also resided when he succeeded to the chief command. The Beekman house in Hanover Square was taken by Admiral Digby, and was the headquarters for the naval force on the station.

On Saturday, September 21, the city, now thoroughly English again, was visited by a tremendous calamity. Some drunken fellows in a tavern kept in a frame house on Whitehall Street, near the slip, got into a brawl and set fire to the building. A brisk wind was blowing from the southeast, and the fire spread with great rapidity to the neighboring houses. The fire engines were found to be out of repair, and those skilled in handling them had left the city. There was not much water in the fire wells, and the soldiery made but an awkward attempt to do the work of firemen. Thus the fire raged practically unrestrained. It swept along the blocks between Whitehall and Broad streets as far as Beaver. There a shift in the wind carried it to the west side of Broadway, carrying down in the fiery flood the Lutheran Church and the English School on Rector Street. Trinity succumbed, its tower surmounted by a wooden steeple appearing like a pyramid of flame, and its blackened walls soon stood a roofless and windowless ruin. St. Paul's Church was saved with difficulty, but the fire sped to near the Columbia College buildings. Four hundred and ninety-three houses had been consumed. The blame was thrown upon the "rebels," and two hundred arrests were made, but nothing definite could be proved against these persons. It is said that during the progress of the fire many of the patriotic citizens remaining were cruelly thrust into the flames by the exasperated soldiers. In 1778 there was another fire, starting on Cruger's wharf at the foot of Coenties Slip, which destroyed about fifty houses. The soldiers made their inefficiency as firemen so disastrously conspicuous at this time, that an order was issued from headquarters forbidding their interference again.

Far away from the scene of the fire, at the Beekman country-seat, at

Fifty-first Street and Second Avenue, there was going on another memorable event of which the city has now a fitting monument to keep it from forgetting. Everything about military affairs was so new and primitive that even in the matter of secret service there were none but crude provisions. Washington was in need of information about the movements and purposes of Howe after the battle of Long Island, and therefore asked commanders of regiments or companies to send him the names of persons willing to act as spies or scouts. Among

the names sent in was that of Nathan Hale, a captain in Knowlton's Ranger's. He was about twenty-one years of age, tall, handsome, brave, intelligent, a graduate of Harvard, a native of Connecticut. He was asked whether he was willing to do the work of a spy, and risk its ignominious punishment. He replied that no service for the good of his country could be dishonorable. He crossed over from Connecticut to Long Island, assuming the character of a Yankee schoolmaster, succeeded in gathering valuable information, and was



STATUE OF CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE.

on his way back with it to the Commander-in-Chief, having got as far as Huntington Bay, when he was met on the shore by a boat from a British man-of-war. A Tory relative had recognized him and given the cue to the enemy. He did not deny his identity or his mission, and was therefore hurried into the presence of General Howe, whose headquarters just then were at the Beekman house aforesaid. There was no escape possible, of course, and after a drum-head court-martial, Hale was condemned to be hanged on the next morning, which was Sunday, September 22. During the night he was confined in a

greenhouse under guard of the Provost-Marshal, Cunningham, who added to his unhappy situation by needless and ungenerous cruelties. He was not allowed to write to his mother, and when a compassionate lieutenant gave him materials for writing, the Provost tore up the letter. Both clergyman and Bible were denied him. He was hanged from a tree in the orchard, and his body thrust into an unmarked grave. All this was in painful and disgraceful contrast with the treatment accorded the spy André a few years later. Nevertheless, posterity has come to learn the noble manner of the young hero's death, and the glorious sentiment uttered by his dying lips: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." In City Hall Park, at its southwestern corner, near the General Post Office, and facing the busy throngs passing up and down Broadway all day, stands a bronze statue erected by the Sons of the Revolution, representing Captain Hale, bound with ropes, ready for his martyrdom. It was cast in Paris, modeled by the American sculptor, McMonnies, and in the Salon of 1891 received a gold medal. The unveiling took place on November 25—"Evacuation Day"—1893.

The echoes of events during the progress of the Revolution in other parts of the country occasionally penetrated to the ears of the citizens of New York. But their chief evidence of what was going on lay in the details of prisoners brought in occasionally after some defeat of the patriots. Sugar houses, churches, prison-ships, the jail on the Commons, all swarmed with prisoners, and their treatment was so horrible that it seems best to draw the veil over it. How England can endure the disgrace of some of her actions toward her open and fair-handed opponents, from William Wallace and Joan of Arc down to our Revolution, is more than we can understand. Besides the unspeakable miseries inflicted upon prisoners, whereby the civilized and Christian Britons easily outdid the worst cruelties of the denizens of cannibal islands, they had other refinements of cruelty which needed civilization to think out. Pains were actually taken by the British military authorities in New York to communicate the smallpox throughout the country. Again, when the prison fever had been carefully developed so as to be certainly and fatally contagious, they endeavored also to infect American camps with that disease. Here was manly, English fair play for you. It is doubtful whether a more hellish scheme was ever concocted in the purlieus of pandemonium. But it will not do to dwell on these particulars of the War of the Revolution: it is too apt to put us or keep us in a frame of mind unfavorable to relations of amity and treaties of arbitration.

In March, 1778, Sir Henry Clinton, the son of Royal Governor George Clinton, superseded Howe as Commander-in-Chief. He occupied as headquarters the house used as such by General Putnam, and afterward by Lord Howe. It was from this house that Major André went forth on his fatal mission, which brought the traitor

Arnold into the city late in September, 1780. He first kept himself partially concealed in the Verplanck house on Wall Street. But later, after he had received his commission as Brigadier in the British army, he came forth more boldly and took quarters in the Watts house, adjoining Clinton's. Sergeant-Major John Champe, a supposed deserter from the patriot army, on the strength of that desertion gained easy access to him there, and laid his plans for his capture accordingly. Arnold was to be seized in the garden that ran down to the river's edge, and carried to a boat as a drunken soldier. But fortune again favored the traitor: just before the day fixed for the exploit Champe's regiment was ordered south, and Arnold changed his quarters to Burn's Coffee House, a few doors further up Broadway, disconcerting Champe's confederates.

Only once did the war drift within sight and sound of Manhattan Island after the patriots had abandoned it to the enemy. This was on the occasion of the bold attack made by Major Henry Lee, "Light-horse Harry," on the fort built by the British on the promontory called Paulus Hook, now a part of Jersey City. It was a strong position. A long low neck of land reached out far into the Hudson; a narrow creek not fordable at high tide separated the promontory from the mainland, but a deep ditch had been dug besides to complete the insulation, and a drawbridge alone gave access to the fort beyond, as if it were a medieval castle. Light-horse Harry made a sudden dash at this bridge at the head of his troopers. Supposing them to be a foraging party returning, the bridge was lowered. Lee secured 159 prisoners, with a loss of only two of his own men; and he hurried away from the spot with alarm guns from ships in the harbor and from the batteries in the city ringing in his ears. The date of this romantic exploit was August 18, 1779.

This was war; there were also occasional "rumors of war." The winter of 1779-1780 was a very severe one, so that we find in several authorities the almost incredible statement that ice formed eighteen feet thick on Bay and River. If Washington's army had been in a condition to move upon New York, all the advantages of the enemy, because of the deep waters of the surrounding rivers and their naval forces, would have served as nothing against attack. Strenuous efforts to oppose a possible attack were made therefore by the authorities in the city, the ice affording a perfectly safe passage for trains of artillery and regiments of armed men. But at no time was the Commander-in-Chief of the British army more disturbed than when Washington was preparing for his master-stroke against Cornwallis in Virginia. Every appearance was industriously given to the supposition that New York was the intended object of attack by the combined armies of France and America. On August 19, 1781, the march was begun by crossing the Hudson. So carefully did Washington keep the secret that even the general officers imagined that they were

making a detour through New Jersey in order to effect a landing on Staten Island from Perth Amboy. While the army was marching toward Philadelphia, Washington and the French officers made an ostentatious display of inspecting New York, riding all along the length of Manhattan Island upon the Palisades and hills on the Jersey shore, and freely allowing such country people as were willing to carry the news to cross the river. Clinton was completely deceived and remained inactive until it was too late. Then soon came the news of the surrender at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781.

This was the beginning of the end of war, and also of the occupancy of New York by the enemy, although it took more than two full years to bring to pass the latter event. The Yorktown episode caused Clinton to be superseded by Sir Guy Carleton, who now took up his residence in the city. On September 3, 1783, peace was signed at Paris, John Jay being one of the American Commissioners. On October 18 the news was given out by Congress, and on November 2 it was formally announced to the army. On November 19, Carleton sent word to Washington that at noon of November 25 he would evacuate New York, and that the outposts in the vicinity would be vacated on the 21st. As the English Commander was preparing to withdraw, Washington was getting under way to enter and occupy the city. On November 19, the Commander-in-Chief, with Generals Knox and George Clinton, who was Governor of the State, arrived with their suites at Day's Tavern, at the corner of One Hundredth and Twenty-fifth Street and Eighth Avenue. An advance guard of the Americans had already taken post at McGowan's Pass in Central Park, waiting for orders to move further. A British officer came galloping up a little after noon on the 25th, reporting that the last of their rear-guard had taken their departure. The order to march was therefore given, and the war-worn veterans of the War of Independence once more marched through the city from which they had been driven seven years before. Washington, Clinton, and other prominent generals rode down into the city from Day's Tavern along the west side of the island, or the Bloomingdale and Greenwich roads, the two former taking up their quarters at Cape's Tavern on Broadway, afterward the City Hotel, on the corner of Cedar Street. The army marched down the Boston and Bowery roads, into Queen (Pearl) Street, to Wall, to Broadway, and then lined up along Broadway on both sides, from the vicinity of Washington's quarters to the fort. Riding with Clinton between the lines of the troops, Washington, followed by his main guard, rode down Broadway to Fort George, and took formal possession of the city in the name of the new nation so long defrauded of its possession, while the American flag was again flung to the breeze. It is told by some historians that the British in retiring had removed the halyards and had nailed the Royal Ensign to the top.

Carleton could hardly have permitted such a gross breach of decorum not only, but of faith. The flag must have been promptly hauled down at noon. But some over-zealous loyalist may have cut the lines, and greased the pole. A young sailor by the name of Van Arsdale soon found a way out of the dilemma; procuring nails and cleats he hammered and clambered his way up, rigged a new set of halyards, and as the stars and stripes, thirteen of each at that time, were hauled aloft, thirteen guns saluted the emblem of independence, and shouts and huzzas from the thousands of spectators and soldiers supplemented the more military honors. A few days later due honors were paid also to the civic authorities in the person of the Governor of the State. Governor Clinton, accompanied by Washington, re-



CIVIC RECEPTION TO WASHINGTON AND CLINTON.

paired to Bull's Head Tavern on the Bowery Road, near where the Bowery Theater (now the Thalia) stood later. A party of citizens on horseback assembled at Bowling Green, and with General Knox at their head rode to the Bull's Head. At the Tea Water Pump (corner of Roosevelt Street and Park Row) a party of persons on foot awaited them, and joined the procession. They formed in open ranks near the tavern, and Governor Clinton and Washington rode in between them. At the same time a large number of returned exiles had formed into a procession and marched between the ranks of the citizens. Eight persons on horseback and as many on foot preceded the Governor and General, who were also flanked by citizens mounted and on foot. Thus they marched down the Bowery, into Park Row, into Pearl to

Wall and back to Broadway and the City Hotel (Cape's Tavern). On December 5, Admiral Digby, with the last of the troops and loyalist refugees on board his fleet, left the anchorage off Staten Island in the Lower Bay, and the last vestige of British occupation was removed from the sight and hearing of New York people.

And by that time they had also seen the last of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the patriot army. After the military and civic receptions he had taken up his abode at his favorite hostelry on the corner of Broad and Pearl (Queen) streets, Sam Fraunce's Tavern. Here in the "Long Room," still preserved (although slightly the worse for the smell of beer at present), he called his officers together on December 4, 1783, for a word of farewell. In several books one may read Colonel Tallmadge's description of the heart-rending scene, and no summary can do justice to this vivid account of one who saw and felt all that belonged to the important occasion. It will therefore bear repetition here:

"We had been assembled but a few moments when his Excellency entered the room. His emotion, too strong to be concealed, seemed to be reciprocated by every officer present. After partaking of a slight refreshment in almost breathless silence, the General filled his glass with wine, and turning to the officers said: 'With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' After the officers had taken a glass of wine the General added: 'I cannot come to each of you, but shall feel obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox being nearest to him, turned to the Commander-in-Chief, who, suffused in tears, was incapable of utterance, but grasped his hand, when they embraced each other in silence. In the same affectionate manner every officer in the room marched up to, kissed, and parted with his General-in-Chief. Such a scene of sorrow and weeping I had never before witnessed, and hope I may never be called upon to witness again. Not a word was uttered to break the solemn silence that prevailed, or to interrupt the tenderness of the interesting scene. The simple thought that we were about to part from the man who had conducted us through a long and bloody war, and under whose conduct the glory and independence of our country had been achieved, and that we should see his face no more in this world, seemed to me utterly insupportable." When the last hand had been pressed in this silent farewell Washington waved a final adieu to the company and left the room, followed by the officers. A line of soldiers was drawn up on either side of the way from the tavern to the Whitehall Slip near by, where the departing chief took his barge. As he seated himself and the barge moved away toward Elizabethtown, the General took off his hat and waved a farewell to the multitudes crowding the shores and the tops of the

neighboring houses. And thus for New York closed the last scene in the eventful history of the War of the Revolution.

Its position in the hands of the enemy throughout nearly the entire extent of that war, had been peculiarly trying. The fire of 1776 had swept desolation over no small part of it, and while removing many inferior houses had also robbed the city of Trinity Church and other fine structures both public and private. Over a large portion of the burned district the stricken housekeepers had been reduced to a curious device for want of funds to rebuild. They stretched canvas over the pieces of wall that remained standing, and covered up the gaping holes where doors and windows had been with the same material. This gave this section of the city, running along the east side of Whitehall Street to Beaver, and west of Broadway near and above Rector, the significant name of "Canvastown," and not being of a savory reputation, the name became of somewhat the same force as that of "Five Points" at a later day, a haunt of crime and vice, a rendezvous and hiding-place of thieves and thugs.

The British during their seven years of occupation had made sad havoc among the churches of denominations other than Episcopal. If a rector of Trinity could speak of these sister bodies of Christians as "hybrid" denominations in the year of grace 1892, what could be expected of rough English soldiers in 1776? Especially when they suspected that the conflagration which destroyed Trinity had been started by the "rebels." The Huguenot Church on Pine Street was so badly damaged that it was not re-opened for worship till 1796. Great sums of money had to be spent on each of the three Dutch Churches—South (in Exchange Place), Middle (on Nassau Street), and North (in Fulton Street), before they could be used as of old. The pews of the North Church were taken out and chopped up into firewood, a floor was stretched across from gallery to gallery, and on the two stories room made for eight hundred prisoners. The Middle Church was treated in the same way, and three thousand prisoners, the result of the actions on Long Island and at Fort Washington, were crowded into it. Later the church was turned into a riding-school. The glass was knocked out of the windows, the floor ripped up, and tan-bark put in its place. The Brick Church "in-the-fields," on Beekman Street, was first made into a prison and then used as a hospital. The Friends' House in Pearl Street, and the Wall Street Presbyterian Church were also converted into hospitals, and the Huguenot Church was made a depot for military stores. A member of the Middle Church, Mr. John Oothout, saved the bell donated by Abraham De Peyster and cast in Holland, by hiding it carefully in his house, so that to-day it may be heard ringing from the steeple of the church at 48th Street and Fifth Avenue.

The city was primarily under military rule as a matter of course. There was therefore a military commandant first of all. This post

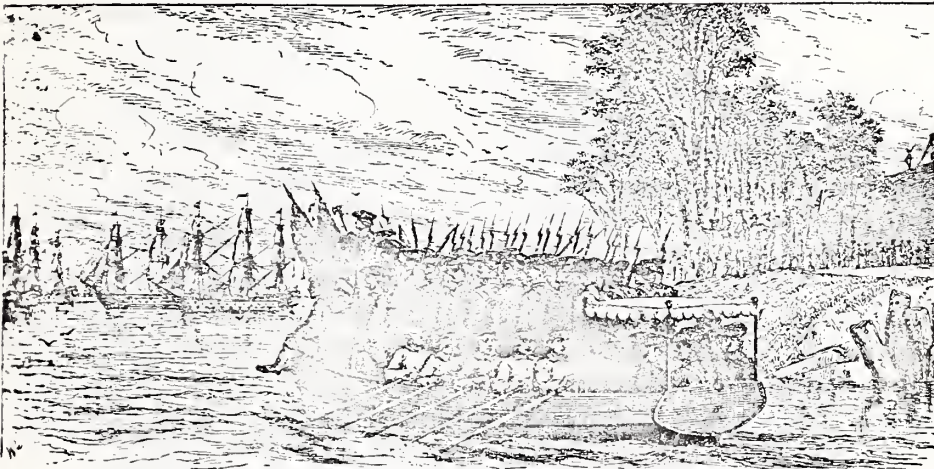
fell happily to the lot of one whose kindly disposition and suavity of manner made him universally liked, Colonel James Pattison, of the Royal Artillery. Among his functions seems to have been the granting of licenses to taverns, the prohibition of the shooting off of firearms or fowling-pieces near dwelling houses, the ordering of the collecting of moneys for the poor, and the giving of permits for lotteries. This would hardly appear to leave much occupation for a Mayor, yet that civic functionary was also provided to attend to such other municipal affairs as escaped the hands of the commandant. David Matthews, whom we have encountered on two occasions before, engaged in no very reputable or patriotic business for a New Yorker, was appointed Mayor as soon as the British came in. Mayor Hicks, though a loyalist, refused to remain in office or even in the city, retiring to his farm on Long Island. Matthews held the position during the whole time of the enemy's occupation. The patrolling of troops not being deemed sufficient to keep the peace of the city, the citizens were compelled to organize a watch. Those assigned to the duty were punished with imprisonment and fines for failing to appear. Strict regulations were formulated as safeguards against brawls and fires: soldiers must be in their quarters by 8 p.m., and all lights and fires extinguished throughout the city by 9 p.m. Just before the British occupation, in the spring of 1776, Engineer Christopher Colles had completed his waterworks, with reservoir and pumping engine, and wooden pipes for distribution, of which more anon. But the British did not seem to appreciate this triumph of Yankee ingenuity, and the people had to go back to their brackish wells, or get the water from the Tea pump carted to their doors. Newspapers continued to be printed in the city while the soldiers were there. Hugh Gaine issued his *Gazette and Mercury* from the old sign in Hanover Square, but he had now completely changed its complexion to that of a Tory sheet. Rivington was also in town with his *Royal* (sometimes called *Lying*) *Gazette*. In the autumn of 1775 a party of horsemen, led by the irrepressible King Sears, rode into town, dismounted before Rivington's shop, destroyed his press and carried off his types to New Haven. Next year he was appointed printer to the King, or public printer, under the new régime; and when the patriot cause seemed likely to succeed he began to cast anchors to windward by playing false to his present masters and sending secret information to Washington. He did this by binding up sheets containing it among those of the books issuing from his press. The ingenious scheme was never discovered by the enemy, and as a reward Rivington remained unmolested when other loyalists had to flee at the Evacuation. It may easily be imagined that Holt and his journal could find no safe abiding place in a city held by the enemy. He was kept moving from place to place along the Hudson as the war went on.

The military occupation and the fortunes of war were not conducive

to trade. The markets, with whose location we have now grown familiar, were well supplied with provisions of all kinds from the fertile farms of Long Island and New Jersey, but the prices were complained of as excessive. Fish was furnished in abundance by the neighboring waters, as also the luscious and gigantic oyster. The lobsters, however, according to a writer in 1777, once brought to the New York waters by a fortunate accident, had now been banished again as the result of the war. "Surprising as it may appear, since the late incessant cannonading, they have entirely forsaken the coast, not one having been taken or seen since the commencement of hostilities." There was a complete cessation of commercial transactions, and no merchant ships arrived in the harbor except such as might bring supplies for the troops. Money was scarce enough. The continental currency was counterfeited by order of the military authorities, and industriously circulated through the surrounding country. Hugh Gainé's *Gazette* contained an advertisement in its issue of April 14, 1777, to the following effect: "Persons going into other colonies may be supplied with any number of counterfeit Congress notes, for the price of the paper per ream." A not very honorable mode of warfare, though less fiendish than that of propagating smallpox and prison-fever. It crippled the power of Congress and its army. At the end of 1778 the "Continental" paper dollar was worth 16 cents in the north and 12 cents south. Before the close of 1780 it required ten paper dollars to make one cent. At Boston Indian corn sold for \$150 a bushel. Butter was quoted at \$12 per pound, tea at \$90, sugar \$10, coffee \$12, beef \$8. A barrel of flour needed a fortune of \$1,575 to purchase. The patriot leader, Samuel Adams, bought a hat and a suit of clothes at the modest price of \$2,000. The counterfeit-printing at New York had doubtless helped much to bring about this condition of the American currency.

The social life of the city during this period was that of a military camp. The soldiery ruled everywhere; they even stole the hearts of maidens whose lovers were away from town fighting for country. The talented young officers took care there should be theatrical entertainments, in which they themselves performed the parts, and the proceeds from which were devoted to the widows, children, or female relatives of soldiers killed in the war. For the rank and file there were the coarser amusements of bull-baiting, dog-fights, and cock-fights. There were also literary exercises at the meetings of a sort of social club. At one such meeting at the house of a Mr. Deane in 1779 the fated Major André read a poem of his own composition. The bands were brought out at regular times and made to give open-air concerts opposite Trinity Churchyard, while gallants promenaded up and down Broadway with their ladies, or the ladies sat in the rooms of a house, especially set apart for them, facing the music. When victories were gained over the "rebels," fireworks and illuminations

celebrated the event. On Queen's and King's birthdays, also, the town was put into gala attire by day and by night. An occasional duel between quarrelsome officers furnished a social sensation. But while the officers and soldiers took care to have a good time, the ordinary citizen, no matter how good a loyalist, did not get much comfort out of the military situation. It was hard to make a living; sentries and prohibitions met them on every hand to hamper the freedom of their movements, to prevent even their share in the amusement going on. The people suffered greatly during the severe winter of 1779-1780. There was scarcity of food and fuel both; it was stated by some that \$50 would not feed a family for two days, so dear were provisions. The Commander-in-Chief had to order the breaking up of a few transports so as to obtain firewood, while not a few persons cut up their very furniture for burning. Even Baroness Riedesel, the wife of a Hessian General, comfortably quartered at Beekman's country-seat (Fifty-first Street and Second Avenue), had experiences



THE BRITISH EVACUATING NEW YORK, 1783.

of an unpleasant nature during that dreadful winter. Awakening one morning "we found ourselves shut up by the snow; and in some places where the wind had thrown it together in large drifts, it was eight feet deep. We had a difficult task to provide for our dinner. An old white fowl furnished us with a broth, which, with a few potatoes the gardener gave us, served for the dinner of more than fourteen persons."

It is pleasant from amid the black abyss of obloquy to which should be consigned the perpetrators of the cruelties to the American prisoners, and the responsibility for which rests upon every British officer with any word of authority in New York, to rescue the names of two men who were conspicuous for their compassion. One of these

was Andrew Elliot. He was Lieutenant-Governor, as James Robertson was Governor of the Province, by a sort of legal fiction that had a shadow of reality only in New York City, and possibly also in the counties on Long Island and Staten Island. In 1763 Elliot had been appointed Collector of the Port, and had come to reside in New York. He had a country residence at "Minto," on Fourth Avenue and Tenth Street, where the Stewart building was erected later. He signalized himself by the many kind services he rendered the prisoners of war in the city. He left with other loyalists in 1783, but his property was not confiscated. In 1790 he was offered the post of Minister from England to the United States, but declined. He was a relative of the Scottish Earl of Minto. The other exception to the rule of savagery was a private citizen, Andrew Hammersley, a merchant having his store and residence on Hanover Square. He acted the part of an angel of mercy among the prisoners, giving his time to acts of philanthropy, since there was nothing for him to do in the way of business. It is well that Hammersley Square in New York perpetuates a name so worthy of remembrance, although the street that once bore his name does so no longer.

In view of the recent celebration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, or sixty years' reign, it will not do to omit to notice the visit to our city of her immediate predecessor on the throne, King William IV., her bachelor uncle. He came to New York in September, 1781, as Duke of Clarence, and with no prospect of ascending the throne, as he was the second son of George III. He was then 16 years of age, and serving as midshipman on board one of Admiral Digby's vessels, but while here was quartered with the Admiral in the Beekman house on Hanover Square. There are accounts of his skating on various ponds in the city in a familiar manner with the young men of the city. One bold and perhaps a little imaginative chronicler has a thrilling narrative of Prince William skating on the Collect Pond with young Fitz-Greene Halleck, later famous as a poet, and of his being saved from falling through the ice by the embryo poet's dexterity. We learn from an autograph letter of Admiral Nelson's, then Captain of the Albemarle, one of Digby's fleet, that Prince William was still in the city in November, 1782. When George IV. ended his reign of ten years in 1830, the sailor prince ascended the throne, to make way for his niece Victoria by a not too grievously deplored departure from this life in 1837.

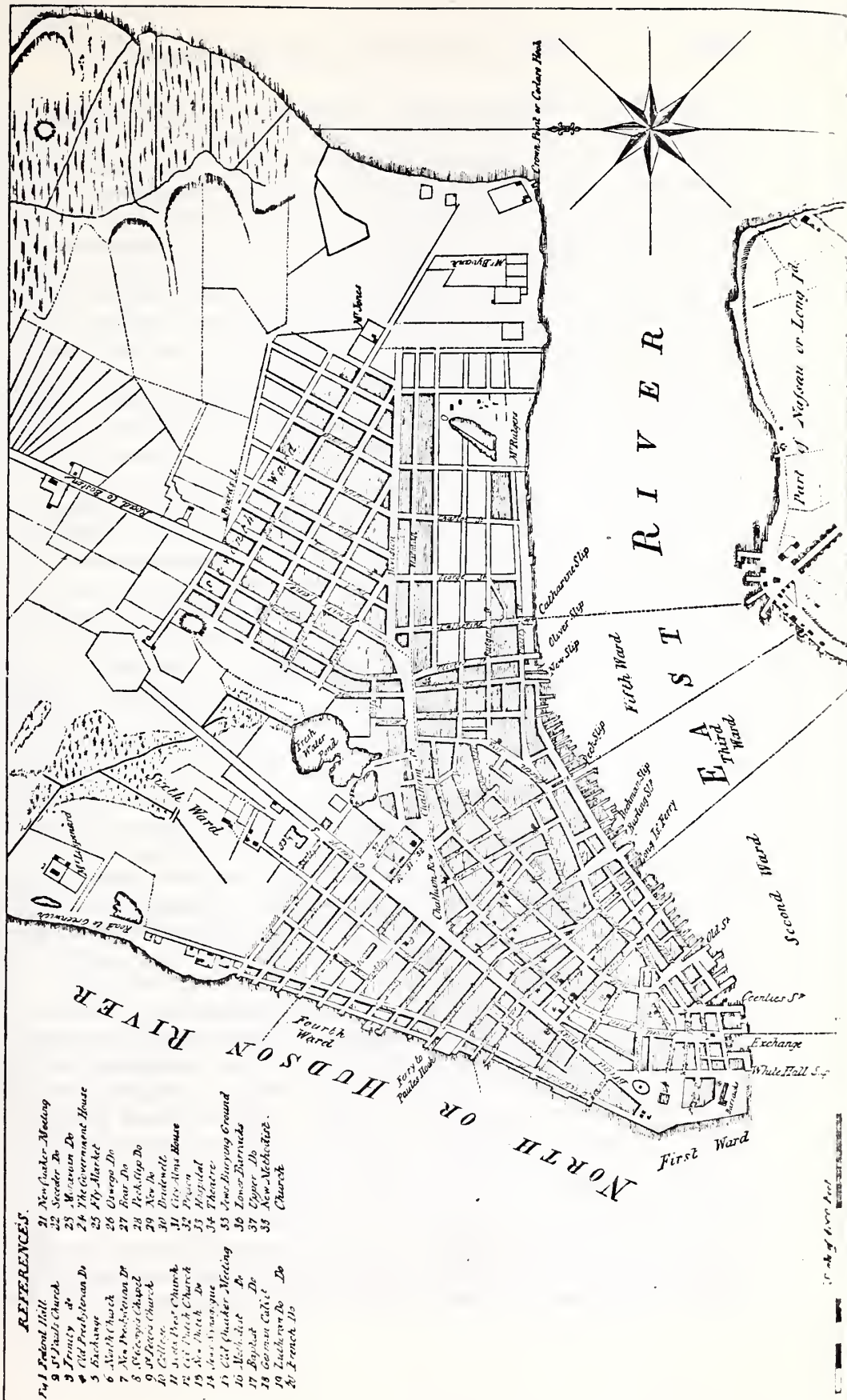
CHAPTER IX.

THE FEDERAL CAPITAL.



THE critical period of American history," is what Prof. John Fiske calls the years between the peace of 1783 that secured our independence and the beginning of Federal Government in 1789. He cannot agree that "the times that tried men's souls are over," as Thomas Paine wrote when he heard the news of the treaty of peace between England and the United States. It was just during those years that the test was applied and endured which proved of what stuff the American patriots were made. It looked often enough as if independence or nationhood were a gift too much for them, a curse rather than a blessing, because they did not have the capacity to use it.

And first of all there was to be the readjustment of relations between those who had not been of one mind in the struggle that was past. Brethren and neighbors and fellow-citizens that had stood on different sides upon the question of the assertion of rights against the aggressions of a lawful but despotic sovereign, could not again so easily amalgamate into a harmonious or homogeneous community. The sufferings in blood and in goods had been too severe on either side to make forgiveness and forbearance easy, when they were thrown once more together in the daily intercourse of town-life. In New York there was a clash of conflicting interests and hatreds as everywhere else; but in no place had the English and the Tories held sway so complete and so long-continued. In no place had the problem of the readjustment of relations been delayed till so late a date. It is stated by some authorities that in apprehension of the retaliations in store for them, over twenty-nine thousand of the loyalist inhabitants left the city with the retiring troops. One can hardly imagine how so many people of that party could have been found in the city, or how in departing any inhabitants of the other party could have been left. They were given free transportation to Nova Scotia, and some aid besides in starting anew in their untried surroundings. Some of the patriot exiles began to return before the evacuation, but kept themselves very quiet then. Those with money in their pockets were enabled to make excellent bargains at the incessant auction sales or vendues going on everywhere in anticipation of the forced departure from the city. They could not generally prevail upon former slaves to pass



REFERENCES

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|----|----------------------|
| 21 | New Quarter Meeting |
| 22 | Swedish Do |
| 23 | German Do |
| 24 | The Government House |
| 25 | My Market |
| 26 | Orange Do |
| 27 | Four Do |
| 28 | Pickings Do |
| 29 | Do Do |
| 30 | Do Do |
| 31 | Crown House |
| 32 | Prison |
| 33 | Hospital |
| 34 | Theatre |
| 35 | Loveburying Ground |
| 36 | Lower Barnicks |
| 37 | Cyper Do |
| 38 | New-Market |
| 39 | Church |

again under their former ownership. These creatures seemed to have a notion that "Novy Koshee" was an El Dorado and land of freedom, and they were eager to accompany their new masters thither. Perhaps the large figure given above included persons from other parts of this and neighboring States. Throughout the war, and especially as the enemy were driven from one position after another in the country, there must have been a constant influx of loyalists into the only considerable place from which the British had not been dislodged, so that the population, if large enough to bear such an enormous depletion, must have been a factitious one and not at all indigenous.

But yet all the Tory element was not eliminated. Some remained to take the risks of the new régime, or were perhaps sincerely desirous of falling into line with the new order of things, and trying independence with the rest of the nation. There was danger of friction, however, whatever might be their state of mind; it was not in ordinary human nature to bear easily with those who had actively supported or sympathized with the hirelings of an oppressive royalty. A population of twelve thousand is all we can count after the evacuation, and of these the minority were as yet "poor, despicable Whigs." But more were coming. Three years later the population has already doubled; and long before that the Whigs had been able to show the Tories that they were masters of the situation, and in disputes about titles the decision was pretty invariably on their side. Indeed, to make the case of the Tories still more precarious in all questions of citizenship and property, a bill was passed in the Assembly in 1784 disfranchising all who had adhered to the British cause; and also a Trespass Act by which all patriots who had been obliged to leave the city could bring action for trespass against such Tories as had entered or occupied their houses during the British occupation, whether honorably purchased or not. We need not wonder at such extreme measures getting the ready assent of the Assembly when we note that New York was represented in it by such lively Liberty Boys as John Lamb, Marinus Willett, and King Sears. There soon arose a test case, the trial and issue of which brought men to a somewhat soberer view of what was the right and wrong of things under these difficult circumstances, apart from the mere play of prejudice and party spirit, however justified in its intensity of antagonism to British adherents. Elizabeth Rutgers, a widow, had fled from New York on the approach of General Howe in 1776. Joshua Waddington, a rich Tory merchant, had bought the abandoned and confiscated property. Under the Trespass Act, in 1784, Mrs. Rutgers claimed the estate, and sympathy was universally enlisted on the side of the widow. But the court decided that Waddington was entitled to the property, both on the proper interpretation of the law of nations in general and of the terms of the recent treaty in particular. The decision was a triumph of the forensic power of Alexander Hamilton, who had boldly under-

taken to defend the Tory, as John Adams had defended the perpetrators of the "Boston massacre." His sense of justice led him to take this perilous and unpopular stand. It so enraged the Liberty Boys that a number of them formed a conspiracy to challenge Hamilton one after another in succession until he should fall by the bullet of one of them. But Ledyard, a leader among them, refused to permit a proceeding so altogether unworthy. A war of pamphlets instead was carried on between Hamilton as "Phocion," and this Ledyard as "Mentor," a species of battle in which Hamilton was bound to win. Gradually the sense of right and justice prevailed, and it was seen that even Tories had rights which the laws were bound to uphold.

Throughout the period upon which we have now come the name of Hamilton will come prominently forward again and again, and as that of a citizen of New York it is specially appropriate that we take particular notice of a career so remarkable in itself, as well as in its influence upon the city and the nation, and therefore one of which New Yorkers may be so justly proud. We have last seen him attracting the notice of Washington as an artillery officer. He soon entered the Commander-in-Chief's official family as aide and secretary, and Washington found his services as a writer invaluable. He rose to the rank of Colonel, and led the assault upon one of the redoubts at Yorktown. In 1780 he married Elizabeth Schuyler, the daughter of Major-General Philip Schuyler, of Albany. When active war was over he turned to the study of the law, and in an incredibly short period had mastered that vast subject in its most abstract and practical branches. In 1782, when scarcely twenty-five, he was a member of Congress for New York. After the evacuation he settled in New York and began the practice of the law. His moral courage, his lofty view of the duties of his profession, and his power as an orator and pleader were all illustrated in his taking the side of the defendant and gaining his cause in the famous and exciting case of *Rutgers vs. Waddington*. There was soon other work for the wonderful young man which would reveal the possession of a still greater versatility of genius, and leave his mark upon the pages of a wider history than that of his own city or State.

For the crisis of the situation of the thirteen United States as a mere loose confederation was beginning to press and alarm as the years sped on. The country had its wished-for independence; it was no longer under the control of a foreign despot. But there was no other control in the place of the other; and the independence of the thirteen sovereign States was fast driving them on toward anarchy. The bond that held them together was extremely feeble, as exemplified in the utter impotence of Congress, the only visible manifestation of that bond. And this unhappy political situation was not merely an ideal mistake or abstract evil. It had most definite evil consequences in practical life. It crippled commerce, it paralyzed

trade, to free which from British oppression had been so largely the motive of the war. States actually began to stand over against States in hostile attitude as if they were foreign countries. New York compelled Connecticut sloops that brought firewood to report at the Custom House and pay duties; and New London merchants held an indignation meeting and formed a non-exportation agreement for all the world like that of the colonies against Britain before 1775. Farmers from New Jersey with cheese and chickens and cabbages must cross over from Paulus Hook to Whitehall Slip and pay customs, just as if they had come from London. And New Jersey retaliated by charging a tax of \$1,800 per year for the lighthouse on Sandy Hook. This state of things meant war in the end.

In view of these ruinous commercial confusions, a convention was called at Annapolis, September 11, 1786, to mature trade regulations between the States. Only five States were represented, and no effective work could be done. But Hamilton, representing New York, prepared an address which was adopted by the fragment of a convention that was there, in which the States were urged to appoint commissioners to a convention to deliberate not only upon commercial relations, but "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report to Congress such an act as, when agreed to by them and confirmed by the legislatures of every State, would effectually provide for the same." This address, prepared by the young New York delegate, led to the meeting of the constitutional convention at Philadelphia, and the creation of "the most wonderful work," in Mr.



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Gladstone's opinion, "ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."—the American Constitution, adopted by the convention on September 17, 1787, and sent round for approval to the various State legislatures.

If a delegate from New York State has the credit of having initiated the movement resulting so gloriously, the State itself was a laggard in accepting that result, and it was due to the herculean efforts and marvelous powers of that same delegate that she came into line with the other States at all. Little Delaware enjoys the honor of having been the first to adopt the Constitution of the United States. The smaller Rhode Island was last of all. Nine states were necessary to

put the instrument into effect. Neither Virginia nor New York were among those first nine. New York stands eleventh on the list, her legislature not adopting till July 26, 1788. Much agitation had gone before this final act. The city, Hamilton's home, was more in sympathy with him than the State. As early as March, 1785, her merchants had expressed themselves ready to pay the impost desired by Congress for the meeting of its interest on the public debt. In vain did the Chamber of Commerce petition the Legislature to own the authority and meet the necessity of Congress. And now there was a strong sentiment in the city in favor of the Constitution. New York had the honor of seeing the issue from her presses of the immortal "Federalist" papers, articles discussing with the most signal ability the various merits of the Constitution. Holt's *Journal*, before the organ of the radical Liberty Boys, now took ground against concentration of power in a respectable central government, in which it reflected the opinions prevalent throughout the State. It was to meet the articles published therein that the "Federalist" papers were written. Of the total number of eighty-five, sixty-three were written by Hamilton, fourteen by Madison, and five by Jay, a few scattering ones being the result of joint authorship. They were all signed by the pseudonym "Publius," the first published in Holt's *Journal*, the remainder in the *Packet* and other papers, sometimes two appearing in the same issue, running from October, 1787, all through the winter and into part of the summer of 1788. On June 17, 1788, the New York State convention, specially called to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution, met at Poughkeepsie. The New York delegation contained the names of Hamilton, Jay, Duane, R. R. Livingston, and Isaac Roosevelt. Then began a struggle for a majority of votes that was carried on with splendid ability by Hamilton, ably seconded by Jay and Livingston. At the beginning, the sentiment of the State was found to be reflected in the greater number of the delegates present. But at the final vote a majority of three declared for federal union against confederation or anarchy.

This took place on July 26, 1788. But the city had not waited for its laggard State. New Hampshire, on June 21, and Virginia, on June 25, had made the ninth and tenth adopting States, and thus had secured the establishment of the Federal Republic. Therefore, although it was before New York State had given its bare majority for nationhood, the city felt justified in celebrating the glorious accomplishment. At ten o'clock on the morning of July 23, a grand procession started from the Commons, or City Hall Park. The route of march was down Broadway to Bowling Green, past the fort on Whitehall Street to Pearl, then along Pearl Street past Hanover Square, further on through Pearl Street to Park Row, to Division Street, to Broome Street, to Bunker or Bayard Hill, near corner of Grand and Centre. The procession was led by one accoutered as Columbus on

horseback, and was divided into several divisions, each made up of the members of some trade, who, on floats, were busily engaged in its peculiar operations. The seventh division represented the sailors; they were carried upon a miniature ship, full-rigged, and all sails set, drawn by ten horses. It was equipped as a frigate with thirty-two guns, and manned by thirty seamen and marines. It was twenty-seven feet long and ten feet abeam. Its salute of thirteen guns at the Commons was the signal to start. At about Cortlandt Street a pilot-boat, drawn on wheels by two horses, boarded it in regular nautical style. Upon the ramparts of the fort stood the President and members of the Continental Congress, which had been having its sessions in New York for some time. As the ship passed by, a salute of thirteen guns was given in their honor. It was appropriately named "Hamilton," and was for some years preserved intact within the palings of Bowling Green. There were no less than five thousand persons in the procession, making a line a mile and a half long. At Bunker Hill a grand banquet was spread in a huge semicircular tent. A raised semicircular dais held the tables for the President of Congress and its members; from this radiated ten tables, emblematic of the ten States that had then adopted the Constitution, and it is said these tables accommodated all of the five thousand people who had formed the procession. Thirteen toasts were given, the first being the "United States." The fourth was devoted to Washington, the fifth and sixth to the Kings of France and Spain respectively, and the seventh to the States General of the sister republic of the Netherlands. Surely so magnificent a demonstration in a city of only thirty thousand inhabitants gave emphatic illustration of the sentiments of the people of all classes regarding the necessity and advantages of Federal Union.

It was, perhaps, on this account that New York was chosen to be the first federal capital, where the machinery of the new government provided by the Constitution should first be put into operation. To put itself in proper trim for this impressive contingency, the corporation, now presided over by James Duane as Mayor, took steps to alter the old City Hall building for the reception of the executive, legislative, and judiciary departments of the nation. Major L'Enfant, a French engineer who afterward laid out Washington City, was engaged to do the work, which cost about \$65,000 before it was completed. The old building was by no means entirely removed, but the considerable alteration made a practically new structure of it, now called Federal Hall. The basement story was Tuscan, of no great height. On the second story four Doric columns supported a pediment, not projecting very far from the line of the front. An eagle crowned the center of the pediment, and the frieze was "ingeniously divided to admit thirteen stars in metopes." The tablets over the windows were decorated with bundles of thirteen arrows bound together by an olive branch. Representatives' Hall was sixty-one feet deep, fifty-

eight wide, and thirty-six high, octangular in form, with four sides rounded like niches. The windows were sixteen feet above the floor and eight feet high. The Senate chamber was adorned with marble pilasters and marble chimneys. It was forty feet long, thirty wide, and twenty high, with an arched ceiling, three windows in front and three at the rear. The front opened on a gallery twelve feet deep, protected by an iron railing, and furnishing a fine outlook upon Broad Street. It was reported ready for the occupation of Congress on March 3, 1789, one day before that set for its meeting under the new constitution. But on March 4 there was no quorum, and there-



WASHINGTON LANDING AT NEW YORK IN 1789.

was not for some weeks, so that the formal announcement could not be made to Washington of his election as President till nearly the middle of April. Then setting forth for New York on the 16th, he reached Elizabeth Town one week later, on April 23, 1789.

It had been arranged to meet the President here, and convey him in state to New York City. A barge handsomely decorated with colored awnings and silken curtains hung in festoons, and rowed by thirteen pilots in white uniform, with Captain Thomas Randall at the tiller, took him on board, with a committee of Congress, Chancellor Livingston of the State, and Recorder Varick of the city. Other

barges, filled with eminent personages, and some with ladies who sang national and other songs on the way, followed in the wake of the principal one. When off the Battery a salute of guns was fired, and the solid mass of spectators raised three huzzas. Then there was a rush around to the place of landing, Murray's Wharf, at the foot of Wall Street. All the vessels in the East River were dressed in holiday attire, and a salute of guns was again fired as the President's barge approached the dock. A broad flight of steps had here been built, thickly carpeted and covered with bunting, and a carpeted pathway led to a carriage. As Washington stepped on shore he was met by some of his old comrades of the war, and he was nearly overcome with emotion. He refused the use of a carriage, and walked arm in arm with Governor Clinton up Wall Street to Queen (Pearl), and along the latter to the Franklin House on the corner of Cherry, which had been prepared for his residence. The enthusiasm of the people all along the route visibly affected the President, and he was seen frequently to wipe his eyes. It was almost impossible to keep the way clear for the procession. After resting awhile at his own house, Washington returned per carriage to Governor Clinton's residence on Queen (Pearl) Street, opposite Cedar, the old De Peyster house, where he had been invited to dine. That evening the city was ablaze with illuminations. Figures and mottoes in light were seen in the windows, such as pyramids of candles, or representing buildings supported by thirteen columns, with, "Vivats Washington" galore. It rained, but the streets were filled with men, women, and children. Irving has preserved in his history a passage in Washington's diary written at the close of that day. All these demonstrations could not keep the wise and prudent Chief Magistrate from feeling that after all his labors to do the best he could for this people, the reverse of this affectionate exhibition might happen with any change of whim in the fickle multitude. Three days before this, the Vice-President, John Adams, had been met with due honors by Governor Clinton and a military and civic escort at Kingsbridge, conducted to the house of John Jay at 133 Broadway (as then numbered), where he was entertained until his residence at Richmond Hill was ready for him. On April 21 he was received by the Senate, and took his chair as its presiding officer after an extempore address, but without having taken an oath of office, for which the constitution had not yet provided. He and the Senators took such oath on June 3.

Exactly one week after his arrival in the city, on Thursday, April 30, 1789, occurred the Inauguration of George Washington as the first President of the United States. New York, amid all her mercantile triumphs and the overwhelming magnificence of her wealth, may well be proud that upon her streets were witnessed the impressive ceremonies connected with this august and auspicious event. It placed the capstone upon the fair superstructure of independence and na-

tionality whose foundation stones were laid in the blood of patriots, and whose walls were reared amid the storms of party spirit and amid the shifting quicksands of a threatening anarchy. Books and pictures, descriptions by pen and delineations by pencil, have made us familiar with the scene upon the "gallery" or balcony of Federal Hall. The colossal bronze statue of Washington upon the steps of the Sub-Treasury Building at Wall and Broad streets, stands upon a marble slab forming part of the pavement of that balcony, and upon which Washington stood on that great day as he took the oath of office in the presence of the assembled myriads of spectators, crowding Broad Street to its distant curve, Wall Street to River and Broadway; filling the windows and roofs and stoops and balconies of every house commanding a view of the scene. At sunrise a salute of guns was fired at the Battery. At nine o'clock services were held in the various churches of the city with the exception of St. Paul's, where a later service was to occur attended by the President. At twelve the procession to wait upon the President-elect and escort him to Federal Hall, left the Hall, proceeded to his residence, where the General joined it, and returned to the Hall a little before one o'clock. Here the Congress was assembled in the Senate Chamber, and the Vice-



WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH AS PRESIDENT.

for the supreme moment of the oath-taking. It was only pantomime to most of that vast assembly, but the moving of the lips, the solemn aspect of the noble countenance, the reverent look toward heaven, the head bowed as if in devotion over the sacred book as he kissed it, all told with incalculable power upon the hearts that witnessed the ceremony. A flag was raised from the cupola of the Hall, at which signal guns boomed at the Battery and all the bells in the city rang a joyous peal. A tremendous

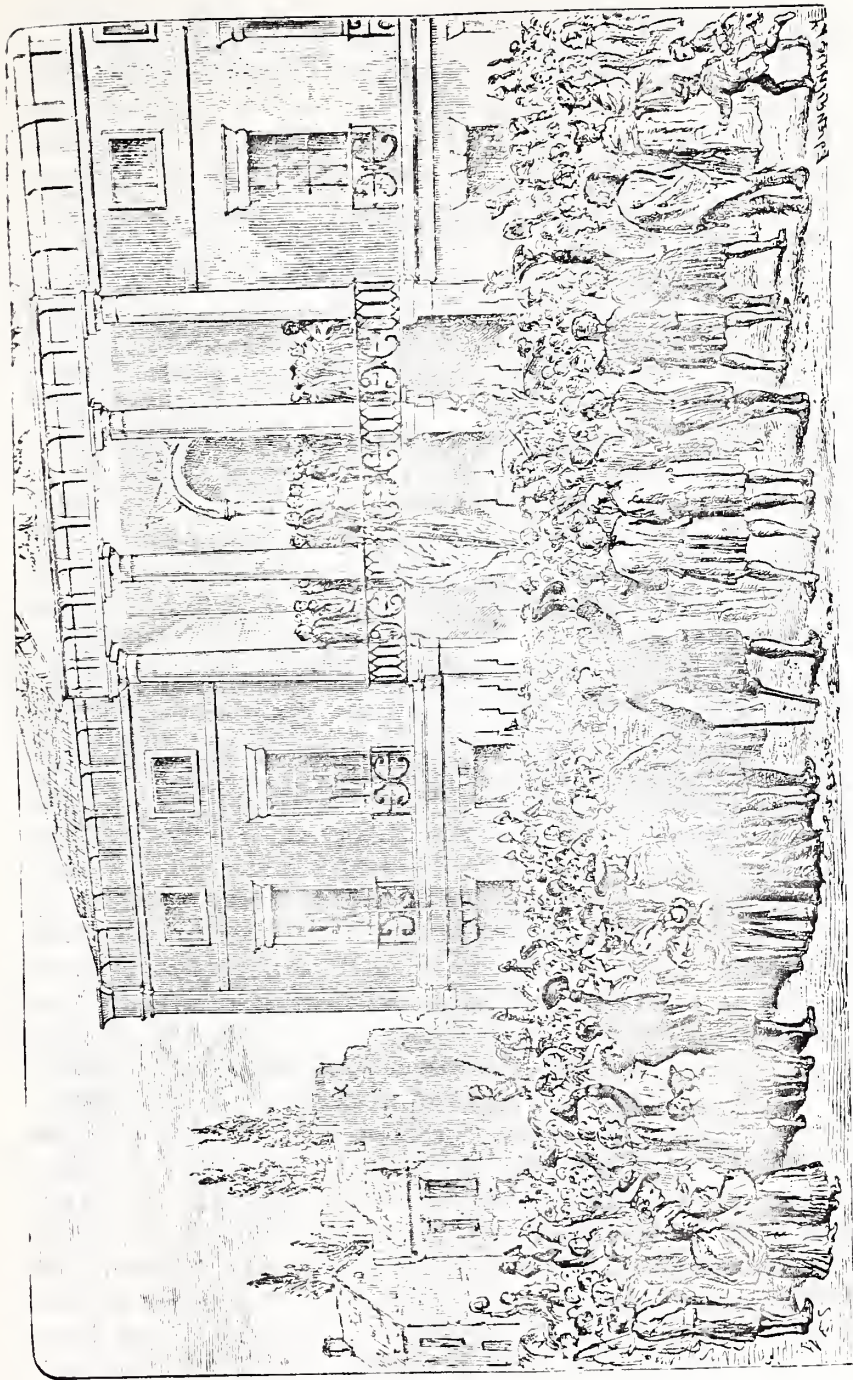
President of the United States received Washington at the door and conducted him to his chair. About one o'clock he stepped out upon the balcony, a Bible was held upon a cushion, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, standing on one side in the robes of office, and Washington opposite him in a dark-colored suit, white silk stockings, and a steel-hilted rapier,—the people waited breathlessly

shout burst from the myriad throats below, around, above; hats were waved and hands tossed in air, to which Washington responded with a dignified bow. Everything conspired, as an eye-witness tells us, "to render it one of the most august and interesting spectacles ever exhibited on this globe. It seemed from the number of witnesses to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once." When the Chancellor exclaimed "Long live George Washington," as a signal for the acclamations of the multitude, there were many so deeply stirred that they could not utter a word or do more than wave their hats with the rest. Returned to the Senate Chamber, Washington read his Inaugural Address in a deep voice tremulous with emotion. Next the President and Congress repaired to the services to be held in St. Paul's. He had come to Federal Hall in a carriage; he proceeded on foot to the church. The simplicity and modesty of the great man who was the cynosure of all eyes that day may be noted from the fact that as he walked to church he recognized a citizen of Philadelphia in the crowds lining the sides of the streets, and graciously bowed to him. After divine service, conducted by Bishop Provoost, carriages awaited the President at the church door, and he was escorted as before to his residence on Franklin Square. Transparencies and illuminations at night made brilliant the close of a day than which none greater had as yet occurred in the history of America, for it is only the luster shed back from it that makes the Fourth glorious, only its completion of the work begun then which makes that the birthday of the nation. There were fireworks at the fort, the ships in the harbor were bestudded with lights along all their spars and rigging. The young nation was as happy as its capital city was festive. It was an occasion well worthy of commemoration on a magnificent scale a hundred years after, as in due course these annals will relate.

Nearly a month elapsed before Mrs. Washington could reach New York. On May 27 the President and an escort met her at Elizabethtown, and the same barge with its crew of pilots and captain conveyed the party along the Kill-von-Kull and across the Bay to the city. They landed at Peck Slip, much nearer the Presidential residence than Murray's Wharf at Wall Street, at a half hour past noon, some hours before the party was expected, and thus the preparations for an escort were not carried out. But a salute of guns was given at the Battery as the barge went by. On May 28 the President gave his first dinner, and on the 29th Mrs. Washington held her first reception.

The Colonial Capital had now become the Federal Capital in good earnest, and the effects upon social life were soon conspicuous. Yet the city had been accustomed to the gayeties and functions belonging to its present situation for a year or two past. The Continental Congress, among other signs of its feebleness, had been a sort of aimless wanderer from place to place. A mutiny of unpaid soldiers had

driven it from Philadelphia. It had awakened the irreverent risibilities of newspaper editors that it went skipping about like a lamb, having had sessions at Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, and finally resorting to New York, all within four years, from 1783 to 1787. The presence of Congress in New York had already made it a capital. It brought the representatives of foreign powers to the city, and the heads of such departments as there were under the inadequate government arrangements then in force. It so happened that a New York citizen and his charming wife, also a member of a family closely identified with New York social life for generations, were the center of the vortex of official society and all the functions connected therewith. John Jay was Secretary for Foreign Affairs under the old Congress, and to him, as there was no chief magistrate, the Ambassadors had to be referred, to be honored with banquets and receptions, and to be in turn fêted by them. Mrs. Jay, née Sarah Livingston, was well adapted to assist her husband in these duties, and their long residence at Madrid and Paris during the war and during the peace negotiations had given them excellent training for their honorable task. Their residence was at 133 Broadway. There is no 133 at present, there being a leap from 119 to 135 in the numbers, both being at opposite corners of Cedar Street, on the west side. A descendant of John Jay remembers the house on Broadway as one of granite, double, with plain exterior, on the east side of Broadway below Wall Street, thus nearly opposite Trinity. It was the custom of Mr. and Mrs. Jay to give a dinner to the *corps diplomatique* on Tuesday evening of every week, which was served entirely *a la Française*, as a lively lady who attended one writes, exhibiting all the highest European taste. By a happy chance the Jay family have preserved Mrs. John Jay's "Dinner and Supper List for 1787 and '8." Upon it appear the names of President and Members of the Continental Congress, chiefs and subordinates of foreign legations, prominent and celebrated visitors from across the ocean, members of the clerical and legal and medical professions, and scions of the old Dutch, Scotch, English, and Huguenot Colonial families. With the advent of an actual President of the United States, President of Congress and Secretaries of Foreign Affairs naturally retired to the background. The President's domestic habits were simplicity itself. On the day after Mrs. Washington arrived, a guest says, the *piece de resistance* was a boiled leg of mutton. "After dessert one glass of wine was offered to each guest, and when it had been drunk the President rose and led the way to the drawing-room." There evidently was to be no drinking until gentlemen rolled under the table in his house. Eminently patriarchal and delightful too was the habit of the Chief Magistrate himself to say grace at the beginning of the meal. But for the public functions Washington insisted on courtliness and ceremony. It was finally settled that he was to be addressed as "His Excellency." He called his receptions "levees."



INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON—SCENE IN WALL STREET, APRIL 30, 1789.

much to the disgust of the Liberty Boys. His levees were held weekly on Tuesday afternoons at three o'clock, and punctuality was a virtue he practiced himself and required of others. Mrs. Washington had her receptions on Friday evenings from eight to ten. It was distinctly understood that at these receptions there was to be no promiscuous influx of the "*hoi polloi*"; we are told that "they were select and more courtly than have been given by any of the President's successors. None were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station, or by established merit and character; and full dress was required of all." Bitter were the accusations of the disappointed ones, that the President wished to affect a royal state. But, if at any time, it was necessary at the beginning of our Republican institutions to set high the tone of official dignity. The residence on Franklin Square proved too cramped in room and too inconvenient in situation for these necessary social events. So in March, 1790, the President moved to the Macomb house, where now 39 Broadway is located. It was a broad, lofty structure, and easy of access to all. The city was preparing to build an executive mansion on the site of the old fort when the exigencies of politics compelled Hamilton to bargain away the selection of a capital elsewhere for far more solid beneficial results to New York and the rest of the country; and on August 30, 1790, Washington left the city. On the 28th he gave his last dinner, the guests being Governor Clinton, Mayor Varick, and the members of the Corporation. He assured his guests he left New York with great regret, for he had much enjoyed its delightful social life. As he had wished them to keep secret the time of his departure, but very little ceremony attended the President and his wife on their way to their barge, which lay at the Macomb's Wharf, on the North River, almost in the rear of their residence. A few people were assembled in the vicinity, who cheered as the boat pushed out into the stream, and the authorities caused a salute of thirteen guns to be fired from the Battery as the party came opposite. In this quiet manner the President left our city, destined never to look upon it again during the remaining nine years of his life.

Both as a matter of local pride in the man, and for the important results of his work in financial and commercial lines, which have made her the greatest city in this hemisphere, and the second in the world, New York must ever look with satisfaction upon the fact that Alexander Hamilton was made by Washington the first Secretary of the Treasury. As such he was called upon to organize the finances and the business of the country, and it is most remarkable that this young man of only thirty-two years of age did it singly. "So great was his genius for organization," observes Prof. Fiske, "that in many essential respects the American government is moving to-day along the lines which he was the first to mark out." In the course of a year he submitted four reports, on a national bank, on the mint, on the

excise, and on manufactures. "From these reports," says Senator Lodge, "came the funding system, the revenue system, the sinking fund, national banking, the currency, and the first enunciation of the protective policy. They carried with them the great doctrine of the implied powers of the constitution, and opened up the important question of internal improvements. So far as public policy could do it they laid the foundation of the material prosperity of the United States. . . . A successful financial policy meant the successful establishment of the new government. . . . He armed the government with credit and with a productive revenue; he won for it the hearty good will of the business world." Washington had not judged amiss when he selected his young friend to be the mainstay of his administration. New York can never be indifferent to the consideration that her career as the commercial and financial capital of a nation leading the world in mercantile and manufacturing resources, in enterprise and skill, was made possible by the work accomplished in a brief term of office, without precedents, by one of her own citizens.

But the strengthening of the Federal Central Government was seen with alarm—let us call it sincere—by a great portion of the citizens of the new nation. And out of this difference in the point of



HAMILTON GRANGE.

view grew the first great division of the country into parties,—a division which in a general way has continued to prevail down to our day. It was indeed the time-honored division into Whigs and Tories which had characterized English politics for so long then, and continued to do so for a long while after, and does still to-day, except that the more general and descriptive terms of Liberals or Progressives and Conservatives, have taken their place now. Different names have designated the two classes or parties in our country. At that time the Federalists, the strong central government party, were the conservatives; and the opposite party were fain to adopt the awkward cognomen of anti-Federalist, soon to be changed into Republicans, and, in New York, a little later into Democrats. The pity of it was that party spirit produced at once all the bitterness and hatred of hostile camps. In New York Governor George Clinton had always, with his powerful

following, opposed the Constitution. He had been elected Governor term after term. In 1792 the Federalists put John Jay in nomination, now Chief-Justice of the United States, as he had been of New York State. The results only embittered more than ever the conflict of parties which preceded them. Clinton had 8,440 votes, Jay had 8,332, not counting the returns from three counties, where there had been some technical irregularities about the appointment of sheriffs or other officials charged with the count. These three counties gave a majority of four hundred votes for Jay. The question of the irregularities was then submitted for arbitration to the two Senators from the State in Congress, Rufus King and Aaron Burr. King decided that the irregularities were not such as to invalidate the returns. Burr sided with the canvassers who had ruled them out. King was a Federalist, Burr was an anti-Federalist, or chose to take that line then. George Clinton was once more inaugurated as Governor. But the "counting-out" process aroused a storm of indignation, and Burr sowed seeds that were to bear bitter fruit. At the next election, in 1795, Jay was again nominated, and an unquestionable majority now carried him into the Governor's chair. Clinton not daring even to be nominated in opposition. Jay was again nominated and elected in 1798, and finally retired from politics at the end of his second term in 1801. During his second term the City of New York ceased to be the capital of the State, after having served in that capacity since the foundation of the commonwealth, or for over one hundred and seventy years. In January, 1798, the seat of government was removed to Albany, and New York was now neither a State nor a federal capital. It only remained for it to become the metropolis of a nation and of a hemisphere.

When Jay was elected Governor in 1795 he was absent from the country upon a mission of the greatest import for the destiny of the city of his birth and residence, but which proved the deathblow to his own political aspirations beyond his State. The relations between England and the United States were extremely unfriendly. The British Government would not give up the fortified posts on the frontiers, and the Americans would not pay their English creditors; and on commercial grounds the two were seeking to injure rather than advance their mutual interests. Washington felt that this state of things should not be, and could only be remedied by sending a special envoy. But in 1794 the successors of the Liberty Boys were wild with enthusiasm over the French Revolution. Jacobin or Democratic clubs were formed everywhere, and France was loved with as blind an affection as England was hated with a blind antipathy. No peace, but war with the enemy of France, was the cry of the Radicals and anti-Federalists. Yet Washington and other wise men saw that peace with England would alone secure prosperity; while peace with France was productive of no result but visions and rhapsodies. Jay

was sent out, secured amicable terms, in many respects vastly favorable to American commerce, returned home, and was subjected to violent abuse, burned in effigy, denounced as a traitor who had sold his country to its arch-enemy. At a public meeting in New York Hamilton, trying to reason with the people, was rudely dragged from his place, and compelled to dodge a volley of stones. Then he resorted once more to the political essay, and finally the sober sense of the people asserted itself, the New York Chamber of Commerce took a bold and decisive stand in favor of the treaty, Washington signed it, and its advantages ere long began to be felt, and redounded to the honor of the self-sacrificing patriot who had taken his political life in his hands in order to secure this boon to his country. The treaty, as the temper of the British ministry and people then was, was a triumph of diplomacy. By it "reciprocal freedom of commerce was established between the United States on the one side, and British North America and Great Britain on the other." Another foundation was therefore laid for the commercial greatness of New York by the skill and devotion to the nation's interests of one of her sons.

On the very last day of the year 1799 the city was plunged in mourning, and a funeral procession was winding along its streets, on the way to appropriate services in St. Paul's Church. Washington had died on December 14, at his home at Mt. Vernon. He was but sixty-seven, and in the vigor of health when he was stricken by a cold contracted by an imprudent exposure, and, spite of every remedy the state of medical science at that day could suggest, a malignant and painful throat trouble carried him off in a few days. On the 19th the sad news was known in New York. On the 26th the Chamber of Commerce took steps duly to honor the dead patriot by appropriate public ceremonies, in which they were seconded by every other society or association in the city. The day fixed for the ceremonies was December 31. A procession was formed composed of civic and military dignitaries, attended by mounted troops and infantry and artillery. Major-General Hamilton and suite occupied a place of honor near the head. He was followed by members of several social, political, and national associations, representatives of the banks and other financial institutions, Regents of the University, trustees of Columbia, members of the bar, the clergy, the Lieutenant-Governor of the State, the Consuls of foreign powers in the city. Twenty-four girls in white dresses immediately preceded the funeral urn, which was carried upon a bier, in the form of a palanquin, six feet long by four wide, supported upon the shoulders of eight stalwart soldiers; a horse caparisoned in mourning attire was led behind the bier, and members of the Cincinnati followed in the capacity of chief mourners. The corporation of the city and mounted troops closed up the rear. In this order the procession advanced to St. Paul's, and filed into its pews. Here Bishop Provoost read prayers and the office for the dead,

and Gouverneur Morris delivered an eulogy. Next Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1800, President Adams appointed as a day of devotion and prayer in memory of the illustrious dead. On that day the corporation and the Cincinnati attended the Dutch Church on Nassau Street to listen to a sermon by Dr. William Linn, one of the pastors of the Collegiate Reformed Church, said to be the most eloquent preacher in the country. One sentence deserves especial mention: "That calumny which has sought to tarnish his fame will soon become dumb, and the name of Washington be revered until the fashion of this world has wholly passed away." A hundred years have not yet put this prophecy to shame.

When Washington was twenty-five years old Hamilton was born;



RICHMOND HILL.

when he assumed the command of the armies of the republic. Hamilton was eighteen years old. Yet with this great difference in their ages their careers in the service of their country were almost exactly coterminous. In 1798 when the exasperating conduct of France under Napoleon had compelled a declaration of war against our former ally, and Washington had again been called to the chief command,

he accepted on the condition that Hamilton be made senior Major-General, ranking next in command to himself. In that brief period of his last public position Hamilton flashed out one more scintillation of his versatile genius in an entirely new direction, for the benefit of his country and his city, by preparing a plan of defenses for New York which forms the basis of her formidable system of fortifications to this day. United with his chief in what was with both the last public service, it was but five years after Washington's death that Hamilton came to his untimely end. We at once pass on to that across the intervening years, as this sad episode was in itself the culmination of events in the history of country, state, and city which must have their record in narrating it. The catastrophe, occurring within the precincts of our city, constitutes one of the most startling and sensational incidents of our local history.

We have already once or twice come upon the name of Aaron Burr. He was the gallant aide who led General Putnam's forces on a safe retreat from the lower part of Manhattan Island even after the British had landed at Kip's Bay. We have encountered him as the United States Senator from New York who countenanced the infamous counting out of John Jay in 1792 by a mere partisan decision. The man is a problem in heredity. His father was the Rev. Aaron Burr, widely respected as a godly minister and profound scholar, President of Princeton College. His mother was the choicest flower of a choice family, the daughter of the celebrated theologian and revivalist, Jonathan Edwards. Both parents died while their child was but a few years old, and somehow or somewhere he received a moral or religious twist which unbalanced his character. Burr left the army before the war was quite over, studied law at Albany, and began practice in New York some time before Hamilton. Both young and both brilliant, in professional and social circles they constantly met on the best of terms. Burr was almost always in financial straits, and coming to Hamilton in distress at one time, the latter was instrumental in raising a loan of ten thousand dollars among his friends. They were together in the famous Sands case, a young lady mysteriously murdered whose lover was accused of the crime. Burr's pleadings, joined to Hamilton's skill in sifting evidence, procured a verdict of "not guilty" from the jury after but four minutes' deliberation. On Mrs. Jay's "dinner list" mentioned above, their names are constantly together. But political differences gradually alienated them, and led to a bitter hostility not to be appeased except by murder of the genteel sort called dueling. Burr's political management, as well as undoubted abilities, joined with his unscrupulousness, had caused him to forge ahead steadily, until, as is well known, at the Presidential election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr came out at the head of all other candidates, with 73 electoral votes to the credit of each. This tie vote threw the election into the hands of the House of Representatives. Burr knew he was not wanted for President by his party, but he waited the chances of the vote in the House. Thirty-seven ballots were cast, when the Presidency finally went to Jefferson, because one Federalist from Delaware voted for him upon the advice of Hamilton, who, while disliking Jefferson and his political principles much, had much more distrust of the moral character of Burr. Four years later the anti-Federalists showed what they thought of Burr for having sought to supplant their idol Jefferson by not even nominating him. George Clinton being taken instead, and elected Vice-President. There happened to be due an election for Governor of New York that same year, 1804, and Burr conceived the idea that here was an opportunity for "vindication," as the modern political phrase has it. He would run for Governor of his State to offset the snub on the field of national politics. His own party, having just set him aside for Clin-

ton, would not nominate him. He had a mind to court the favor of the Federalists, for he was not very fixed in his political faith so long as personal ends were to be gained, but his overtures were not accepted. Then he resorted to the expedient of running himself as an independent, self-nominated candidate. His popularity might draw many away from the anti-Federalists, and divided counsels might cause some of the Federalists to swell his vote and carry him to victory. The Federalists, however, were kept from aiding this scheme by the same warning voice that had prevented them from defrauding Jefferson of the Presidency his party had intended for him. Hamilton again crossed Burr's path, and he was left stranded a political wreck.

A deadly hostility now took possession of Burr's unscrupulous nature. Hamilton must be put out of his way, and the duel was a convenient cover for murderous vengeance. His case was desperate. Should Hamilton's bullet lay him low, his condition could scarce be worse than it was now, being politically dead. Should Hamilton fall Burr might hope to rise again over opponents less formidable. Occasion for quarrel was readily found. A second-hand report of a conversation was seized upon, and an explanation demanded. Neither Hamilton nor the hearers could remember the precise words or statement objected to. The groundlessness or irrelevance of such a position was earnestly pointed out by Hamilton, whose personal bravery was genuine and unquestioned, but who honestly sought to avoid the duel, as it was a practice he disapproved of. The words forming the basis of the quarrel were those of a Dr. Cooper, who was reported in a newspaper to have said: "I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." Hamilton asked: "How shall I annex any precise idea to language so indefinite? How could you be sure that even this opinion had exceeded the bounds which you would yourself deem admissible between political opponents?" If Burr had had any other than a murderous intent he would have acknowledged the force of these considerations. The writer was told by the grandson of one of the members of the Cincinnati who was at the society's dinner on July 4, 1804, exactly a week before the fatal duel, that his grandfather had often assured him that if the members had known of the duel and its circumstances, they would never have suffered it to take place. This proves that no very serious point of honor was involved, and that Hamilton's explanation was amply satisfactory, or else the customs of the day and the feelings of gentlemen and soldiers would not have permitted them to interfere.

To a person accustomed to note dates of important events in the more or less distant past, the days July 11 and 12 will never be without a sad interest. A resident of New York especially should not let them pass by without a thought of the event which has made them memorable. For on July 11, 1804, Hamilton and Burr met on the

fatal ground at Weehawken, and on July 12 Hamilton's great agony ended in death. On the morning of July 11, shortly after dawn, two boats were crossing the Hudson simultaneously, bound for a point on its western shore, about opposite Fifty-sixth Street. One came from a northerly direction, for Hamilton was then staying with his family at the Hamilton Grange, a house still preserved, although moved a little distance from its former situation. It now adjoins closely, and is in use as the rectory of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, on the corner of Convent Avenue and One Hundred and Forty-first Street. Thirteen plum trees planted by Hamilton's own hand are standing near the house, surrounded by a fence, the spot having been purchased by a New York gentleman to prevent the removal and destruction of this sacred landmark. The other boat came from a southerly direction,



THE HAMILTON-BURR DUEL.

Burr then occupying the country seat of Richmond Hill, once Washington's Headquarters, and Vice-President Adams's residence while in New York, on the corner of Varick and Charlton streets. The dueling ground at Weehawken was well adapted to its sinister purpose, and was often utilized by gentlemen whose honor must seek satisfaction at the point of pistol or sword. It was a place of ominous association and sad foreboding for Hamilton, for here only three years before his eldest son, Philip, had been shot down at the age of twenty, charged by his father not to shoot at his opponent. There was a grassy ledge about twenty feet above the river, affording a surface not more than ten feet wide and forty feet long, the lofty bluff of the Palisades rising on one side. Rocks provided an almost

natural staircase to the platform, and once here combatants were perfectly safe against interruption or detection. The advent of the West Shore Railroad has completely removed all traces of the historic spot, and could not even spare a few rude memorials of the event placed there by the St. Andrew's Society. It must have been somewhere near where the railroad tunnel now pierces the Palisades.

The details of the fatal meeting need not be dwelt on. Hamilton had no intentions whatever of firing on Burr, unless indeed a second fire had been necessary and had unmistakably exhibited a murderous purpose on the part of his antagonist, when self-defense might have demanded it. But Hamilton fell at the first fire. Burr had diligently occupied the interval between the date of the acceptance of the challenge and the duel in practicing shooting with a pistol at a target in the Richmond Hill garden, and the pistol practice had not been in vain. The bullet entered Hamilton's body in the region of the second and third false ribs, and tore through some of the most vital organs below the diaphragm. A hurried departure from the fatal spot followed, Burr's party leaving first. Let us follow him for a few moments and then dismiss him from these pages. Arrived once more at Richmond Hill perhaps at the hour of seven in the morning, he quietly settled himself in his library to write to his daughter Theodosia. James Parton informs us that a relative from Connecticut arrived about the same hour after an all-night journey. At eight o'clock breakfast was served to the two gentlemen, for Burr was a widower, and a little later the cousin walked down to the city. It was only when he saw the commotion in the streets that he learned what had taken place. The day after Hamilton's death Burr was indicted for murder by a coroner's jury, and had to flee the city to escape arrest. He went to Philadelphia, and thence to Washington, and in December took his chair as President of the Senate. When his office expired he could not return to New York and face the obloquy and indignation directed against him there. Soon he launched upon the romantic scheme of empire in the Southwest, for which he underwent a trial for high treason. But there was not enough evidence to convict him. Ruined in fortune and reputation, he spent several years in Europe, and returned after the War of 1812 to New York, resuming the practice of the law. Near his end he married Madame Jumel, who owned the Morris mansion on One Hundred and Sixty-first Street, now called after her, but ere his death he was divorced from her. At last came the end of his strange career, on September 14, 1836, amid the bitterness of disgrace, ostracised from society, with but a few friends to adhere to him.

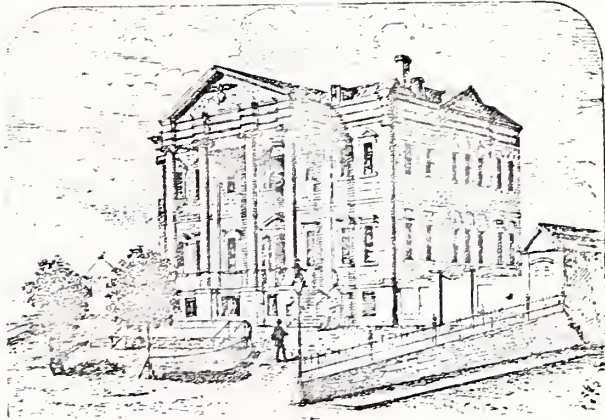
Hamilton's party, tenderly bearing his stricken frame, was a little longer in getting off. It did not return up the river, but pointed southward, intending perhaps to take the wounded man to his town house. But near the foot of the present Jane or Horatio street they

passed Mr. William Bayard's country seat at Greenwich, and the condition of the patient compelled them to seek shelter for him there, which was eagerly accorded. Hither to his deathbed were summoned Mrs. Hamilton and the numerous and youthful children. Everything was done to save the precious life, some French warships sending surgeons skilled in gunshot wounds. But all was in vain. The deadly purpose had guided too well the pistol's aim. All that day and through the night Hamilton suffered intensely. Early the next morning the pain abated, but exhaustion, the forerunner of death, set in. Several hours were thus spent in comparative comfort, in conversation with wife and children, and the offices of religion. At two o'clock in the afternoon of July 12, 1804, Hamilton died. There was an outburst of genuine and spontaneous grief in every part of the nation. Federalists and Republicans sunk their political differences in the deep-felt sorrow for a life so useful and powers so transcendent sacrificed so ruthlessly. Cincinnati and members of the bar wore mourning badges for several weeks. On Saturday, July 14, funeral services were held in Trinity Church, and Gouverneur Morris delivered his famous eulogy. We may stand to-day before the simple monument in Trinity churchyard, on the side of Rector Street, and read the brief but expressive phrases rendering a true account of this remarkable life: "The Patriot of Incorruptible Integrity, the Soldier of Approved Valour, the Statesman of Consummate Wisdom, whose Talents and Virtues shall be admired by grateful Posterity, long after this marble has mouldered into dust."

Immediately upon the evacuation of New York by the British a change of Mayors was effected. David Matthews was fain to leave the city, his record making such a step quite expedient for him. In his place the constituted authorities at once appointed James Duane, associated with Jay and other eminent patriots in the service of his country. Democracy only gradually awakened to its prerogatives, and for many years to come, whether Radicals or Conservatives were in power, a great number of offices now elective remained appointive, as before. To meet this supposed necessity of carrying on government, a Council of Appointment was created by the Constitution of 1777, which consisted of the Governor of the State as Chairman, and four Senators, one each from the four districts of the State. Richard Varick was appointed Recorder, and Marinus Willett, Sheriff, both of them having served in the field, while Duane, much like Jay, had done his work mainly in Congress and in civil life. His town house was in King (Pine) Street, which he found in ruins; at Twentieth Street, between Third and Fourth Avenues, he had a farm or country seat, through which ran a very crooked little stream called *Krommetje*, or *Krom Messie*, in Dutch signifying *little crooked*, or *crooked little knife*; and from this was derived the anglicized term "Gramerey," the name still borne by the Park in that neighborhood. Duane held

office till 1788, and was then succeeded by Richard Varick, the Recorder. He had done good service in the war, was Arnold's aide-de-camp at the time of the treason, and when a little fit of temper had caused Hamilton's removal for a while, was employed as secretary by Washington. He was a lawyer by profession, and held office till 1800. In that year the Federalists lost control of affairs in the State, and Edward Livingston was appointed Mayor. He belonged to the famous Colonial family which had taken umbrage at Hamilton and east in their influence on the radical side of politics. He left the city in 1803, settling in New Orleans, recently acquired with the Louisiana purchase, and later became Jackson's Secretary of State. And now there comes forward as Mayor a man destined to play an important part for many years in the annals of the nation, the state, and the city. De Witt Clinton, nephew and secretary of Governor George Clinton, the son of General James Clinton, received the appointment in 1803, holding it for three years, then after another three years resuming the office, and continuing in it for five years, or quite through the "War of 1812." In 1807 Marinus Willett was made Mayor, an office that was fitly his by hereditary right, a pleasant reminder of the fact that his grandfather several times removed, Thomas Willett, had been the first to receive the appointment of Mayor when Nichols made an end of the reign of the Burgomasters in 1665. An important duty fell to the lot of Mayor Livingston, the laying of the cornerstone of a new City Hall, on September 20, 1803, from which arose the present beautiful building in the park. This Mayor also nearly succumbed to one of the pestilences so frequent in the city on account of its imperfect sanitary arrangements, which became the more threatening as the population increased. In 1803 there was a visitation of yellow fever, from which Mayor Livingston himself suffered, but fortunately recovered. In 1798 a more serious epidemic had ravaged the population, two thousand seven hundred and sixty people being carried off between July 29 and November 1. Two lighter visits of this terrible plague had occurred in 1791 and 1795. The plague of 1798 swept over seventeen cities of the union. Pigs had served as scavengers, and slaves too had been utilized as instruments for cleansing the city, and after 1795 it was attempted to drain off obnoxious fluids by means of underground wooden pipes. But it was yet many a decade before sanitary conditions were adequate to preserve the city from these frightful visitations. The whole city budget in 1800, covering its primitive police, fire, prison, paving, lighting, and other expenses, amounted to only one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. In 1804 the people were allowed to vote at charter elections by ballot instead of *viva voce*, as heretofore, and it seemed necessary to specify that a person must vote only in the ward where he resided. At this time the population of over sixty thousand was divided into nine wards. The streets were slowly creeping up Broadway on the west side, and the Bowery

on the east, leaving still a wide gap of open country between. Here lay the Collect in all the glory of its glassy surface, suggesting ship canals to some people and an ornate park to others. At Washington's inauguration the residence of the people had not much gone beyond the New York Hospital at Duane Street on Broadway, and had about reached in anything like thick array Grand Street on the east, Corlear's Hook being still a tract of open country. A decade later and we find some blocks pretty well covered with houses as far as Laight Street, but in a narrow strip close to the river. When Mayor Willett assumed the chair in 1807 not much advance had been made, but Leonard Street from Broadway to the river marked the outskirts of population, together with the strip of blocks aforesaid extending beyond Desbrosses; and Bullock (Broome) Street formed the outer boundary on the east side. In 1790 there is the first record of sidewalks, for only a little distance along Broadway at City Hall Park. In 1793 the numbering of the houses was regulated, yet the directory of 1789 indicates numbers, but in a very haphazard manner. No. 33 Broadway was on the corner of Cortlandt Street, 29 was near Maiden Lane, 62 on the corner of Liberty, and 133, Jay's house, as we saw, was below Wall, and on the "even" side of the way.



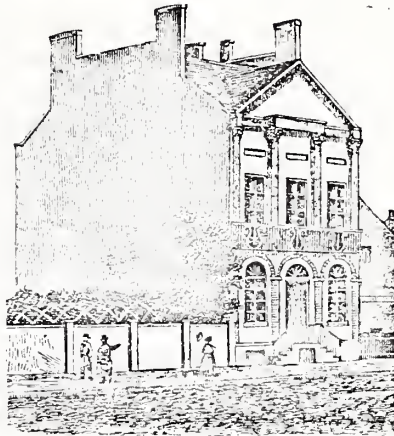
THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

When the patriots first retook their own in 1783, the aspects of the city must have been dreary in the extreme, with a deplorable "Canvastown" and blackened ruins right in its center. But these evidences of indigence and calamity gradually disappeared, and edifices of noble appearance came to adorn the rejuvenated capital. Among the first efforts at architectural beauty and grandeur, after the Federal Hall, must be reckoned the Government House, intended first for the official residence of the President of the United States. In 1790 the ramparts of the fort and all its buildings were cleared away, and upon this advantageously located space was reared an imposing structure, with pillared and pedimented front porch facing the Bowling Green, and making a fine close for the vista from Broadway. But the Federal government fled from the city before it was completed. Then Jay occupied it as Governor, but the State government also took wings. The Government House then was utilized as a Custom House until 1815, when

building and lots were sold by a thrifty Chamberlain at a profit of \$60,000 over the original cost, and six handsome brick residences rose upon the block. Strangely enough there has been some talk recently of again putting up a Custom House upon the spot. Looking over a list of houses and lots valued at over \$10,000 in 1799, we find that the Tontine House, in Wall Street, was the dearest in the city, being put at \$35,000. The estate of Dr. Van Zandt, on Water Street, was put at \$25,000. Daniel Dunbar, on Front Street, owned a house worth \$23,500. The Franklin House was valued at \$12,000, and the other Washington residence, the Macomb houses (double), were worth \$25,000. It is a pity that a fire in 1804, carrying away over forty houses, destroyed the Tontine Coffee House, as seen above the most costly building in town, and also rich in historic association.

In addition to such familiar names as the Fly Market (at Front Street and Maiden Lane), Oswego Market, foot of Liberty Street (first called Oswego Street, west of Broadway), and others, we now come upon the Spring Street Market, and the one in Grand Street, still in existence, which were established in 1807. Manufactures sprang into life all over the State, and our city led in this industry. Iron was worked from the ore. Woolen, linen, cotton, and silk cloth were woven; leather, glass, paper, clocks, hats, copper, brass, and tin utensils invited capital and largely repaid investment, while labor was busy and well rewarded, and prosperity made all classes contented. The Chamber of Commerce, although not interrupted in its life and usefulness during the enemy's occupancy of the city, took on new vigor and reorganized under a charter from the State in 1784. The first President under the new *regime* was John Alsop; the first Vice-President, our truculent Liberty Boy, Isaac Sears, alias "King Sears." The first bank was established in 1784—the Bank of New York. Its quarters were at first in the Walton house on Pearl Street. In 1787 it moved to No. 11 Hanover Square, and in 1797 took up its location at the corner of Wall and William streets, where it may still be found to-day. General McDougall, the John Wilkes of an earlier day, was its first President; in 1789 Mr. Isaac Roosevelt held the position. It remained the only bank in the city until 1799, when the Manhattan Company, now at 42 Wall Street, asked for a charter, by the advice of Burr, to supply water to the city and do "other business." The "other business" was banking, and was the main object of the charter, which the Federalist majority in the legislature would not have granted to a Republican corporation. The water-works were set up on Chambers Street, near Centre, and included the old smelting furnace on Reade Street. Just before the close of the century the Marine Insurance Company and the Mutual Fire Insurance Company were organized, and in 1801 these were followed by the Washington Fire Insurance Company. These institutions were already beginning to give its character to Wall Street, destined to become the "Street"

in the financial world. Colonel Lamb was appointed Collector of the Port in 1784, and his house on Wall, near William, became at the same time the Custom House. He was noted for his opposition to the Constitution, the hot blood of the Liberty Boy days still keeping him a radical Democrat, and on the evening of the Federal celebration his house came near being looted by a mob. The Postoffice, opened three days after the evacuation, was at William Bedlow's house, 38 Smith (William) Street. In 1789 it was at 8 Wall Street, and again later a successor took it to 62 Broadway, at the corner of Crown (Liberty) Street, which drew an expression of indignation from sundry merchants for being so far out of the way. The amount of business done in the city in those early days may be indicated by a few figures: The exports from New York in the year 1791 amounted to \$2,505,465. On October 1, 1799, the exports of the United States reached the figure of \$78,665,522; of these Pennsylvania furnished \$12,431,967 worth; Maryland, \$16,299,609; but the highest amount was credited to New York, and was \$18,719,527. In 1791 New York City ranked fourth in the matter of tonnage; on December 31, 1799, our city stood first of all the great commercial centers of the Union, with a tonnage of 106,537, while Philadelphia came next with 84,486. In the year 1786 the first city directory was published, a tiny volume one can stow away in a side pocket. The next was issued in 1789, not much larger; and as we come to those of 1798, 1799, 1800, 1806, and 1807, the size reaches a small duodecimo. The one of 1786 contains 900 names.



SOCIETY LIBRARY IN 1795.

In the course of our narrative of stirring political events or great historical occasions we have had occasion to mention more than one of the prominent taverns or hotels. Of the ordinary taprooms there were many, three hundred and thirty licenses having been issued in 1789 alone. It is noted as an important fact in some published reminiscences that the old City Hotel (Cape's Tavern, Province Arms, etc.), on the site of the Boreel Building, the former James De Lancey residence, was the first building in the city (or country) to have a slate roof put up, in 1794. In 1807 the Federalist headquarters were at Mechanics' Hall, corner of Broadway and Robinson Street (Park Place); the Democrats had theirs at Martling's Hotel, which stood on the site of the American Tract Society Building, 150 Nassau Street, corner Printing House Square, or Spruce Street. In 1811 these were transferred to Tammany Hall, on the site of the New York *Sun* office.

There were famous pleasure resorts out in the near country. The Belvidere, perhaps rather a private clubhouse, stood about on the corner of Montgomery and Cherry streets. The piazza and garden sloping down to the river, afforded a fine view of Brooklyn's wooded heights, and across Governor's Island over the Bay. Its ballroom was forty-five feet long, twenty-four wide, and seventeen high. From Chatham Square a racecourse was laid out northerly along the Bowery road, and about a mile or more further out were the delectable Vauxhall Gardens, kept by the Frenchman Delacroix. Twenty-five cents a piece for four persons, or one dollar if you were alone, would procure a carriage ride from the stand at St. Paul's to the gardens. They were on the site of the present Astor Library, but extended from Fourth Avenue quite to Broadway. John Jacob Astor bought the property in 1803 for \$45,000, and leased it to Delacroix, who was still there in 1808.

At the beginning of this century there were seven newspapers published in the city. In 1789 there were five: the *New York Packet* was published at 5 Water Street by Samuel Loudon, and came out three times a week, on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday; the subscription price was 16 shillings per year. The *New York Journal* was now published by Thomas Greenleaf, at No. 25 Water Street; its price, two dollars a year (or 16 shillings), and was issued only on Thursday of each week. The name of the *Daily Advertiser* indicates a step in advance in newspaper enterprise. It cost six dollars per annum, and was published by Francis Childs at 190 Water Street, corner of King (Pine). There was also a *Daily Gazette*, published at 41 Hanover Square by the McLean Brothers, and the *Gazette of the United States*, issued twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, from John Fenno's printing office at 9 Maiden Lane, its price being three dollars per year. To these were added later the *Evening Post* (1801), and *Commercial Advertiser* (1797). The former name had made its appearance in 1746, but as a daily it came forth for the first time on November 16, 1801. In 1788 Noah Webster, with strong Federalist proclivities, began to publish the *American Magazine*, but it did not survive for many months. Greenleaf had issued the *Patriotic Register* before his other paper, but some sarcastic remarks about the Federal Constitution brought the mob to his door on the eventful July 23, 1788, who smashed his plant, and he gave up its publication. The *Price Current* was a strictly mercantile paper. One famous duel at least grew out of the personalities too freely indulged in in those days. Brockholst Livingston, afterward so honorably active in founding the public school system, had, in a newspaper article, mercilessly ridiculed the organizers of a Federalist meeting. A Mr. Jones, one of their members, discovering the identity of the writer, gave this seion of the Colonial aristocracy, who now posed with all his family as fierce Democrats, a sound drubbing with a cane. A duel was the result and Jones fell its victim.

Some account has already been given of the effect of the location of the seat of government at New York upon the social life of the city. The advent of independence made visible a marked change everywhere in the feelings of the humbler classes. Clergymen in Pennsylvania, writing to Europe, complained of the pride of the common people. One could no longer tell from the dress of trades-people and mechanics and their families, that they belonged to these humble callings. Their hats and coats and gowns were as good as anybody else's, and in the very expression of countenance they looked the sovereigns they had become. Anyone who has traveled in Europe and noted the countenances as well as attire of the laboring classes, and then observes those of our country on his return, will still see something of that difference that came over the spirit of our people after 1783 and 1789, and will glory in the fact rather than deplore it with the scandalized theologians of that earlier day. Lafayette exclaimed on his visit in 1784: "But where are the people?"—there being no leather aprons, nor caps, nor any of the insignia of dependence. The people were all free and equal before the law, and also in their manner of dress. Emigration also now came in to modify the character or complexion of the older population. Without any facts or figures to show just what that amounted to in the early years of the republic, still it must have been of considerable extent, since in 1794 we read of the formation of a society for the purpose of "affording information and assistance to persons emigrating from foreign countries." The peace was not yet a year old, nor New York more than a few months in the possession of its own people, when in 1784 came to her from his native village of Waldorf in Germany one who was to become its wealthiest citizen and greatest real estate owner. This was John Jacob Astor, who set up a little store at 81 Queen (Pearl) Street, near the Quaker meeting-house, about midway between Cherry and Monroe, where he bought skins or furs and sold pianos on commission for his brother in London. We have seen that he bought the Vanxhall Gardens property in 1803. After 1804 he bought the Richmond Hill estate for \$25,000, which sum, however, did not begin to satisfy Burr's creditors. In 1794 another interesting emigrant came to the city, who became a man of mark in business and literary lines. This was Grant Thorburn, the seedsman. He was a nailmaker by trade, but found his trade gone by reason of the recent introduction of nail-making machinery. He made the nails for the slate roof on the City Hotel; but after that, having no job and yet having married a wife—towering far above his altitude of only four feet, so that, as he duly records in his *Reminiscences*, he had to get up on a bench to kiss her—he set up a grocery store. That, too, proved a poor investment. But one day he bought a geranium at the Fly Market, and put it on his shelves in the window. A passer-by admired the flower, and gladly purchased it at the price the proprie-

tor mentioned, which netted him a profit of twenty-five cents. He bought some more plants, and sold these at a profit also; next some people from the country who could not conveniently carry potted plants home with them, asked for seed. And in this humble way was started one of the greatest seed businesses in the country. The little shop was in Crown (Liberty) Street near the spot where the first Quaker meeting-house was erected. It is interesting to read how young Thorburn, himself a humble mechanic, regarded the outbreak of fury against Jay for perfecting a treaty of commerce with Great Britain. He had climbed into a tree near the corner of Wall and Broad Streets, the indignation meeting having been called in front of Federal Hall, and he saw all the proceedings, including the stoning of Hamilton. "About this time," he wrote fifty years later, "John Jay arrived from London with the famous British treaty. General Washington, General Hamilton, and the majority of the men who had just hung up their swords, and wiped the dirt and sweat from their brows after achieving their country's independence, thought the treaty highly advantageous to their country; but the clammen, hodmen, dustmen, and cartmen thought otherwise." Thorburn was the "Laurie Todd" of John Galt's novel, and sometimes wrote under that pseudonym.

During this period the Society Library advanced far enough to be enabled to put up a goodly building at the corner of Nassau and Cedar Streets, opposite the Middle Dutch Church. This was in 1795. And in this connection it is not amiss to remember that the first American novel was written by a New York citizen. In 1796 Charles Brockden Brown had come from Philadelphia to reside here; he married a daughter of the Rev. Dr. William Linn, one of the Collegiate Reformed Pastors, living on Murray Street; and in 1798 he published "Wieland, or the Transformation." In 1804 the New York Historical Society was organized in the picture room of the old City Hall, with Mayor DeWitt Clinton as first President. Other literary and benevolent associations sprang up, among them the Tontine, a sort of early building and loan, and life insurance company combined; the Humane Society, for the relief of distressed debtors; the Manumission Society, mainly composed of Quakers, for aiding and educating slaves; the Sailor's Snug Harbor, founded by Captain Thomas Randall, who guided Washington's barge in 1789. In the year of the inauguration Tammany Society was organized, somewhat as a democratic protest against the aristocratic tendencies of the Cincinnati. John Pintard, prominent in business circles, and later a charter member of the Historical Society, was its first Chief or Sagamore. Its meetings were held in Fraunce's Tavern in its earliest days. The society signalized itself by celebrating the third centenary of the discovery of America on October 12, 1792. An "elegant oration" was delivered, a banquet served in the evening at which fourteen toasts were given, beginning with Columbus and ending with Washington.



HAMILTON-BURR DUELING GROUND.
THE MONUMENTS AND VIEW OF CITY IN DISTANCE.

while allegorical representations entertained the guests after the good cheer had been disposed of. They were in high feather in 1790 when the halfbreed McGillivray and twenty-eight representative warriors of the Creek nation came from Georgia to negotiate a treaty with the United States at New York by Washington's special request. The Tammanyites arrayed themselves in Indian costume and did the honors of the occasion. But the real Indians did not quite know what to make of these extemporized specimens, and, lacking the sense of humor, came very near being insulted, thinking the intention was to ridicule them.

A curious instance of the primitive manners of a great portion of

the inhabitants of the capital—proving how provincial it still was after all—is afforded by the “Doctors’ Riot” so called. It was not a riot of doctors but *against* them. The New York Hospital on Duane Street and Broadway had been fully completed after the war, and devoted to its commendable purposes. In connection with it a medical school on a small scale was initiated, and it was rumored that bodies were occasionally abstracted from the Potter’s Field for dissecting purposes. This and the fact of the dissection itself, horrified the masses very much, and the circumstances were greatly exaggerated. On Sunday, April 13, 1788, a mischievous boy climbed a ladder left standing by some mechanics who had been engaged to make repairs on the building. He looked down into one of the rooms, when a medical student flourished a dead person’s arm in his face to frighten him. He had recently lost his mother, and the report soon spread among the class to which he belonged that it was his mother’s body which the students were cutting up. This report acted like fire upon powder. A mob soon gathered and rushed to the hospital in search of the obnoxious students and doctors. Several citizens, John Jay among them, sought to appease the raging populace and bring them to reason. Jay and the others found the task impossible, and retired from the attempt with injuries to their own persons. It was some days before the militia and the wiser citizens, organized for defense, succeeded in restoring the city to peace and good order. The doctors meanwhile had barely escaped with their lives, and a Dr. Cochrane’s house was gutted. Other prominent citizens fared as badly as Jay. Mayor Duane and Governor Clinton had as little power over the multitude as the ever persuasive Hamilton. The good Baron Steuben, now a resident of the city, obtained a broken head or skin in the fray. The soldiers were forced to fire into the mob, killing five and wounding eight.

CHAPTER X.

INVENTION AND ENTERPRISE.



It is a common platitude that great events cast their shadows before them. In 1797 the historic but now vanished Collect Pond, exposing its limpid surface to the sky where the Tombs has frowned for so many years, bore upon its waters a frail boat with a curious piece of mechanism in it, moved by the then recently applied power of steam. John Fitch, of Philadelphia, was its inventor and constructor, who ten years before had shown his steamboat to astonished spectators upon the Delaware. Fitch had with him in his boat on the Collect Chancellor Livingston and John Stevens of Hoboken. Nor was this experiment or construction the only one that preceded the final triumph of steam navigation. Fulton's glory consists in having made practicable and serviceable what had been merely experimental before, rather than in the absolute originality of his idea. Toy-boats and clumsy mechanisms had been made to "go"; but there was no real business of navigation about it all until he had perfected his design.



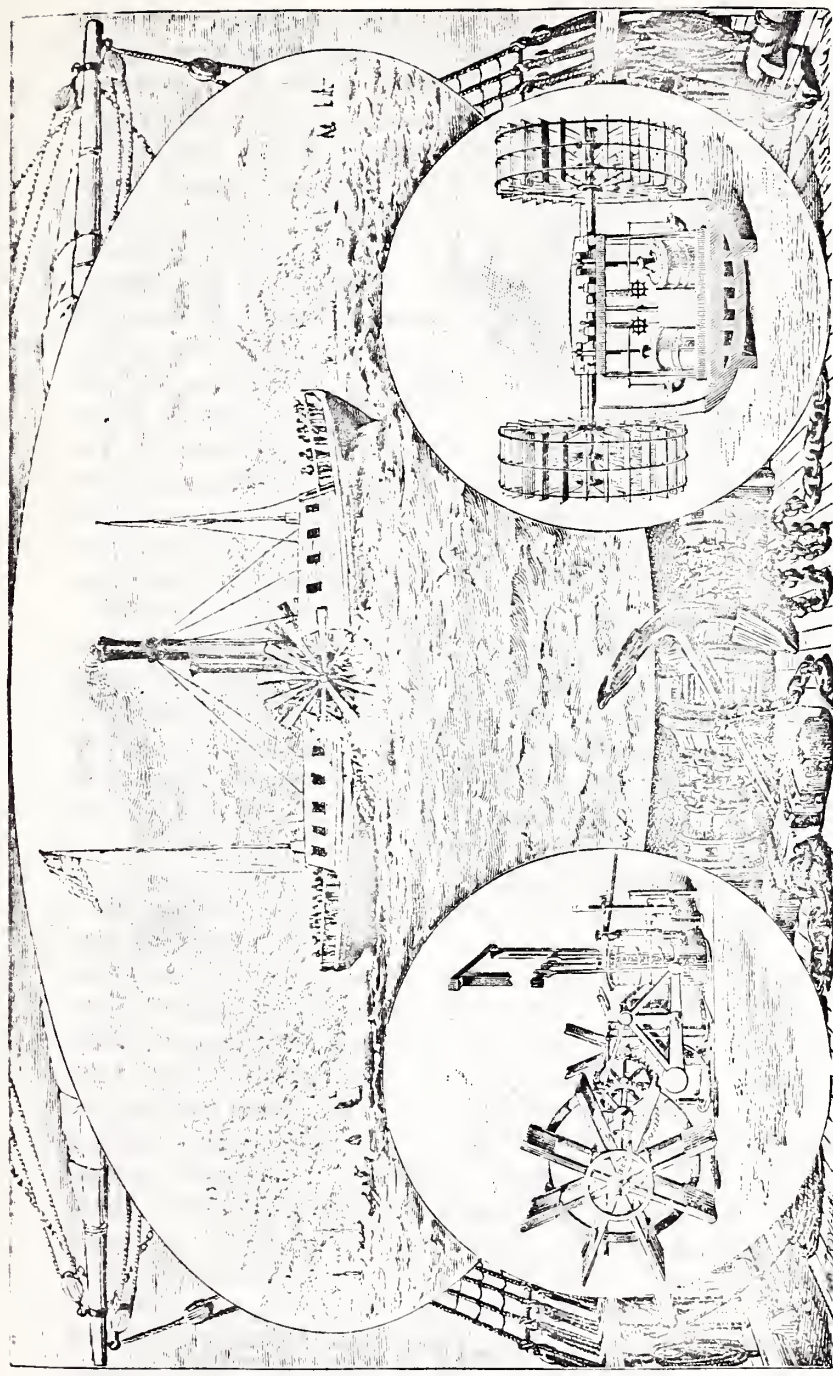
ROBERT FULTON.

Chancellor Livingston was evidently impressed with his trips around the Collect in Mr. Fitch's queer boat. The next year, 1798, he went before the State Legislature, then sitting for the first time in Albany, through the intervention of his friend the eminent scientist, Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell. He represented to the Legislature that he was in possession of a plan for applying the steam engine in such a way as to propel a boat; but that he hesitated to carry the plan into effect because the experiment was expensive, and he wished to be assured of deriving the exclusive advantages from its operation should it be successful. The bill was met by a storm of laughter and ridicule, but Dr. Mitchell persisted in presenting and pushing it against all the witticisms of the wags, until in a burst of good nature,

caused no doubt by its own merriment, the Legislature passed the act in March, 1798, endowing Judge Livingston "with the exclusive right and privilege of navigating all kinds of boats which might be propelled by the force of fire or steam, on all the waters within the territory or jurisdiction of the State of New York, for a term of twenty years from the passing of the act—upon condition that he should within a twelvemonth build such a boat, the mean of whose progress should not be less than four miles an hour." Twenty years would carry us to 1818; and it is also well to remember the condition as to speed—four miles per hour.

The Chancellor did not materialize this project. What he did produce failed to attain the required speed. But all things come to him who waits,—or *can wait* (*peut attendre*). A few years later and Livingston was in France, the accredited Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States. Here he became acquainted with Robert Fulton, who had gone over to Europe to study art, but whose head was full of schemes for building steamboats. He had interested Joel Barlow, a man of means, who perpetrated the extreme of the foolish in attempting an epic poem called the "Columbiad," and touched the extreme of the wise in fostering the plans of Fulton. Fulton had come to him in 1797, was made an inmate of his house in Paris, and by Barlow's aid had constructed a model steamboat and exhibited it on the Seine. Livingston and Fulton were two men well met on such a subject. The Chancellor, with his experience, saw at once that there was more in Fulton's idea or model than in Fitch's or his own. They agreed to enter into partnership, Barlow guaranteeing Fulton's share of the finances. An engine was ordered in England, and Fulton went to New York in 1806 to build the boat to contain it. Livingston could not stay in France with this scheme under way and resigned his diplomatic position in order to prepare for more lasting honors at home. He had been on the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; he had administered the oath to Washington; what he was to accomplish now has placed his name upon a far higher pinnacle of fame.

At the Brown Brothers' shipyard on the East River, at the foot of Houston Street, the mysterious craft that was ambitious to plow the waters without the aid of sails, and was the first to do so, was constructed. It was no small vessel for those days, and for river navigation: its length was 130 feet, its beam 18 feet, and its depth 7 feet; its burden one hundred and sixty tons. A deckhouse pierced by windows and fitted up inside with twelve berths, reached within a short distance of both bow and stern, leaving a space open to the sky at either end. There were two masts that could be fitted with sails, and were rigged for the purpose. There was as yet nothing startling about these details. But now strange things began to happen. Machinery was put up piece by piece within the boat, just like that used



THE CLERMONT AND ITS MACHINERY.

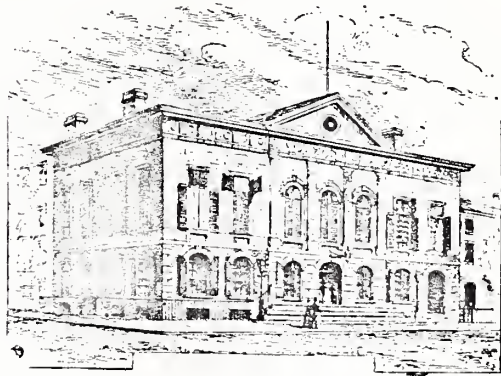
at the Manhattan Water-works, or like what might be seen in saw-mills. A great iron pipe rose from the center, almost as high as the masts; and, last of all, great wheels were hung on either side like those moved by mill-races. Then, in the newspapers of Friday morning, August 4, 1807, appeared an advertisement which capped the climax of people's astonishment. This strange craft, christened the *Clermont*, after Livingston's country-seat on the Hudson, was announced to sail from the foot of Cortlandt Street at 6.30 o'clock on Monday morning, August 7, and would take passengers to Albany at seven dollars a piece. One or two trial trips around the island to Jersey City and back had been made, so that Fulton and his partners were perfectly sure of their strange craft. By Monday morning all the twelve berths had been taken, and ten thousand people were lining the shore in the vicinity of the starting point to see the novel departure. When the signal to move was given the *Clermont* started without a hitch, and was soon in mid-stream, her open paddle-wheels dashing the water on either side of her, and propelling the boat at a goodly pace toward the north. Then there was a burst of applause to make up for all the previous ridicule and incredulity.

But what was the amazement of the citizens when the *Clermont* was seen coming back again about four in the afternoon on Friday. Had she really been as far as Albany? Fulton soon settled that question by making an official and sworn statement, published in the newspapers, that he had reached *Clermont*, Livingston seat, in exactly twenty-four hours, had rested there over night, and gone to Albany in eight hours on Wednesday; starting thence on Thursday at 9 a.m., and stopping only one hour at *Clermont*, he had accomplished the one hundred and fifty miles in just thirty hours coming down. Thus the average speed attained was five miles per hour, or one mile more than was required by the act of the Legislature. By this time Livingston had secured a renewal of that act, although the partners were still within the term of the twenty years. But apart from these calculations, the people were astounded at the speed of the journey to Albany. Under the most favorable circumstances a packet would achieve the trip thither in four days, so that it would take from Monday to Friday barely to get there. And here was this wonderful craft back again in that very time. We cannot begin to realize what this earliest instance of the annihilation of time and distance meant to the generations that lived upon this earth in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It seemed nothing short of a miracle. Within four years the *Clermont* was improved and enlarged, and its name changed to *North River*, and the partners added two other boats, the *Car of Neptune* and the *Paragon*, to their line. They were much troubled by rival companies and their boats, and their profits were much reduced by lawsuits; but nevertheless steam navigation was an established fact, and the glorious Hudson the first river in the world to be regu-

larly traveled by these marvels of advancement in the method of transportation.

Of particular interest to our city was the fact that steam navigation could so effectively solve the problem of bridging the broad rivers that separated her from the neighboring shores. Yet it was some years before steam ferry-boats were put into operation. In 1810 sail- and row-boats still conveyed passengers from the foot of Fulton Street to Long Island. In 1812 a ferry-boat made up of two keels ten feet apart and joined together like a catamaran, with wheels moved by steam placed in center, ran every half hour in daylight from Paulus Hook to Cortlandt Street. There were floating bridges at either landing, and the trip consumed from fifteen minutes to one hour, according to the winds and tides. As late as 1814 similar boats, but with the wheels moved by literal, live horse power, ran between New York and Long Island. Eight horses were made to walk a sort of horizontal treadmill, and carried the people across in from twelve to twenty min-

utes. It was but a step from this contrivance to horse power as applied by steam, and in May, 1814, the Nassau, the first steam ferry-boat, was put on the Fulton Ferry. The floating bridges, regulated by weights and pulleys and the tide, were Fulton's invention; the yielding row of piles, to receive the impact of the boat and guide it safely and gently to the landing,



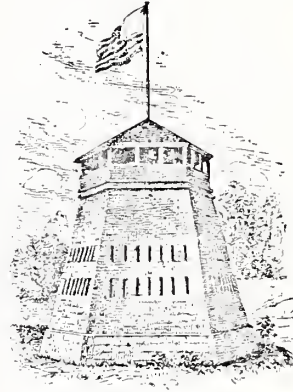
WASHINGTON HALL.

was the invention of John Stevens. The latter has the credit of having perfected a steamboat a little later than Fulton, which he sent around by sea to Philadelphia, as the monopoly excluded him from New York waters. He, too, has the honor of having first suggested or used the screw propeller, which was not thought worth attention until 1836, when John Ericson revived the idea, leading to that perfection of ocean-navigation by steam which has since been attained. Among the men brought forward by this new era of navigation was Cornelius Vanderbilt. Before the war of 1812 he ran a sail ferry-boat between Staten Island and New York. Saving his money, he was able to invest in steamboats, soon owned one, running her as its captain, and ere long had a line plying regularly between New York and New Brunswick, having in partnership with him his brother-in-law, James van Pelt. This steamboat journey materially shortened and facilitated intercourse with Philadelphia, and hence it proved a very profitable enterprise.

In the same year of Fulton's triumph there were already the premonitions of the "war of 1812," sometimes called the second war for independence. Napoleon Bonaparte was now Emperor of the French, and master of nearly the whole continent of Europe. England, in her insulated position and with her unparalleled navy, was the only power that could bid him defiance. To cripple her commerce Napoleon issued his "Berlin Decrees," to which England replied with her "Orders in Council"; and between them American ships became the prey of the cruisers of both nations. In December, 1807, Congress passed the Embargo Act, forbidding American vessels to leave their harbors and expose themselves to the risks of capture. Nothing could have been more ruinous to commerce. In New York everything was changed in five months from business and bustle to stagnation and idleness at wharves and on the streets. Ruin was everywhere rampant; deserted ships lay idle and rotting in the docks, and one hundred and fifty bankruptcies had occurred before the spring of 1808. Added to this injury came deliberate insults on the part of Great Britain, acts of aggression that amounted to war. She claimed the right to search our ships for alleged deserters from her navy. In 1806 the British frigate *Leander* fired point blank into an American sloop and killed one of her men. The English captain's punishment was demanded by our government. He was sent home to be tried by a court-martial, but was acquitted. In June, 1807, a bolder trespass was committed: the American frigate *Chesapeake* was accosted off the coast of Virginia by the British man-of-war *Leopard*. An officer came aboard our ship and demanded the surrender of four of her crew. The demand was refused, when the *Leopard* fired a broadside into the *Chesapeake*, killing three men and wounding eighteen. The captain was unprepared for war, and was compelled to strike colors and allow the four sailors to be abducted. Only war could follow such proceedings, and on June 19, 1812, the formal declaration was made by President Madison. On June 20, the news was already in New York, and awakened the hearty approval of the merchants and citizens. Of the loan of \$16,000,000 called for by the Federal Government, New York furnished five and a half millions, Pennsylvania seven millions, and Maryland nearly three millions. But New England was opposed to the war, and carried her aversion almost to the point of secession. All the five New England States together took only \$486,700 of the loan. They actually called a convention of delegates, which met at Hartford, at which it was voted deliberately not to raise money for the war except for their own defense.

New York citizens, with Mayor De Witt Clinton at their head, enthusiastically entered upon all the measures made necessary by the war. The city was practically defenseless against a naval attack; vessels of the enemy might pass both through the Narrows and Hell Gate without being molested. The construction of forts at points of

vantage was pushed with vigor, and soon both shores of the Narrows bristled with walls and parapets which pointed their guns at too venturesome strangers. Castle William was erected on Governor's Island, and Castle Clinton (now Castle Garden) off the Battery, connected with the shore by a drawbridge. Another fortification called the North Battery arose at the foot of Hubert Street, on the North River. A mortar battery was placed on Bedlow (now Liberty) Island, on Horn's Hook and Mill Rock, facing Hell Gate, redoubts were built, and Fort Stevens crowned the hill at Astoria, commanding a view of the outer and inner approaches to Hell Gate. The block-house in Central Park, facing the plains of Harlem, is a relic of those days of alarm. To construct these many and widely separated defenses volunteer labor was called for, and there was a ready and enthusiastic response from all classes of citizens. Merchants, lawyers, teachers, professors, clerks, students of the colleges, boys in school, seized pick-axes and shovels, and the work went on day and night. Daily they went out in squads to Brooklyn Heights or to Harlem, the new ferry boats serving admirably for their conveyance to the points demanding their labor. And this was no sudden burst of enthusiasm; it lasted all through the war. As late as 1814, after the disgraceful burning of Washington by the British invaders, the work was resumed with new vigor. Mayor and corporation disdained not to lead the citizens in work so honorable. The rush of volunteers was so great that turns had to be taken by the various trades. Squads of bakers, barbers, butchers, students, cartmen, divided into those hailing from different wards, would be sent out one day, and squads of other trades or professions on the next. The harvest moon in August was utilized so as to give employment to those who could not be given places in the daytime. When there was a call for twenty thousand men to be stationed in and about the city to man these fortifications, the corporation raised the requisite funds, trusting for reimbursement by the government. Volunteers also came forward in ample numbers to fill the quota, and Major-General Ebenezer Stevens was placed in command. He had been an officer in the war of the Revolution; though not before a resident of New York, so many of the men of the regiment he had commanded were from that city that he was induced to settle there after the Evacuation. He became a leading merchant, avoiding partisan connection in politics. The fort at Astoria was named after him because he owned a country-seat there.



HALLET'S POINT TOWER.

A feature of the war of 1812 in local New York history was the

frequent honors paid by corporation and citizens to the heroes of our brilliant naval victories. In quick succession occurred the defeat of the British frigate *Guerrière* by Captain Hull in the *Constitution*, on August 19, 1812; that of the *Frolic* by the *Wasp*, under Captain Jones, October 18; of the *Macedonian* by Captain Decatur in the *United States*, October 25; of the *Java* by the *Constitution*, under Captain Bainbridge, October 29; while on February 24, 1813, Captain Lawrence, one of her own citizens, in the *Hornet*, defeated the British sloop-of-war *Peacock*. All these officers, as they passed through the city, were received with great ceremony, and presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box; a subscription was raised privately among the citizens and handsome swords presented to Hull and his officers, and he was requested to sit for his portrait at the city's expense. Swords were also presented to some of the other victors, and a grand banquet given to both Hull and Decatur after the latter's exploit. Nor was the crew of the *Macedonian* forgotten when that ship was brought into port. They were given a dinner at the City Hotel, to which four hundred of the brave tars sat down. Lawrence's and Bainbridge's portraits were also requested. On June 1, 1813, occurred the fatal action between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, in which Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow were killed. On September 13 their bodies were brought to New York, and conducted to their graves in Trinity church-yard in the presence of a concourse of from twenty to thirty thousand people. The line of the procession was formed at ten o'clock in the morning, yet the march was not finished till late in the afternoon, so eager were men of all ranks and parties to do honor to the fallen heroes of the new and rising navy of the Union.

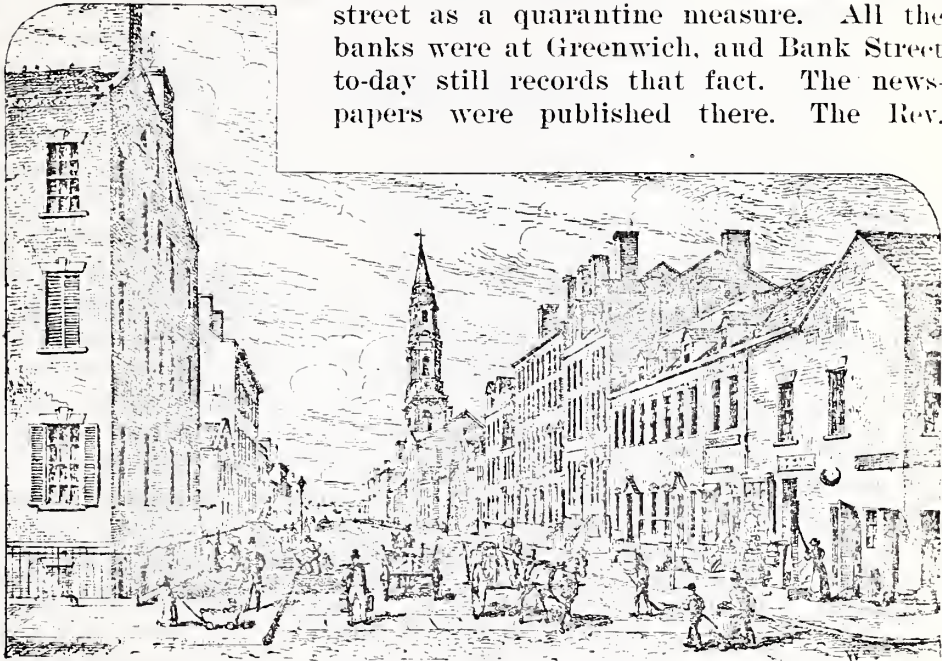
While men were still fighting in distant America, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent by the commissioners of the United States and England, on December 24, 1814. Had the telegraph then bound Europe and America together the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought on January 8, 1815; but then we would have missed one of the greatest triumphs of our arms, and Jackson might never have been President of the United States. It was on St. Valentine's Day, February 14, 1815, that the news of peace reached New York, while on the 6th had come that from New Orleans. The two circumstances put the citizens into a humor for celebrating, and Washington's birthday being so near at hand, that day was set apart for a grand public dinner. In the evening, at the request of the corporation, the citizens made bright their houses with illuminations.

It was almost with a frenzy of joy that the news of peace was received in the city. The vessel supposed to be the bearer of the tidings was sighted just as night set in. So there was suspense until a boat was seen to approach by those eagerly peering into the darkness from the edge of the Battery. On landing, the occupants made known

their errand. The news spread like wildfire. Men shouted "Peace! peace! peace!" as they ran like mad along the streets. Those within their houses, as they heard the shouts, left home and gathered in groups to discuss the glad deliverance. A concert was going on in the City Hotel. Suddenly a man rushed into the audience room, waved a handkerchief and shouted "Peace! Peace! Peace!" The instruments and singers were of no further account to the people—the hall was empty in a moment. Tens of thousands of people were out all night, going up and down with candles, lamps, and torches. No one could find it in his heart to settle down to sleep on such an occasion. Neither was this excessive joy to be wondered at, for no other city had so conspicuously felt the calamity of the war and of the causes that led to it. It had been to it the sudden paralysis of all business and prosperity. Now, soon matters readjusted themselves. Commerce revived rapidly; indeed, received such a stimulus that men grew reckless in investments and schemes for money-making, and a mild panic contributed to bring them to their senses in 1818-1819. It is recorded that this prosperity in trade was largely due to the action of the great continental powers of Europe, who were anxious to establish trade relations with the United States. As after the Revolution, Great Britain was so foolish and short-sighted as to nurse her spite for comparative defeat. She could not forgive the naval victories especially. Whatever other nations might desire to do in the way of trade with us, the two countries that are always bound to derive from and to bestow upon each other the greatest benefits in commerce, are unquestionably Great Britain and the United States. But we will return to these commercial aspects of our history later in the proper place, and follow the course of events of a more general nature.

One still meets occasionally an old inhabitant (if not "the oldest") who can tell as a reminiscence of his childhood days of the exodus of the citizens from the lower parts of the city to Greenwich, in 1822, on account of the visitation of the yellow fever. There had been several severe winters in rapid succession from 1817 to 1820. But none the less, the microbes returned or were imported on vessels not too strictly quarantined in those days. In the year 1819 the scourge was present in the city, but it was particularly virulent in 1822, "the year of the yellow fever," as we have often heard it called. On July 13 its ravages began, and by November 2, twelve hundred and thirty-six people had been carried off. There was a perfect stampede out of town. Carts, wagons, carriages conveying everything that was movable were constantly going out on Broadway and Greenwich Street toward the open portions of the island. Greenwich was at that time quite a village by itself. There were no signs of approaching blocks along Broadway anywhere above Canal Street. Between Canal Street and, say, about where Clarkson and Carmine streets now are, the openness of the country was quite marked, although somewhat of

a settlement had grown about the Spring Street Market. At the foot of Amos (now West 10th) Street stood the State Prison. It was the second reared in the United States at the time of its erection in 1796, being a large stone building, surrounded by a high wall, duly paced by an armed sentry at all hours of the day and night. It was afterward converted into a brewery. In the neighborhood of this institution, too, houses had begun to be built on the streets laid out in its vicinity. Even in 1809 a house would be found here and there in Bleecker Street or Grove or Christopher, or beyond. But now the whole of lower New York seemed to be coming to Greenwich. There was no longer any business done below Liberty Street, a high board fence being stretched across the island along this street as a quarantine measure. All the banks were at Greenwich, and Bank Street to-day still records that fact. The newspapers were published there. The Rev.



MURRAY STREET IN 1822.

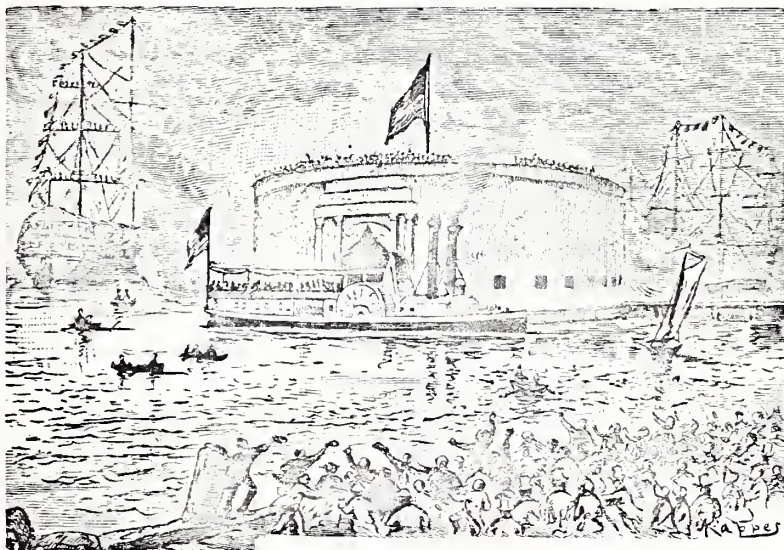
Mr. Marselus, pastor of the Reformed Church, at the corner of Amos (West 10th) and Bleecker streets, tells of some of the transformations taking place around him. The corner of Hammond (West 11th) and Fourth streets was a cornfield on Saturday, and on Monday there was a boarding-house or hotel there capable of accommodating three hundred guests. Of course, only frame buildings could be put up in such a hurry, and all the structures in the vicinity were but of a temporary nature. Yet in 1823 the scourge was worse, if possible, and the flimsy buildings had to be occupied again. Even the ferry-boats changed their landing-places, and came up toward Greenwich on both sides of the island. In 1821 a Quarantine Station had been established on Staten Island. Perhaps the working of it

was not very efficient in the earlier years, but these visitations must have put it upon its mettle, for the yellow fever did not again attain the proportions of an epidemic in our city after 1823.

It affords a pleasant relief from the tales of war and pestilence to turn to an event signaling the year 1824, when the city outdid itself in paying honors to a distinguished visitor who brought with him memories of the war for independence. Lafayette had revisited the scenes of the war and his beloved Washington, in the year after the Evacuation, or 1784, staying from August till about Christmas. During the French Revolution he had borne a noble part, and would have restrained his countrymen from their radical and sanguinary proceedings, having in mind the self-restraint wherewith liberty was utilized as a blessing in America, and making for himself as a model the nobly unselfish and unambitious conduct of the great Washington. Yet, for the part he took against the men who instituted a reign of terror he was forced to flee his native country for his life; and for the service to liberty he had rendered in America and in France he was imprisoned by the despot of Austria. In that prison he lingered until Napoleon's victories laid Austria at his feet, and he refused to negotiate a peace until Lafayette had been set free. Such a man, for all he had done for America and suffered in the cause of liberty, appealed strongly to the enthusiasm of our citizens. When after an interval of just forty years he conceived the wish to visit the United States, it fortunately came to the knowledge of our government, and one of our gallant ships was placed at the disposal of himself and his son, George Washington Lafayette, and suite, to convey them to our shores. But Lafayette declined the offer, not wishing to be a burden on the nation, but to come as a private citizen on a friendly and informal visit. So he took passage on a packet sailing between Havre and New York. The passage was prosperous and rapid; leaving Havre on July 13, it passed the Narrows on Sunday, August 15, 1824, and anchored off Staten Island. Daniel D. Tompkins, who had been Governor of New York, and was now Vice-President of the United States, resided on Staten Island, and the distinguished visitor was waited upon by him and invited to spend the night at his house. The next day, ere the packet proceeded to her landing-place, a brilliant naval procession was seen to wind around out of the East River and past Governor's Island toward Staten Island. As they came near the yardarms of ships were manned, the vessels dressed in all their colors, and bands of music were heard to play. Lafayette was taken entirely by surprise. He had no suspicion that all this display was meant to do him honor. He found from this hour that the nation he had served so well would not allow him to come to our shores and pass through her cities like a private gentleman. He was assured that he was looked upon as the nation's guest.

It was the proud privilege of New York to lead in the treatment

that became so unique a visitor. She had not much time to prepare for his reception, but nowhere could it have been more heartfelt and more splendid. One of the steamships came alongside and took the Marquis on board, whereupon the procession fell into line behind it on its return to the city. As his boat passed Governor's Island a salute of guns was fired which was the signal for all the forts in the harbor to belch forth flame and sound. In this joined also the steam frigate *Fulton*, constructed in 1814 by the inventor, with cannon-proof sides, and which would have done marvels if the war had not then terminated. It was useful on this day in firing salutes of welcome. At Castle Garden Lafayette reviewed the military, after which he entered a barouche and was driven to the City Hall, now only about twelve years old, where the Mayor introduced Lafayette to the



ARRIVAL OF LAFAYETTE IN 1824.

Common Council, who made him a complimentary address, and assured him he was the city's guest. After another review of troops, the Council and their guest were driven to the City Hotel, corner of Broadway and Cedar Street, where a suite of rooms had been set apart for the visitor, and the whole party partook of a dinner. In the evening fireworks and illuminations and torchlight processions attested the joy and interest of the citizens. An immense balloon was sent up, ablaze with light, from Castle Garden, representing an ancient knight on horseback in full armor, like Bayard of France, *sans peur et sans reproche*, and betokening the nobility of the great and good Lafayette. From day to day the Marquis visited various points of interest. A reception was tendered him at the rooms of the Historical Society, where he sat in a chair once occupied by Louis XVI.

which had been presented to the society by Gouverneur Morris. In a graceful address by Dr. Hosack (who was present at the Burr-Hamilton duel) he was informed that he had been elected an honorary member. On August 20 Lafayette was escorted by a squadron of cavalry and the Mayor and Corporation in carriages to the city boundary at Kingsbridge, on his way to Boston. On September 10 he passed through the city again on his way to the middle and southern States, when the feature of the occasion was a sacred concert in St. Paul's. In September, 1825, Lafayette returned home in a frigate named Brandywine, after the first battle in which he fought for the nation's liberty.

It is a natural transition from one naval parade to another, and that only a little more than a year later. There is no city in the world that is more advantageously situated for such displays, and it is no wonder several have to be recorded in the course of her annals. If in 1824 New York set out to honor a distinguished guest, in the parade of 1825 she had good reason to honor and congratulate herself on the foresight and enterprise of her citizens. Well might she celebrate in a manner never to be forgotten that achievement which was to bring her untold wealth, and make her not only the finest port of entrance on the continent, but also the natural outlet for all the vast resources of the interior, both of her own State and of those vast northwestern commonwealths that were just about to be born. For this is what the Erie Canal meant to our city.

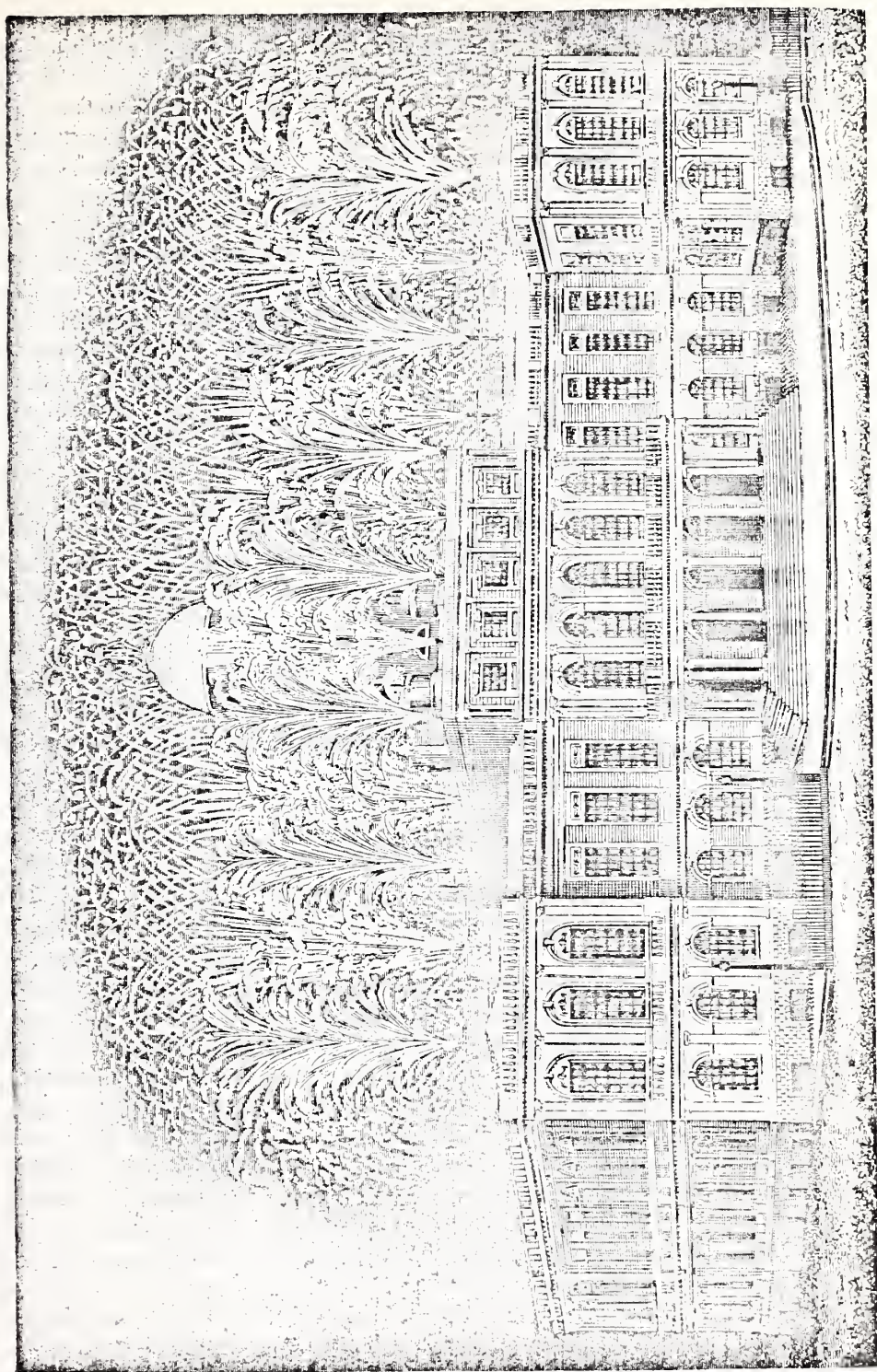
We have confined our attention pretty closely to Manhattan Island so far, as in duty bound not to go far afield with the task before us; but there was a big country back of Manhattan Island. New York State had been the first to yield her claims to the vague and vast regions "toward the Pacific," or the Mississippi, and had thereby made possible, after the other States had done likewise, the endowment of the Federal Government with some sort of being and body, for without public domains it must ever have remained an abstraction as feeble as the Confederation. In 1825 these indefinite regions were occupied by at least twenty-five States. Long before this it had been seen by men of brain and understanding that such a condition was bound to prevail, and that these regions back toward the Mississippi (and, since 1803, *beyond* the Mississippi), which were ours, must have a chance to reach the seaboard with their products, of which they had a source inexhaustible in abundance and variety. What so natural a highway for the northwestern territory as its embosomed inland fresh-water seas and the valley of the Hudson, if these two could only be united by a channel for transportation. That was the problem, and it began to be discussed even in the days of Washington. Gouverneur Morris, who comes before us in so many ways, was the one first to put on paper a plan for connecting Lake Erie and the Hudson. Surveys were ordered in 1810, Morris and DeWitt Clinton

appealing for aid to Congress as being a project involving the benefit of many States. But the Republicans (or anti-Federalists), now in control at Washington, had no great love for the doctrine of "internal improvements," savoring too much of centralization of power. The war of 1812 interrupted all procedures of this character, but De Witt Clinton took it up again later. Unfortunately, party spirit managed to make an issue of it whereby Clinton could be antagonized and overthrown, and "Clinton's Ditch" became a byword and reproach. Finally, on April 17, 1817, an act passed the legislature after a heated discussion authorizing the raising of funds for the construction of a canal 353 miles long, forty feet at the surface, narrowing to eighteen at the bottom, with a depth of four feet of water. De Witt Clinton was made president of the board of commissioners. This same year, on July 1, Clinton became Governor of the State, and on July 4 presided at the ceremonies attending the breaking of the first ground near Rome. The construction went on in two directions from this point. The cost was estimated at \$4,571,813. The entire cost, when the finishing touches had been made in 1836, was found to be \$7,143,789. On October 22, 1819, the first boat was drawn from Rome to Utica, with Governor Clinton, Chancellor Livingston and other prominent promoters of the enterprise aboard. In 1824, political hatred, still connected with the project, caused a wantonly needless removal of Clinton from the Board; but the indignation aroused thereby sent him back in triumph into the gubernatorial chair, just in time to be the principal figure in the grand celebration of the opening of the canal to public use in 1825.

The exercises commenced at a distance from New York, but she was made a participator very soon after they began. At 10 o'clock a. m., October 26, 1825, Governor Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, General Stephen Van Rensselaer, Thurlow Weed, Col. William L. Stone, of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the official historiographer of the celebration, and other distinguished gentlemen, embarked on the first canal boat that was to undertake the journey, the Seneca Chief, at Buffalo. The start was made: immediately a gun boomed, and at the utmost distance where it could be heard another was fired, and so the signal went all along the line of canal and river down to New York and Sandy Hook. In one hour and thirty minutes the people of New York knew that the party had begun their journey. At Albany the steamer Chancellor Livingston took on board the distinguished guests, and took in tow a large fleet of canal packets. At about five in the morning of November 4, the fleet reached the city, and anchored off the State Prison at Greenwich, about where Christopher Street Ferry is now. At sunrise the booming of cannon and ringing of bells announced to the city that the Governor and the fleet from Buffalo had arrived. They were soon greeted by an array of vessels coming from below. The Mayor

and Corporation came on board to extend their congratulations. Taking the Governor and his party on board their steamers, they went back to the Battery and lay there to review the fleet from Buffalo as it filed past, under the booming of salutes from Castle William. A United States schooner, the Porpoise, lay just outside Sandy Hook. Thither the Governor and suit were taken, and all the rest of the naval procession formed in a circle around her. It was one of those ideal days we so often enjoy in this latitude early in November; there was not a wind stirring, and the sea lay as smooth and almost as motionless as glass. Now occurred the most impressive portion of the ceremony. The Governor, lifting up a small cask containing water from Lake Erie, the stopper was removed, and the water poured into the ocean, "intended," as the Governor said, "to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean seas and the Atlantic Ocean." Now came forward Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, who had been for some time collecting bottles of water from various prominent rivers of the world, and emptied into the ocean water from the Ganges and Indus, of Asia; the Nile and Gambia, of Africa; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine and Danube, of Europe; the Mississippi and Columbia, of North America, and the Orinoco, Amazon, and La Plata, of South America.

In the meantime festivities on a grand scale had been conducting on land. A procession four and a half miles long had been defiling through the principal streets gayly decorated with flags and bunting and evergreens and flowers. Societies and trades upon floats represented allegories indicative of their objects or occupations. It was arranged that the head of this pageant should reach the Battery about the time the head of the naval procession should arrive from Sandy Hook, and the dignitaries of the State and city lay near enough the shore in their boats to review the procession as it passed. The persons reviewing fell into the rear, and marched up Broadway to the City Hall. At night illuminations and fireworks made the city one blaze of light, the City Hall especially presenting a spectacle of marvelous and sparkling beauty. "Such rockets," says the historian of the day, "were never before seen in New York. They were uncommonly large. Now they shot forth alternately showers of fiery serpents, and dragons, gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire; and now they burst forth and rained down showers of stars floating in the atmosphere like balls of liquid silver. The volcanic eruption of fireballs and rockets with which this exhibition was concluded afforded a spectacle of vast beauty and sublimity." We would say that the eruption of fine phrases over so rare a show indicates that editors of New York journals were slightly affected with provincial simplicity in those days. On the evening of Monday, November 7, the festivities were concluded with a grand ball in Lafayette Amphitheater in Lau-



CITY HALL ILLUMINATED FOR ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION.

Street (later South Fifth Avenue) given by the officers of the militia. We conclude this account with a citation once more from the appointed chronicler of the event, who at least enjoys the inestimable advantage over later scribes of having been an eye-witness of and a partaker in the ceremonies. His style is exceedingly Sophomoric (nothing else can be looked for from an editor in the twenties), but the sentiments of praise for the State are just, and may well be shared by us as we read this day: "For a single State to achieve such a victory, not only over the doubts and fears of the wary, but over the obstacles of nature, causing miles of massive rocks at the mountain ridges to yield to its power, turning the current of error as well as that of the Tonawanda, piling up the waters of the mighty Niagara, as well as those of the beautiful Hudson; in short, causing a navigable river to flow with gentle current down the steepy mount of Lockport; to leap the river Genesee; to"—(but really the tropes that follow are too splendid, and we hasten to the close) . . . "and all in the space of eight short years, was a work of which the oldest and richest nations of Christendom might be proud."

But New York City did something also for others. Greece was in the throes of her struggle for independence, and in 1825 the newspapers of the city rang with appeals for the heroic nation, which might have put to shame the indifference of the times that are upon us now. Many ships loaded with grain, flour, clothing, were sent to relieve the impoverished Greeks, and large sums of money forwarded. This did much to encourage them to hold out until their object was attained, at least to the extent of casting off the yoke of Turkey. Whether their object was precisely to get a monarch from the regions of Scandinavia, and be ruled by a family whose scion has lately shown the Turks a fine pair of heels, may be seriously called into question.

Invention as illustrated by Fulton's steamboat, and enterprise as exemplified by the Erie Canal, were destined to prepare a future for New York, the greatness of which none dared even hope in that early period of the century. Yet, strangely enough, her authorities were actually laying out the lines for a growth in population which would have seemed miraculous to them could they have been told of it. In 1807 the city had not made its big jump to Greenwich yet, and that even in 1822 and 1823 was only meant as a temporary expedient. The solidly built-up portion of the town might be bounded by Leonard Street, to Broadway, a circuit around the Collect, then up along Mulberry to Bullock (Broome) Street, then along Broome east to Suffolk, back past Grand and Division streets, and along Montgomery to Water Street or the East River. It was not for nothing that Hous-ton Street was called North Street, for it was indeed very far north of the utmost boundaries of solid habitations. Yet what do we find done by a commission composed of our old friend Gouverneur Morris and Simeon De Witt and John Rutherford? Calling the next street to

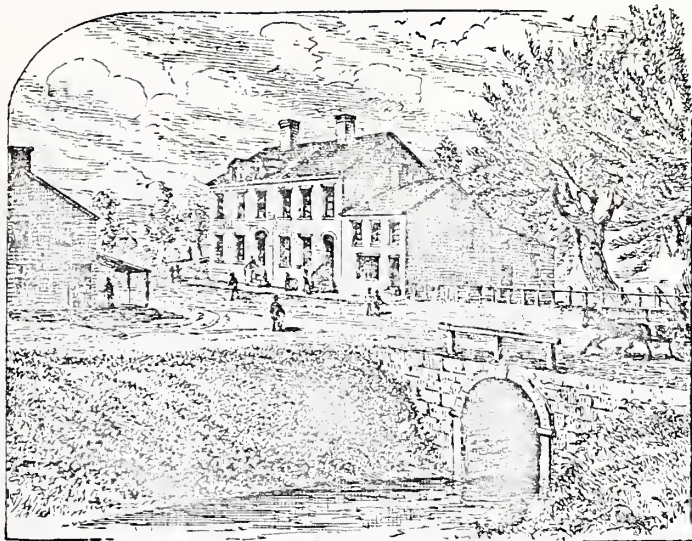
Houston First Street, they arranged a plan of thoroughfares running up as far as 155th Street, crossing avenues numbered east to west from 1 to 12; east of First Avenue, the alphabet to be used to designate those for which there was room. At regular intervals of about ten blocks transverse avenues were to run east and west, as at 14th, 23d, 34th, 42d, 57th, 72d, 79th, 86th, 96th, 106th, 116th, 125th, 135th, 145th, and 155th. In short, these audacious persons mapped out in 1807 the system of streets far up the island wherewith we are now familiar, and which, while not picturesque in form nor inventive in designation, is exceedingly convenient and quite a godsend to a stranger who would be hopelessly lost in Brooklyn. No wonder they apologized for their conduct: "To some it may seem a matter of surprise," they wrote, "that the whole island of Manhattan has not been laid out as a city"; they left precious little *not* laid out. "To others," they continued, "it may be a subject of merriment that the commissioners have provided space for a greater population than is collected at any spot on this side of China. They have in this been governed by the shape of the ground. It is not improbable that considerable numbers may be collected at Harlem before the high hills to the southward of it shall be built upon as a city; and it is *improbable that for centuries* to come the ground north of Harlem flats will be covered by houses." We now know that the centuries have been contracted into decades. Events have proved how much faster things move in America than men's boldest expectations dared hope ninety years ago. Surely it must have been some wag who suggested that the rear of the City Hall was built of brown stone (since marbleized) because it was not supposed at the time it was built that many of the citizens would ever live on that side of it to see it as they came down town.

It is a pity that some of the picturesque features of the island—and even of the city, as not yet too severely usurping the island—have been made to disappear in carrying out the rigorous plan—on the square—of our worthy commissioners. A landscape gardener ought to have been added to their Board. But since such artist was not until lately deemed a necessary adjunct to a Park Board, we could hardly have expected such an intelligent provision in 1807. Who would not love to see Canal Street again in its ancient dress, as it was in 1811? All across the island from North to East River there ran that depression, which may still be traced by a diligent student of the city's topography. It included the greater and less Collect ponds, extensive swamps or salt-meadows, and more or less actively flowing creeks carrying in and out the waters as the tides rose and fell. It was thought that both looks and health would be improved if a canal were dug, and by a wider, deeper, and more regular channel the interior waters or swampy grounds could be drained. This was accordingly done, and as a result there was created, even at that late

date, a perfect representation of one of the streets of the city's earliest namesake, Amsterdam. Canal Street was made of a width of one hundred feet from building line to building line. In the center ran the canal, forty feet wide, with rows of trees planted on each bank, and the thoroughfares on either side were thirty feet wide. Where the canal crossed Broadway a stone bridge, or arched culvert, was erected.

Not only have these evidences of diversity in the island's landscape disappeared, but there are other streams whose departure we must mourn. Little would we to-day suspect they had ever been. "Gramercy," as already mentioned, is a faint reminder of the crooked little stream that ran through Mayor Duane's farm where the thus-named Park is now. Minetta Lane and Street are other reminders of a brook or creek. Few

uptown residents would know where to find these. They are not a specially delectable neighborhood. The two are at right angles to each other; the "Lane" running straight from the beginning of Sixth Avenue to Macdougall Street, and the "Street" to



BROADWAY AT CANAL STREET, 1811.

Bleecker Street, opposite Downing. "The Minetta was a famous stream for trout," says "Felix Oldboy." It was a branch (or indeed two branches, east and west, were so called) of the Bestevaer Kil, a Dutch name meaning Grandfather's Creek, which fell into the North River at the foot of Hammersley (now West Houston) Street. Running in a generally northeastern direction through Washington Square, at the corner of Waverly and University Places it took a sharp turn northward, and had its source somewhere near the Southampton Road, or just about at the corner of 17th or 18th streets and Sixth Avenue. It was only the other day that we were reminded of its former existence, when the foundations were dug for a mammoth store at the corner of 18th Street and Sixth Avenue, and an apparently inexhaustible supply of water was met with. At about 11th Street, near Fifth Avenue, the Minetta's eastern branch separated

from the Kil, and ran nearly to the corner of Broadway and 20th Street. Up in Harlem there was a creek running from some distance in the interior into the East River, about where 96th Street is now; but part of that water system has been utilized in the series of small lakes and cascades and murmuring brooks in the Ramble, ending in Harlem Lake at the northeastern extremity of Central Park.

It was seriously proposed by a number of gentlemen whose taste and foresight are to be commended, to utilize the fine opportunities for park-making offered by the Collect Pond and its surroundings. From the very earliest times this pond has figured prominently in the annals of our city, from the unhappy murder of the Indian in 1626 to the steamboat experiment in 1797. We are now about to chronicle its demise. In 1808, however, it was suggested that it be perpetuated as a feature of our city by purchasing its environs so far as owned, to



CORNER CHAPEL AND PROVOST STREETS (WEST BROADWAY AND FRANKLIN STREET) 1826.

banish the squatters, and beautify this section with all the arts of the landscape gardener. One cannot refrain from contemplating with grief the letting pass of so favorable an opportunity for creating a most delicious break in the dreary monotony and hardness of downtown existence. But the scheme was deemed too chimerical. Another company of capitalists had in mind cutting a ship-canal from the East River, through what is now "the Swamp" or leather-business section, and making the deep pond a receptacle for merchantmen which could thus be unloaded directly in front of the warehouses, which would have been an imitation of another conspicuous feature of the city's Dutch prototype. Even this would have afforded some relief to the eye, and have kept intact a very valuable provision

of nature. But neither did this meet with the approval of the exceedingly weighty common sense of the wise men of Gotham. And now soon began the process which has resulted in the utter disappearance of the Collect. The neighboring hills, on Broadway, at Chatham Square, toward the old Commons, were denuded of their tops, and severely planed down at their sides, and the earth cast into the suffering, and once thought unfathomable, waters of the Pond, and it was no more forever. A final word as to its name. It has a pious sound, in violent contrast with the impious deed that first brings it to our notice. But its derivation is quite uneccelesiastical: the shells found on its beach, which helped to make lime for mortar, made the Dutch call its jutting beach *Kalk Hoek*—Chalk Point, or Hook. Now, in elegant pronunciation in Dutch would make of the monosyllable *Kalk* a dissyllable *Kallek*, as tourists in Holland have heard guards call out *Delleft* instead of *Delft*, as they passed that historic town. *Kallek*, by an easy transition, became Collect to English ears, without assistance from the prayer-book.

While we are busy regretting bygone things within our city's precincts, let us give a parting word to some old roads now no more traceable. The Bowery Road we can follow easily enough, and where it began to be the Boston Road, at Fourth Avenue, we can still go on along that thoroughfare to Union Square; but we should carry it beyond to Madison Square. Here it turned eastward, and kept going east and west between Third and Fourth, sometimes toward Second or even First avenues. The Bloomingdale Road is sufficiently recalled to us by the course of Broadway, and Greenwich Road by that of Greenwich Street above Warren or Chambers. Greenwich Lane is now Greenwich Avenue, and Monument Lane ran from where it struck Washington Square (it is not extended thus far now) to Astor Place, which was once called Art Street. The Great Kity Road ran from the river road at foot of Gansevoort Street, past Greenwich Lane in a straight line to where it met the Skinner Road, at 15th Street and Seventh Avenue, the latter having come from the river at Christopher Street, and making a right angle at the Minetta Water about 11th Street. At the junction of Great Kity and Skinner Roads began the Southampton Road, which, with one or two northeastward bends, struck the Abingdon Road about midway between Broadway and the Fitzroy Road. Part of the Abingdon Road was called Lovers' Lane, and is now 21st Street. The Fitzroy Road began at Great Kity Road, at about 14th Street, midway between Seventh and Eighth avenues, and ran along the general direction of Eighth Avenue, but not, of course, so mathematically straight.

We have not given much attention to the churches and their fortunes for some time; but much had happened in that particular of our city's life and appearance, and we must hasten to record what is most interesting. In 1808 there were thirty-three churches in New

York: nine Episcopalian, three Dutch Reformed, one French Huguenot (now also Episcopalian), one German Reformed, one German Lutheran, one English Lutheran, three Baptist, three Methodist, one Moravian, six Presbyterian, one Independent or Congregational, two Quaker, and one Jewish Synagogue. In 1803 an event occurred in the annals of the Dutch Reformed Church, which cannot fail to be of significance to any one interested in our city's history. We saw that a complete century after the English conquest, or in 1764, the first English-speaking minister was called to the Dutch Church. After the Revolution the ancient vernacular retired more and more into the background. The Dutch Reformed pastors now all preached in English, of whom Dr. Linn was reputed the best preacher in the country, he also serving as Chaplain of the House of Representatives while Congress sat in New York. To satisfy the diminishing remnant who still clung to the mother tongue, the South Church in Garden Street (Exchange Place) was set apart for Dutch services, and in 1789 Dr. Gerardus A. Kuypers was called from Paramus, N. J., to minister to this flock. But still from year to year the number of auditors at the Dutch preaching grew less and less; and in 1803 it was resolved to stop it altogether. A farewell service was held in the Garden Street Church, to which all those who could still understand Dutch flocked from all parts of the city. It must have been an impressive occasion. No doubt, in spite of the necessity of the case, it was a somewhat sad moment when for the last time that language was to be heard in public worship which earliest conveyed the praise of God from the heart of man on Manhattan Island. The year 1807 was again notable in the history of the Dutch Reformed denomination in the city. A church was built on Franklin Street, between Church and Chapel (now West Broadway) streets, which was attended by a congregation having a separate organization from the Collegiate Church, which had hitherto, with all its churches, been the one and only church corporation of that faith. In 1813 something still stranger happened. One of its churches, the oldest after that in the Fort, the South or Garden Street Church, was sold or accorded to another organization outside its own. In the uptown march of churches the hereditary descendant of this earliest church-building was found until recently at the corner of 21st Street and Fifth Avenue, and is now on the corner of 38th Street and Madison Avenue, still called the South Reformed Church. In 1803 and 1805 Dutch Reformed Churches were established in Greenwich and Bloomingdale villages respectively; the one in Harlem has been noticed as founded in 1660. Other evidences of the upward (at least northward) trend of churches are the removal of the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church to Murray Street, which later went to 14th Street, near 6th Avenue, and very recently to the vicinity of Central Park. The Hu-

Church went in 1834 from Pine to Franklin and Church streets, and is at present L'Eglise du Saint Esprit in 22d Street, half-way between 5th and 6th avenues, crowded with stores on all sides. So Wall Street Presbyterian Church finds itself at 12th Street and 5th Avenue. The Brick Presbyterian vanished from Beekman and Park Row, and is now on 5th Avenue and 37th Street. The first Baptist church was built of bluestone, in 1790, in Gold Street, near Fulton; five years later a second stone church was built on Oliver Street, and a third in Rose Street, in 1799.

The ravages done to Trinity in 1776 by the great fire were of such a serious nature that it needed to be entirely rebuilt. This work, begun in 1788, was not completed till 1790, when, on March 25, the new building was consecrated, standing until the present splendid edifice was reared in its place a half-century later. A pew was set apart in it for the President, who then resided in the Macomb house nearby, and had before that worshiped in St. Paul's, where his pew is still preserved. On the site of the ruined Lutheran Church, corner of Rector Street, Grace Episcopal Church was built before 1808, having since emigrated northward to the corner of 10th Street, at the turn in Broadway, which gives it the appearance of standing at the head of that great thoroughfare. But of special interest is the enterprise undertaken by Trinity Corporation in 1807. Its property extended westward of Broadway far up toward Greenwich. At a distant part of its land it built the St. John's Church on Varick Street, which enjoys the distinction with St. Paul's of



WASHINGTON IRVING.

being still where, and in the shape in which, it was put up. Its cost was \$200,000. It seemed a sinful extravagance to erect so costly a building out among the swamps and outskirts where nobody would ever want to live. The Lispenard salt-meadows were all around it, not yet drained by the canal in Canal Street north of it; and frogs and snakes held high and undisturbed revelry in front of the structure, where afterward was laid out St. John's Park, and where now is heard the clang and clamor of the Hudson River Railroad freight

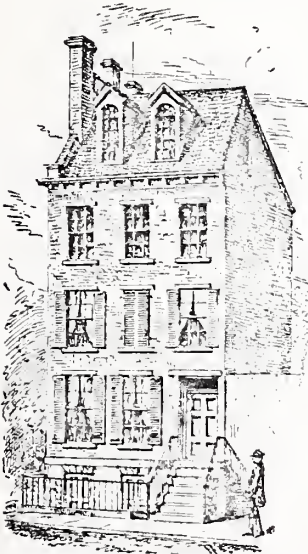
depot. One more down-town Episcopal Church, not now to be found, and also not under Trinity's care, was Christ Church in Ann Street, with a substantial stone building erected in 1794. St. Mark's, on Stuyvesant Street, generally known as St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery, because within the limits of the old Director's farm or "bouwery," was built in 1795.

It was not till after the Evacuation in 1783 that the Catholics began to enjoy the unmolested exercise of their religion. In 1784 there were eighteen communicants served by Father Farmer. Under this assumed name, and in disguise, the Jesuit Father Steinmeyer had ventured to enter New York before the Revolution, and ministered to a little congregation worshipping in the house of a German co-religionist in Wall street. Father Farmer left after the fire of 1776, and now on his return his flock held services in a carpenter-shop on Barclay Street. Feeling emboldened by their growth in numbers as the city grew, and by the countenance lent by the presence in the city of the legations of Spain, France, and other Catholic powers, this small congregation purchased lots on the corner of Barclay and Church streets, and the cornerstone of a church was laid with appropriate ceremonies on October 5, 1785. It was dedicated on November 4, 1786, and is the St. Peter's Church which we may still see on the same spot. New York City was made the see of a Catholic diocese in 1808. There was still some violence of prejudice against Catholics in the hearts of their fellow-citizens, and a mob of "Highbinders" attempted to do injury to St. Peter's and the Irish settlement in City Hall Place (then Augustin Street), in 1806. A second church for Catholics was thought necessary in 1809, and on June 8 the cornerstone of St. Patrick's was laid on the corner of Mott and Mulberry streets, but it was not consecrated till 1815. In 1827 Christ Church in Ann Street was purchased, and rededicated as a Catholic Church. About this time a moderate estimate by one of their own bishops put the Catholic population of New York at about twenty-five thousand. Their great number was mainly composed of persons who had emigrated from Ireland. But there were enough of German extraction to require services in the German language, though the prevailing tongue was the English, thus keeping the church as a whole more in touch with the Americanizing influences around it.

New York takes a just pride in her public school system. The history of education, as we have seen all along, is very nearly coterminous with the history of the city's settlement itself. It began in 1633. In 1748 two school buildings were put up, one in Rector Street by Trinity Church, one in Garden Street (Exchange Place) by the Dutch Reformed people. And thus from the beginning it was church and school that went hand in hand, but only for the benefit of the families of the church. A few pupils in the Dutch school, and possibly in the Episcopalian, received an education free of expense, but

the officers of the church paid the price for their tuition to the teachers. Since, therefore, secular education was compelled to be so closely dependent upon religious affiliation, the children of the outlying "masses"—churchless even then, as it seems—grew up without the advantages of schooling. As the historian of the Public School Society remarks: "By that social gravitation which seems to have always been inseparable from compacted communities, the metropolis was not exempt from the characteristic feature of a substratum of wretched, ignorant, and friendless children, who, even though they had parents, grew up in a condition of moral and religious orphanage, alike fatal to their temporal and spiritual advancement and elevation." To counteract this fearful tendency the best citizens of the town felt they must bestir themselves. The initiatory step had been taken by a number of Quaker ladies of means, who, by their own contributions, had organized a school for girls, who received tuition in the common branches, entirely without cost to the parents. Early in the year 1805 two gentlemen—their names deserve mention and remembrance—Thomas Eddy and John Murray, issued a call for a meeting at Mr. Murray's house in Pearl Street, to consider the subject of providing means for the education of neglected children. The meeting was called for February 19, 1805, and on that date twelve gentlemen responded. Some of the names have already become familiar to us in the course of this history; they were: Samuel Osgood, Brockholst Livingston, Samuel Miller, Joseph Constant, Thomas Pearsall, Thomas Franklin, Matthew Clarkson, Leonard Bleeker, Samuel Russell, and William Edgar. At a second meeting, less than a week later, a report was adopted recommending application to the Legislature for an act incorporating an educational society. A memorial having been drawn up, it was signed by one hundred prominent citizens, and sent to the Legislature on February 25. On April 9 it passed the bill desired, entitled "An Act to incorporate the Society instituted in the City of New York for the Establishment of a Free School for the Education of Poor Children who do not belong to, or are not provided for by, any religious Society." Thirty-seven incorporating members were mentioned in the bill, the name of Mayor De Witt Clinton being first. De Witt Clinton and the twelve gentlemen present at the original meeting at Mr. Murray's house were constituted the trustees. Of this board the Mayor was chosen President; John Murray, Vice-President; Leonard Bleeker, Treasurer; and Benjamin D. Perkins, Secretary. It will be noticed that even yet the whole movement was a benevolent one, the schools to be established being really "charity schools," or for poor children only. Hence the appeal was to private generosity. It took a year to collect sufficient funds even to make a beginning. Clinton again led the list of subscribers (still preserved) with a donation of \$200. A teacher was engaged and apartments rented, William Smith being the pioneer instructor, and the

place a house in Madison (then Bancker) Street. On May 19, 1806, exercises were begun; few children were present; after a few days there were forty-two. Then the numbers grew so rapidly that better accommodations became necessary. In April, 1806, Colonel Henry Rutgers (after whom Rutgers College at New Brunswick, N. J., is named, by reason of his munificence to that institution) had given a lot for a building in Henry Street, and soon gave the adjoining lot also. But funds were scarce. A second appeal to the Legislature resulted in the setting apart of a portion of the excise for the use of the Society. The city corporation presented a building on Chambers Street adjoining the Almshouse, besides \$500 to put it into a state of repair, thus furnishing the means to construct rooms for classes and also living apartments for the teacher, and here Mr. Smith began his instructions on April 28, 1807. In 1808 the charter was altered and the Society's title changed to that of the "Free School Society of the City of New York." In 1809 the school next to the Almshouse became too small, and now was erected the first real school building on a large lot in Chatham Street given by the city. On December 11 it was dedi-



FIRST HOUSE LIGHTED BY
GAS, 1825.

cated. This was the old school No. 1. It was not long before No. 2 was erected. Thirteen thousand dollars had been raised by the citizens to meet Colonel Rutgers's condition that a school be erected on the two lots in Henry Street before June, 1811. The corner-stone was laid in November, 1810, by the Colonel himself in the presence of a large audience. In 1811 Trinity Church gave two lots on the corner of Hudson and Grove streets, whereupon the third school was erected, and where to-day still stands one of the ward schools of the city. In 1825 the name of the society was changed again, becoming now the "Public School Society," thus eliminating more and more the idea of "charity," and approaching the principle that education is a right which can be claimed from the State by every citizen.

After a while the special, even yet somewhat benevolent and certainly private association, was merged into the educational system of the State on the broader lines. In 1828 there were six schools in active operation in various parts of the city.

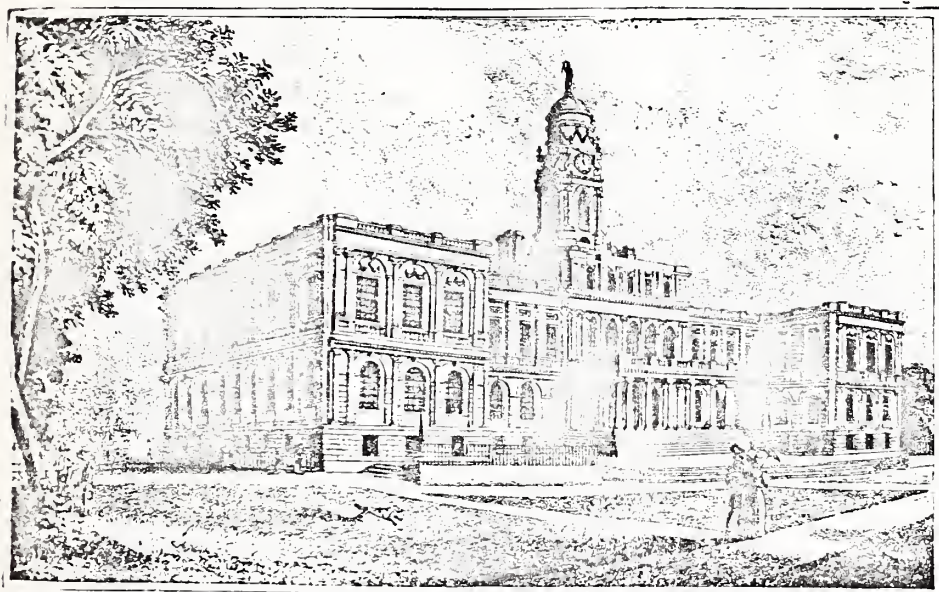
The commerce of the city suffered a hard blow from the premonitions of the War of 1812, as already intimated. In the years 1805, 1806, and 1807 the exports booked at this harbor were of the value of \$23,869,250 per year on the average. From this there was a great falling off during the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, the three immedi-

ately preceding the declaration of war, when the embargo act had been put into force. Then the average exports amounted to only \$14,030,035. In the year 1825, ten years after the close of the war, the value of imports reached the figure \$50,024,973, and the exports had risen to an average of \$26,000,000 during the three years 1825, 1826, and 1827. But as a penalty for too great confidence in prosperity the panic of 1819 was followed by another in 1826. The banks of the city had nobly borne the strain of war and the crippling of business by the embargo. The capital in their charge in 1815 amounted to \$13,515,000. In the matter of chartering banks politics still kept meddling. When the Legislature, in 1812, was about to pass an act chartering the Bank of North America, which would possibly benefit or be conducted by persons of an opposite party to that of Governor Tompkins, the latter took the extreme measure of proroguing the body, causing intense excitement. On reconvening after sixty days the charter for the bank was promptly passed. "For this result," observes Mr. Ellis H. Roberts, "De Witt Clinton was in large degree responsible, for he was to have and did get the support of the banking ring in his candidacy then pending for President. These graspings for bank charters as political prizes, or as conditions of bargains in politics, continued until the free banking law was enacted, allowing equal privileges to all under statutory regulations." In 1819 the first savings bank was instituted. Its title was the "Bank of Savings of the City of New York." For many years it was located in Bleecker Street, east of Broadway, and within a year or two has moved into its present beautiful marble home on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-second Street—a happy contrast in its elegant proportions to the unsightly monsters called "sky-scrapers" which offend the eye by their excesses in height and disproportion in other dimensions. Of the fifty millions of dollars' worth of imports brought to New York in 1825, forty-eight millions were carried in American vessels, a matter that is worth pondering in these days. American shipping was an industry of considerable magnitude, but when it was put on the list of "infants" it seems to have grieved and died. Shipyards abounded then along the East River shore, of which the largest and most famous were that of the Brown Brothers (Adam and Noah), at the foot of East Houston Street; that of Christian Bergh, near Gouverneur's Slip; and that of Henry Eckford, near Bergh's. In 1817 regular packet lines were established between New York and Liverpool. The "Black Ball Line" consisted of four ships of about five hundred tons, which sailed regularly on the first of every month, but business was so good that after six months four more packets were added to the fleet, and the vessels left for Liverpool twice a month, on the 1st and on the 16th. The "Red Star Line" of packets, also four in number, made the 24th of each month their sailing day. Messrs. Fish, Grinnell & Co. (we want to note that second name) established the "Swallow Tail

Line " again with four ships, sailing on the 8th of every month. Thus citizens of wealth and leisure had a chance of going upon the grand tour of Europe every week in the month.

We have been made aware by more than one circumstance in the city's life that De Witt Clinton was Mayor at various times. It was an office of such importance in those days that in 1803 Clinton resigned as United States Senator in order to accept it. Yet Mayor John Ferguson did the reverse. A Federalist victory in 1815 calling for the removal of Clinton, he was appointed to the office, but he held the position of naval officer of the customs. Edward Livingston in 1803 had been Mayor and United States District Attorney at the same time. But now it was decided by the courts that the Mayor could not hold a federal office at the same time, and Ferguson, after presiding over the affairs of the city from March to June, resigned the chair and clung to his customs duties. Jacob Radcliffe, who had succeeded Marinus Willett in 1808, now received the appointment, and held it for three years. An interesting personage then (1818) came forward, the grandson of the old Lieutenant-Governor and stanch unbending Tory, Cadwallader Colden. He was the son of David Colden, and his name combined those of the two forefathers. Cadwallader D. Colden must have inherited some of the scientific tastes of his forbear, for at the Canal Celebration he offered a treatise for preservation among the archives of the occasion on the subject of canals and inland navigation in general. In 1821 he was succeeded by Mr. Stephen Allen, a self-made man beginning life as a sailmaker, and later acquiring great wealth in mercantile and financial undertakings by the sheer force of a remarkable intellect. He became State Senator later, and served with distinction as a member of the Court of Errors, where he dealt in a masterly way with the most subtle questions of law, although quite without legal training. During his term, in 1822, there occurred a considerable modification of the City Charter. Only one strictly appointive office now remained, that of the Recorder; the Sheriff and the Clerk of the Common Council were made elective by the citizens, while the Mayor was to be elected by the Council. This change of method was the result of the abolition of the Council of Appointment by the State Constitution of 1822, which gave part of its functions to the Governor and Senate. Mayor William Paulding was the first to be appointed under the new rule. He was a nephew of one of those " incorruptible patriots " who declined André's bribe when they arrested him with Arnold's papers on his person. He was born at Tarrytown, the scene of John Paulding's exploit, came to New York in 1795, and engaged in the practice of law. In 1825 Philip Hone, the celebrated and wealthy auctioneer, became Mayor, holding the place for one year, when Paulding was re-appointed, and held it again for two years. Among the fortunate happenings in De Witt Clinton's life must be reckoned that during his

the incumbency of the Mayor's office occurred the completion of our present City Hall. It is a well-founded boast that there is no finer public edifice in the United States, for the grace of its outline, and for adaptableness to its uses. A premium had been offered for the best plan, which was awarded to Messrs. Macomb and Mangin. The front and sides are of Stockbridge marble, the rear until recently showed a red sandstone surface, but it has been veined and whitened to look like marble. It cost \$500,000. The pity of it is that the characterless monstrosities which men are putting up in these days for newspaper or business purposes, and which invade the sky with fine disregard for architectural principles or proportions, completely destroy the pleasing and noble effect of this building. An event in municipal affairs was the first introduction of gas for use in streets and houses in the



CITY HALL IN THE PARK, 1812.

year 1825. The company furnishing it had been incorporated two years before, but not till May of 1825 did they begin to lay the pipes. A line of lamps was placed on both sides of Broadway, from Canal Street to the Battery. The first company chartered was the New York Gaslight Company, and its field was assigned to it south of Canal Street. In 1830 the Manhattan Gas Company was incorporated, and took care of the upper parts of the city. No. 7 Cherry Street, the home of Mr. Samuel Leggett, President of the New York Gaslight Company, was the first private residence to be lighted with the new illuminator.

In 1809 the second centennial anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson was celebrated by the Historical Society. They had no hall

of their own as yet, but occupied rooms in the Government House on the site of the old fort, which was now the Custom House. The exercises were held in the Court Room of the City Hall on Wall Street, on September 4, Governor Tompkins, Mayor Clinton, the City Corporation, and a number of other distinguished guests being present. An address was delivered, able, and interesting. The company next repaired to the City Hotel on Broadway, where a banquet was spread, the dishes being mainly, if not exclusively, American, of an ancient and homely kind, including succotash and some other Indian delicacies. A great number of toasts were given, Verrazano being remembered, but not Gomez. Another omission was Peter Minuit, which was emphasized by the erroneous sentiment: "Walter van Twiller, the first Governor of New Netherland." Engineer Simeon De Witt gave a toast worth keeping in mind by a generation soon to take their place in the world's activities: "May our successors a century hence celebrate the same event which we this day commemorate."

It is certainly a coincidence that the year 1809, two hundred years after the discovery of the site of our city, should have been signalized by the publication of Washington Irving's immortal burlesque history of that city, ascribed to the pen of the worthy Diedrich Knickerbocker. It was this book, while setting all the world a-laughing, which turned the attention of the citizens to the origins of their own town, of which they were almost totally ignorant. Irving was astonished to discover how few even knew that New York had ever been called New Amsterdam. The book was published in November, so that the Historical Society's celebration cannot have been the result of the interest awakened by its perusal. Yet it is curious to observe that both they, by their toasts, and the author, by his annals, discover no acquaintance with any Director of New Netherland before van Twiller. This was because their only source of information then was William Smith's history. The burlesque was not altogether relished, especially not by descendants of the Dutch, who at that time occupied high social position. But pretty soon the royal fun of the book triumphed over everything else. Long afterward Irving wrote about the work: "If it has taken an unwarrantable liberty with our early provincial history, it has at least turned attention to that history and provoked research." It is perfectly true that from that day to this, as a result of the amusement or the indignation which the book has awakened in different minds, "the forgotten archives of the province have been rummaged, and the facts and personages of the olden time rescued from the dust of oblivion." But what is especially significant is the effect the book has had upon nomenclature in the city. In fact the name of its supposed author has been appropriated as a convenient sobriquet. Even as the United States has its Uncle Jonathan, so New York City has its Father Knickerbocker to typify it, and in raillery or caricature to picture forth the image of

the city. We may be inclined to scold at times, and with James Russell Lowell or James Graham deplore that forefathers of such excellent brains and world-famous achievements should have been so sadly robbed of their good name, being held up to ridicule as misshapen in body, and hopelessly stupid; yet do we agree with Irving's own conclusion when he says: "When I find, after a lapse of nearly forty years, this haphazard production of my youth still cherished among them, when I find its very name a 'household word,' and used to give the home stamp to everything recommended for popular acceptance, such as Knickerbocker societies, Knickerbocker insurance companies, Knickerbocker steamboats, Knickerbocker omnibuses, Knickerbocker bread, and Knickerbocker ice, and when I find New Yorkers of Dutch descent priding themselves upon being 'genuine Knickerbockers,' I please myself with the persuasion that I have struck the right chord . . . that I have opened a vein of pleasant associations and quaint characteristics peculiar to my native place, and which its inhabitants will not willingly suffer to pass away."

The year 1809 was again made memorable by the death in this city of the famous or notorious Thomas Paine, as people may choose to call him. He had been a sincere friend of America, and his "Rights of Man" had roused the world to a sense of what was due to the people in the matter of government. He had been rescued from the tickle guillotine, which decapitated friends and foes of human liberty as the whim took it, by the earnest intercession of the United States, through Gouverneur Morris, then its representative in Paris. About the year 1801 he came to this country, while his friend and admirer (and perhaps disciple), Jefferson, was Chief Magistrate of the Republic. Grant Thorburn, the seedsman, called upon him at the City Hotel soon after his arrival, to satisfy a curiosity he had to see the much-talked-of man, and in spite of his horror of atheism, was led in a moment of human sympathy to grasp his proffered hand. But the worthy Grant was precentor and clerk in the Scotch Presbyterian Church on Cedar Street, where no profane artificial musical instrument was permitted to assist the congregation in singing the Psalms of David. For this act of friendliness toward an infidel he was suspended from office for three months. When Paine's health began to fail he was taken out into the country in Greenwich Village, and lived in a house midway between Grove and Barrow in Bleecker Street, until May 29, 1809. He was then removed for greater privacy or comfort (the other was a boarding-house) to a house in Grove Street, halfway between Bleecker (then Herring) Street and Fourth, about where No. 59 would now be. Here he died on June 8, 1809.

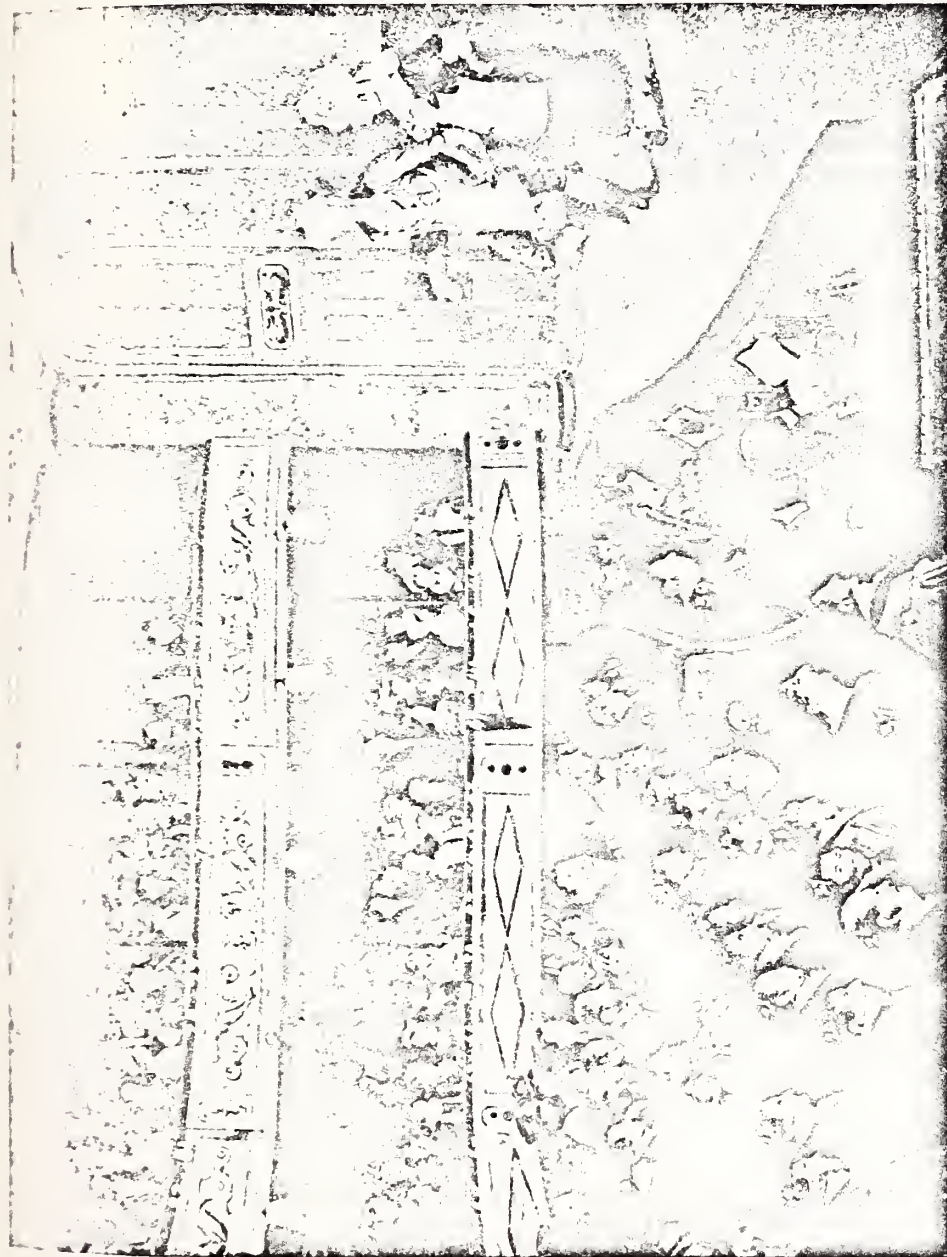
Some mention has already been made of the succession of severe winters in 1817-18 and 1820-21. In the former winter persons crossed over from Flushing to Riker's Island with a horse and sleigh. In the latter the Long Island Sound was crossed from Sand's Point to the

opposite shore, eight miles distant. The Bay and both rivers were solid surfaces of ice, upon which people disported on skates and with horses and sleighs as if they were on *terra firma*. Tents were put up for serving refreshments, roasted clams, oysters, hot milk, or stronger liquors. An attempt was made to roast a whole ox, but the fires were too much even for the thickness of the ice that then prevailed. A sad feature of these hard winters was the suffering among the poor; fuel and provisions rose to very high figures for that time. Best beef at 12 1-2 cents, veal at 10 cents per pound, potatoes, 56 cents per barrel, would not be deemed oppressive to-day, but it was too much for the incomes or wages of those times, and the benevolent needed to exert themselves to relieve the sufferings of the indigent.

In the way of theatrical entertainments the city had been getting upon a higher level with its increasing wealth. On January 29, 1798, the Park Theater had been opened. It was erected on Park Row, between Ann and Beekman streets, which was somewhat out of the way, but no more so than St. Paul's and the Brick Presbyterian churches in its vicinity. The prejudice against the theater was gradually lessening. It had been made a complaint against Washington that he had too frequently attended the old playhouse in John Street. The Park Theater began to present to New York audiences such names as those of Kean and Booth, and Wallack and Matthews. If we examine the list of plays that were here given at successive seasons, it is interesting to note how frequently recur Sheridan's plays ("School for Scandal," "The Rivals"), and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer," while Shakespeare's dramas are comparatively rare. On May 25, 1820, the Park Theater was completely destroyed by fire. But it had a neighbor living within sight of it, on the corner of Vesey Street and Broadway, where the Astor House now stands, who had an intense love of the drama, so that he was known as "Theater Jack," and he had a very long purse. This was John Jacob Astor. He and a Mr. Beekman furnished the necessary funds for rebuilding, and it was soon ready again for business, but the yellow fever put it out of people's hearts to be amused, and the plays languished for a while. In 1825 the patrons were first treated to Italian Opera, when Signorina Garcia, later better known as Madame Malibran, sang in "Il Barbiere di Seviglia." She was then but seventeen years old.

Meantime emigration, sudden acquisition of wealth by people of all classes, the growing obliteration of class distinctions with the extension of the suffrage, and the lifting to high positions by votes of the populace those who had never dared aspire to walk on planes so elevated, were having their effects upon the social conditions of the city. As Mr. Theodore Roosevelt justly observes: "With the close of the war, the beginning of immigration on a vast scale, and the adoption of a more radically democratic State Constitution, the history of old New York may be said to have come to an end, and that of the

- 1 Mrs. Searle
- 2 William H. B. Jones
- 3 Charles S. Smedley
- 4 Robert G. D. De Foyster
- 5 Alexander Hosack
- 6 Dr. John Neilson
- 7 Dr. John W. Francis
- 8 Castle Rottio
- 9 Thomas Bibby
- 10 John I. Boyd
- 11 Joseph Fowler
- 12 Francis Barretto
- 13 Gouverneur S. Bibby
- 14 Thomas W. C. Moore
- 15 James Alport
- 16 Walter Livingston
- 17 Dr. John Watts
- 18 James Farquhar
- 19 James Mackey
- 20 Henry N. Cruger
- 21 John Lang
- 22 William Bell
- 23 Mordcaai M. Noah
- 24 Hugh Maxwell
- 25 William H. Maxwell
- 26 James Sinton
- 27 Thomas F. Livingston
- 28 Andrew Drew
- 29 William Wilkes
- 30 Charles Farquhar
- 31 Pierre C. Van Wyck
- 32 John Searle
- 33 John Berry
- 34 Robert Gillespie
- 35 Edmund Wilkes
- 36 Hamilton Wilkes
- 37 Captain Hill
- 38 Robert Watts
- 39 George Gillingham
- 40 Charles Mathews
- 41 Miss Ellen A. Johnson
- 42 Mrs. Gelston, *nee* Jones



INTERIOR OF PARK THEATER, NOVEMBER 7, 1882.

FROM A PAINTING BY JOHN SEARLE.

- 43 Mrs. Newland, *nee* LeRoy
- 44 William Bayard, Jr.
- 45 Miss Ogden
- 46 Duncan P. Campbell
- 47 Jacob H. LeRoy
- 48 Mrs. Daniel Webster
- 49 William Bayard
- 50 Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell
- 51 Mrs. S. L. Mitchell
- 52 Mrs. James Fairlie
- 53 Dr. David Hosack
- 54 James Watson
- 55 Dr. Hugh McLan
- 56 John Charnand
- 57 Miss Wilkes
- 58 Mrs. C. D. Cohen, *nee* Wilkes
- 59 Mrs. Robert Lenox
- 60 David S. Kennedy
- 61 John K. Beckman
- 62 Robert Lenox
- 63 Cadwallader D. Colden
- 64 Swift Livingston
- 65 Henry Brevoort
- 66 James W. Gerard
- 67 James K. Paulding
- 68 Henry Carey
- 69 Edward Price
- 70 Stephen Price
- 71 Capt. John B. Nicholson
- 72 Thomas Parsons
- 73 Herman LeRoy, Jr.
- 74 William LeRoy
- 75 Herman LeRoy
- 76 Mrs. Eliza Talbot
- 77 Alexander C. Hosack
- 78 Robert Tyson
- 79 Mrs. Samuel Jones
- 80 Judge Samuel Jones
- 81 Dr. James Pendleton
- 82 Mrs. Pendleton, *nee* Jones

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modern city, with its totally different conditions, to have begun." It was a period of transition. Old New York was gone, the later New York had not yet come, for, as he remarks again: "There was still no widespread and grinding poverty, and there were no colossal fortunes. The conditions of civic or municipal life then were in no way akin to what they are now, and none of the tremendous problems with which we must now grapple had at that time arisen." For one thing, the population was not yet so enormous, nor yet so heterogeneous. In 1810 New York had nearly reached the 100,000 mark; in 1820 the population was 123,706; in 1825, 166,086. She had passed the other great cities beyond all catching up. In 1820 Boston numbered 23,000, and Baltimore 63,000. Philadelphia in 1810 was about equal to New York; in 1820 it had only 108,000.

CHAPTER XI.

BECOMING THE COMMERCIAL CAPITAL.

IN 1825 New York was already the leading city in population of that Union of which it had once been the civil capital. It was approaching more and more the character of the city after which it was originally named, and the impress of whose genius was early stamped upon it. Amsterdam had never been the capital of the Dutch Republic as a seat of its government. Even the Provincial Legislature had made The Hague its capital, as it was also the capital of the States-General or Congress of all the United Netherlands. But from very early times Amsterdam had been the metropolis of Holland, the queen of its commerce, and it is so at this day. It is an interesting coincidence that while New York had now assumed the precise character of Amsterdam, it also approached it in the number of its inhabitants. In 1827 our city passed the two hundred thousand mark, and that was about the population of the Dutch metropolis then. Its utmost number now is not more than four hundred and fifty thousand, a figure that was reached by her former namesake about the year 1845.

Taking our stand at the beginning of this century, at the end of which New York will rank as the second city in the world for size and population, it is instructive to make a comparison between it and other great cities of the world as exhibiting the rapidity wherewith our city has attained its conspicuous position. In 1801 there was probably as vast a collection of people in Peking as now; certainly it must have had its millions. But its origin is lost in the impenetrable distance of China's past history. Paris was a city immensely more populous than little New York with its sixty thousand souls. But Paris was so delectable a city in the years 355 to 361 A.D., that the Emperor Julian the Apostate loved it as his favorite residence above any place in the Roman dominions. Berlin, now with its million and more, was then an important place, one of the chief cities of Europe. It had been a capital since 1163. Amsterdam in the first year of this century greatly outnumbered as yet its municipal god-daughter. But it had had the chance of growing to its then superior proportions during nearly six centuries, having been founded in 1203. Finally, London, to which alone New York is now second, was already great in 1801. It covered forty square miles of territory, and contained a pop-

ulation of nearly nine hundred thousand souls. But it had a history counting by eighteen centuries, going back of the birth of Christ. Here was this little city on a mere point of Manhattan Island, and still within eight years of celebrating the second centennial of the discovery of her very site, yet destined to outstrip all but one of these ancient municipalities and capitals, and to come dangerously near that one also before she and they would be another century old.

The most notable circumstance in the city's history at the beginning of the period we are now considering is the stimulus to commercial activity derived from the opening and the operation of the Erie and Champlain canals, and the facilities for communication afforded by steamboats. Some idea of the amount of business done on these canals may be gained from the statement that the tolls collected on imports conveyed to New York by means of their waters amounted in 1826 to \$762,000, and in 1827 to \$859,000. These brought to the emporium at the mouth of the Hudson, the natural and only outlet to the marts of the world, all that agricultural, manufacturing, or mining enterprise was doing in the States and Territories bordering on the immense inland seas. While the many steamship lines plying now between towns all along the Hudson as far as Albany, and our city; as well as those connecting with New Brunswick and other towns in New Jersey, and with the manufacturing centers of the New England States by means of the convenient, practically inland navigation of the Sound; kept on pouring the products of the soil, and of skillful human hands, increasingly into the markets and shops and shipping of New York. It was thus rapidly advancing to its present unrivaled position as the queen not only of the commerce of the Union, but indeed of that of the entire Western Hemisphere. Nature's purpose, manifested in the wonderful advantages accumulated so lavishly in and around the city, was getting its fulfillment beyond the wildest dreams that men had ever dared to indulge.

The year 1827 should be remembered and honored as a "red-letter" year in the history of the State, as it caused to disappear forever from the purlieus of the city the blot upon liberty which had aroused the scorn of nations less free than we were. In this year vanished forever the last vestiges of negro slavery. The abolition of this evil and this scandal, long prepared for in our State, came to its consummation then. It is both curious and sad to see how the friends of a cause may sometimes inflict upon it the greatest harm. It should not at this late date especially be forgotten that measures to check the evil of slavery, and the denunciations of it as an evil, came first from men of Virginia. Josiah Parker, Theodorie Bland, and James Madison all supported a bill in Congress imposing a duty of ten dollars on every slave imported. Parker's words were that he hoped Congress "would do all in their power to restore to human nature its ancient

privileges; to wipe off if possible the stigma under which America labored; to do away with the inconsistency in our principles justly charged upon us, and to show by our actions the purer beneficence of the doctrine held out to the world in our Declaration of Independence." It is the opinion of so good an authority as Moneure D. Conway that "had the ten dollars' import duty on negroes been adopted, American history might have been less tragical." But what defeated the measure? The strenuous opposition of two very strong anti-slavery advocates from New England. One, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, could not get himself to consent "to the insertion of human beings as a subject of import among goods, wares, and merchandise." This was mere sentimentalism, as it was already the fact that they were so regarded, and a heavy duty might have so discouraged the practice as to have taken them eventually out of that category, sparing a traffic continued for another half dozen decades, and the expenditure of the blood and lives of a million citizens in the end. Fisher Ames advanced the objection of the modern Prohibitionist who would rather let a gigantic evil go practically unmolested, unrestricted, or unpunished by an enormous pecuniary fine,



JOHN JAY'S HOUSE AT BEDFORD.

than by a license be supposed to consider it a legitimate business. He "detested slavery from his soul, but had some doubts whether imposing a duty on such importation would not have an appearance of countenancing the practice." The duty might have put it out of all countenance or existence before cotton became king. After that enthronement, together with the apotheosis of the dollar, slaves could not be taxed out of existence any longer. Only blood could then wipe out the stain.

It is pleasant to bring forward once more the name of that noblest of New York's sons, John Jay, in connection with the action of our State upon this matter. Among the most honorable titles by which he was known at the French capital was that of "*ami des noirs*," friend of the blacks. Under his active stimulus a society was organized in New York for the "Manumission of Slaves," as early as 1785. Jay

was, of course, elected president; John Murray, who led in the school movement in 1805, was its treasurer. Its first quarterly meeting was held on May 12, at the famous Tontine Coffee House in Wall Street. The progress the society made in disseminating its ideas may be judged from a letter Jay wrote to an English sympathizer in 1788: "By the laws of this State," he said, "masters may now liberate healthy slaves of a proper age without giving security that they shall not become a parish charge, and the exportation as well as importation of them is prohibited. The State has also manumitted such as became its property by confiscation; and we have reason to expect that the maxim that every man, of whatever color, is to be presumed to be free, until the contrary be shown, will prevail in our courts of justice. Manumission daily becomes more common among us, and the treatment which slaves in general meet with in this State is very little different from that of other servants." It was again at the instance of Jay, when he was Governor of the State, that a bill was introduced by a near friend of his, in January, 1796, calling for the abolition of slavery. It was killed in committee, a tie vote there having drawn the chairman's casting vote against it. The cause could afford to wait, and its patience, as well as perseverance, was rewarded by success three years later. In April, 1799, a bill abolishing slavery in the State of New York passed the Legislature and was not slow in receiving the signature of Governor Jay. It provided that all children born after July 4, 1799, should be free, but they must serve an apprenticeship in the families to which they belonged until they were twenty-eight years old, if males, and twenty-five, if females; and in the mean time the earlier provision was again emphasized that no slaves should be exported from the State. This would have placed beyond all legal restraints on the part of owners or employers the male children born in 1799 in the year 1827, and females in 1824, while those born in successive years thereafter might still have borne the species of mild thralldom which was wont to hold apprentices. But all became free in 1827. Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of the State in 1817, recommended to the Legislature that it empower him to make a declaration of emancipation for the State. The Legislature adopted the suggestion, and passed a bill giving the Governor the power to declare that all the inhabitants of New York should be free on and after July 4, 1827. It is gratifying to reflect that the negro's life-long and industrious friend, ex-Governor John Jay, was then still living. He had retired from active politics at the expiration of his second term as Governor in 1800. Some time before that he had caused to be built a comfortable country house at Bedford, on some of the van Cortlandt property inherited through his mother, near the banks of the Bronx River, some miles beyond the limits of the Greater New York. Here, unhappily, Mrs. Jay died after a residence of only a few months, in 1801. But Jay himself was spared for many a year of



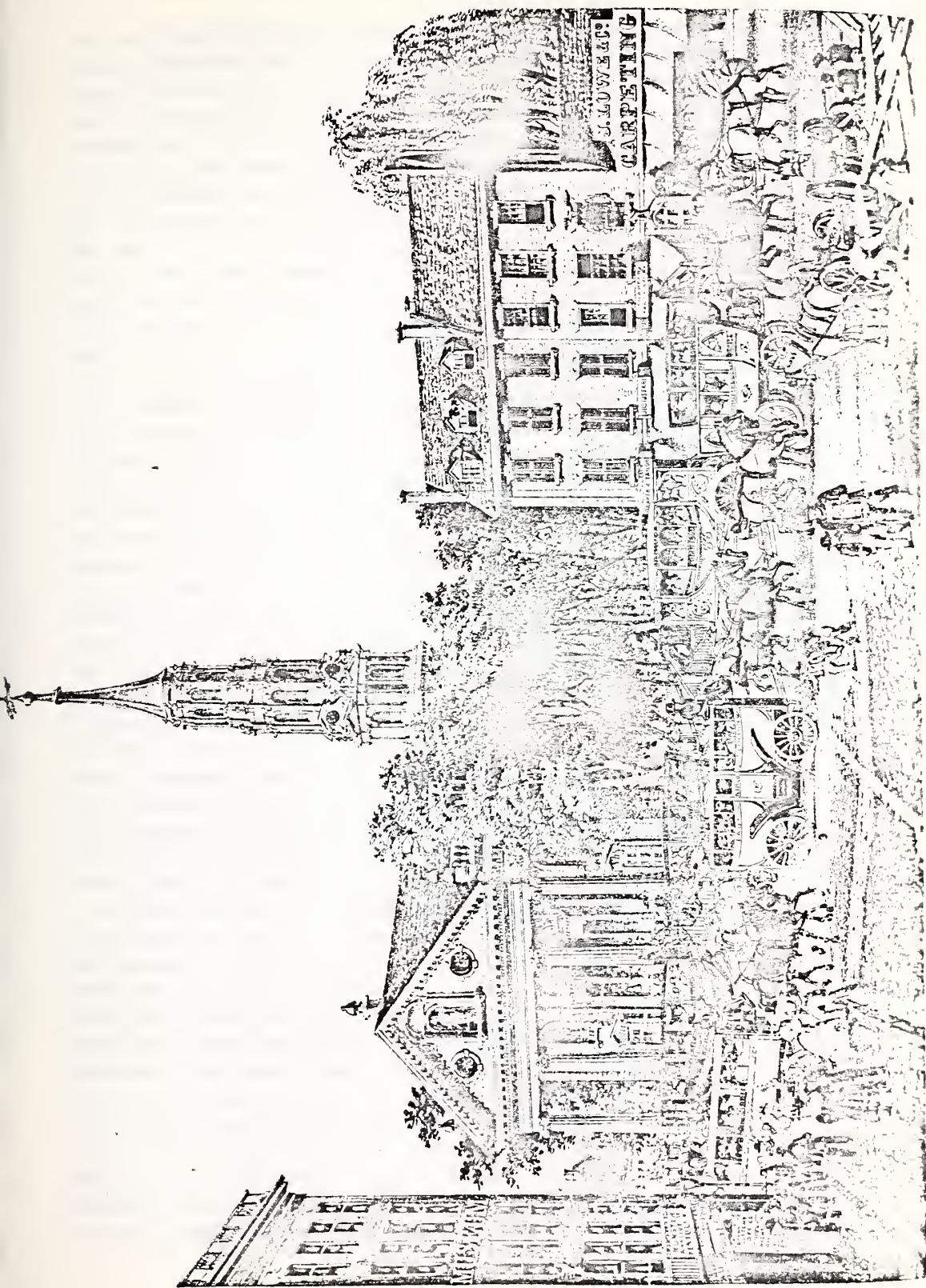
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

A Hamilton

peaceful life until 1829, when he died at the age of 83. Not among the least of the satisfactions which were permitted to crown so noble and useful a career must have been the declaration proclaiming freedom to slaves in 1817, when he was already old, and finally to survive till that happy day arrived, in 1827, when the glorious Fourth was celebrated in New York by a deed than which none could have been more fitting—the abolition of slavery within the borders of the State.

There were a succession of semi-centennials coming on about this period, just as in our day the atmosphere has been kept charged with patriotic electricity by centennials of the same historic occasions. The semi-centennial of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated with especial *clat* in 1826. Great preparations had been made for it everywhere, and New York was festive and brilliant in patriotic colors, with dinners and toasts and parades galore. The whole country was rejoicing in the remarkable circumstance that the author of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, and another member of the committee appointed to draft it, John Adams, were still living. New York had its own John Jay still with it, who had been a member with Adams of the Congress of 1774; but Jay's health and the infirmities of age would not permit him to be a participator in any of the public exercises. A day or two later and the country became aware of a more remarkable circumstance still. Both Jefferson and Adams had died on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration. Jefferson passed away at his home in Virginia at fifty minutes past noon, and Adams at his home in Massachusetts late that same afternoon. Almost his last words were "Jefferson survives," but we know now he did not. Adams had not quite attained his ninety-first birthday, Jefferson had passed his eighty-third. Adams was only three years and a half younger than Washington. Had the latter lived till this auspicious day he would have been ninety-three. In 1832 the centennial of his birthday was celebrated with special honors in New York, the whole of the militia and the military stationed near marching in a grand parade. And two years later, in 1834, similar honors were paid to Washington's friend—the highest title he coveted, and cherished beyond all insignia of nobility—Lafayette, who died on May 20 of that year. On June 26, by order of the Common Council, all the city buildings were draped in mourning, and many private residences showed a similar respect. A procession, civil and military, marched from the City Hall to Castle Garden, carrying in state the urn which had served the same purpose at the funeral exercises in honor of Washington in 1799. At Castle Garden an oration was delivered on the life of the illustrious dead; after which, in the evening, a torchlight procession was organized again carrying the urn in its midst.

The yellow fever had made its last visit as a generally exterminating scourge in 1822 and 1823. The quarantine arrangements then instituted, directed chiefly against the West Indian and South Ameri-

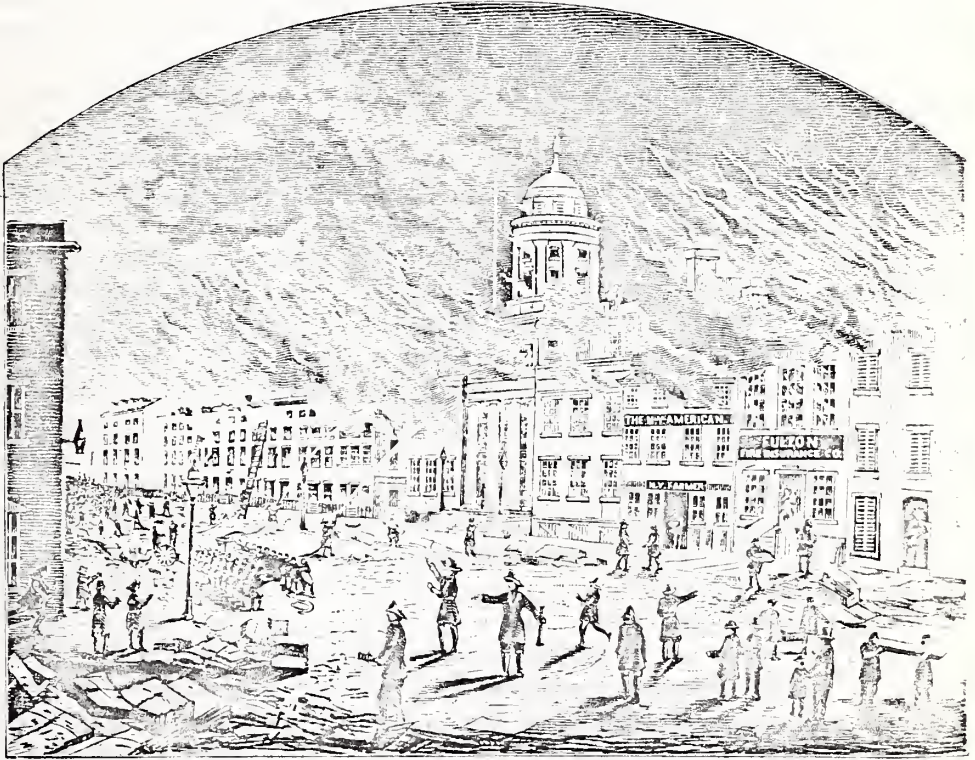


can ports, as well as the ports of States of our own Union bordering on the Mexican Gulf, had succeeded in keeping the fearful disease from our shores since. But the limited experience of our quarantine service was not proof against a visitor equally insidious and fatal, coming from a totally different direction. This was the Asiatic Cholera, which paid its first unhappy visit to our city in the year 1832. It is still remembered where it made its first appearance, a house in Cherry Street, near James, and the fateful date was June 25. The next week the alarm had become universal, and the exodus toward the open portions of the island began again, as it had been ten years before. A special council composed of the most eminent members of the medical profession was appointed to deal specially with the disease, and to organize precautionary measures. Four or five hospitals were improvised, where patients could be treated with greater convenience and better effect than in their own homes, so that of the two thousand persons cared for only eight hundred and fifty died. The scourge lasted from June 25 to September 1, when a fortunate early frost destroyed the disease germs floating in the air. The date July 21 is marked as indicating the height of the infliction, the greatest number of cases having been reported, and the greatest number of deaths also occurring on that one day. The total number of cases throughout the whole alarming period was set down at 5,835, of which nearly three thousand resulted fatally. It did not seem so easy to cope with this epidemic as with the yellow fever at quarantine, for while the latter had been successfully barred out, the Asiatic Cholera defied its watchfulness several times since this the first appearance. Two years later it was again in the city, although not claiming many victims. But in 1849 it came back with greater violence than ever, and in 1855 it repeated its ravages. It was supposed to keep its germs in reserve within the city and to develop them under the favorable conditions that so often prevailed in those days of primitive sanitary provisions. Hence quarantine was at a decided disadvantage at its outpost by the sea.

In every century of its brief existence the fire fiend has found occasion to sweep desolation over the city on Manhattan Island. In the document that affords us the first intimate glimpse into the internal and everyday affairs of the colony, describing things as they were in 1628, we already read of a fire that had carried away several of the frail huts, with their sides of bark and roofs of straw. When a better and more prosperous condition was realized, the people by the strange custom of having wooden chimneys and thatched roofs, invited calamity, which came often enough. The misery of war was enhanced by a fierce conflagration when the British had but barely taken possession of the city in 1776, and over four hundred buildings were reduced to ashes. Two years later a fire swept away fifty houses near the water front between Coenties Slip and Broad Street. In 1811 there was a

considerable fire which nearly involved the Brick Presbyterian Church at Beekman Street and Park Row, but which was saved by the coolness and agility of a sailor, who climbed the tapering steeple and dashed out the fire that had started with his hat. But the most tremendous calamity of that kind which ever visited New York was what is still referred to as the "Great Fire of 1835."

At about the hour of nine o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, December 16, fire and smoke were seen to come from a five-story house at 28 Merchant (now Hanover) Street, the little thoroughfare that runs with a slight bend from Wall Street to Hanover Square. This



THE GREAT FIRE OF 1835. BURNING OF MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE.

was about opposite the Merchants' Exchange, which occupied the site of the present Custom House. It was an ideal time for a conflagration; for several days the thermometer had ranged below zero, making it almost impossible to procure water, and on the night in question a fierce gale was blowing. Across the narrow street the fire soon leaped to the Merchants' Exchange, and one of the noblest structures in the country fell a prey to the flames. The corner-stone had been laid in 1825, and in 1827 it had been dedicated to its useful purposes. It was three lofty stories in height, with an attic and basement. The front on Wall Street and that on Garden Street (called

Exchange Place from it) was over a hundred feet long, and built of marble. The first and second stories were modeled after the temple of Minerva in Ionia, and were of the Ionic order. A portico in the form of an elliptical recess gave entrance to the building on the Wall Street front, a row of four columns thirty feet high and three feet in diameter, each composed of a single block of marble, adorning the front of the portico. On the roof rose a cupola sixty feet high, supported within by columns, making a rotunda in the center. This was the Exchange floor, the room measuring seventy-five feet in length, fifty feet in width, and forty-two in height. The New York merchants in appropriate remembrance of the services rendered to the commerce of his country by Alexander Hamilton, had erected in the center of the rotunda a colossal marble statue of the statesman, sculptured by the artist Ball Hughes. It towered to a height of fifteen feet from the floor of the room, pedestal and all.

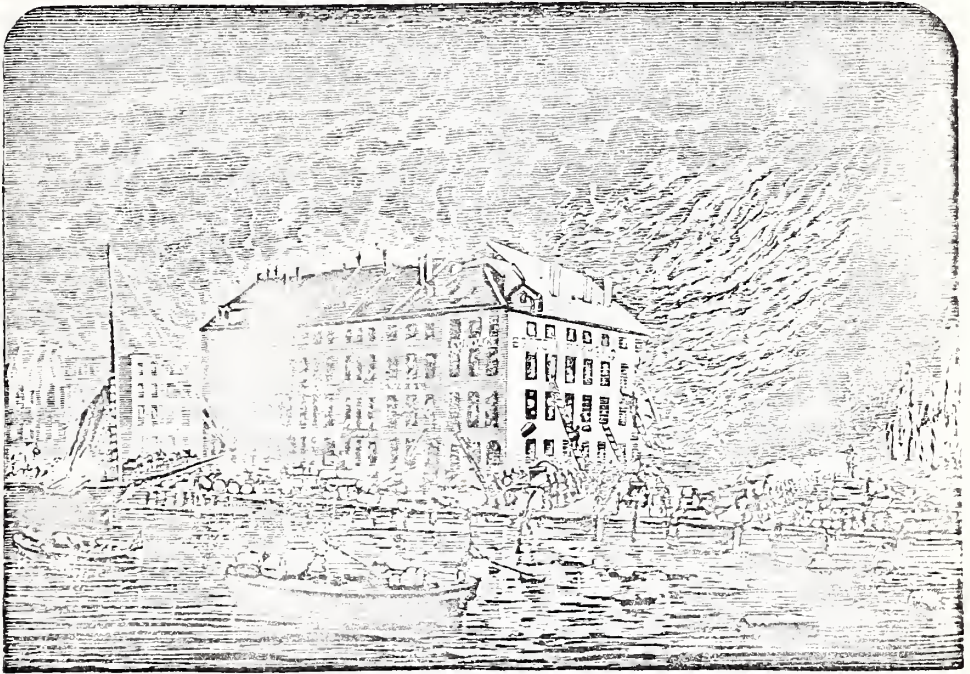
The vast crowds summoned by the alarm of fire stood by in mute helplessness as this magnificent palace, reared as a fane of industry, the pride of the whole city, crumbled to pieces before their eyes. The interior was soon revealed, and the noble marble features of Hamilton seen to rise above a sea of flames around it, but ere long the fierce heat swallowed it up in the universal destruction. Almost adjoining the Merchants' Exchange in Garden Street, or Exchange Place, stood the old South Reformed Church. Into its front had been built the old stone saved from the church in the fort when it was destroyed by fire at the time of the Negro Plot in 1741, recording that Director William Kieft had caused the congregation to build it. It seemed that the fire-fiend was determined the testy little Governor's only good deed should not have any memorial of it for posterity, for the church was the next victim of the flames, and was hopelessly destroyed, never to rise again from its ruins. The course of the wind kept the fire from striking across to the northern side of Wall Street, thus saving the banks and the old City Hall, where the Custom House was then building. On the south side of Wall Street the progress of the fire was toward the East River. Along five streets, William, Hanover, Pearl, Water, and Front, the flames were driven southward by the fierce wind, carrying stores, warehouses, everything before them. On the open space at Hanover Square goods of all kinds were piled high in the center by the merchants in the vicinity, but there was no escape from such an avalanche of fire as was now approaching. The fire came traveling toward it from William, Hanover, and Pearl streets, and the costly pile of silks, satins, laces, cashmere shawls, and all was soon consumed. The fire then rushed on beyond and ravaged Pearl and the streets east of it as far as Coenties Slip. Stone Street was made into an avenue of flame, and some buildings in Broad Street were attacked. Since water failed, gunpowder was tried, hoping to stop the fire by desolating houses in front of it and making spaces it

could not leap across. But gunpowder was not to be had in the city, and only a small quantity was brought from the Navy Yard in Brooklyn. Before the fire was finally checked seventeen compact city blocks in the very heart of the business portion (then perhaps mainly the drygoods district) had been reduced to utter ruin. Six hundred and ninety-three buildings had succumbed to the flames. On Front Street no less than eighty had been destroyed; on South, seventy-six; on Pearl, seventy-nine; on Water, seventy-six; on Exchange Place, sixty-two. The total loss was estimated at more than eighteen millions of dollars. Some of the individual losses were overwhelming; one merchant had on hand three hundred thousand dollars' worth of silks, of which not a dollar was saved; another lost two hundred thousand dollars in teas and brandies. Mr. Stephen Whitney suffered a loss of five hundred thousand dollars. Curious and thrilling incidents are still borne in mind by old residents whose youthful eyes looked in horror upon the awful spectacle. At one time the East River was on fire, threatening destruction to the shipping. At the head of Coenties Slip a lot of barrels had been piled up containing turpentine. As the fire struck them the barrels burst and the burning fluid ran into the river, floating and burning on the top of the water. One tells of a brave effort on the part of an officer and some sailors from the Navy Yard to save the statue of Hamilton in the rotunda of the Exchange. Ropes were thrown around it and the attempt was nearly crowned with success when a cry went up that the roof was falling, and the brave fellows barely escaped being buried in the ruins. Another eyewitness has a story of the almost miraculous escape of a noble old sycamore tree, which stood on the corner of Beaver and William streets, on the premises of ex-Mayor Cadwallader D. Colden. It stood unharmed with ruin all around it. A circumstance remembered with much gratification was the help afforded by the then infant enterprise of the railroad. A locomotive rushed from Jersey City to Newark carrying the news of the disaster, and forthwith returned drawing a train of flat cars with fire engines, less than an hour afterward. The fire was finally checked in its career in the wide space at Coenties Slip, increased materially by blowing up a few houses in the vicinity with gunpowder. Not too much praise can be bestowed upon the action of Captain Mix and a party of sailors of the United States Navy, who, in the coolest manner, carried about kegs of powder through showers of sparks, and near the roaring flames, covered only with tarpaulin or pea jackets. Sixteen hours steadily had the fire lasted, and it was now far past noon of Thursday, December 17, but for some days streams of water had to be poured upon the hot and smoldering remains. The scene of the fire was a ghastly sight; nothing but parts of walls of some of the finest buildings and storehouses of the city remained standing. Scores of the richest men were ruined, many fami-

of opulence reduced to penury. And now also came into play the baser elements of human nature. At the peril of their lives a swarm of thieves set themselves to rummaging among the seething ruins. Over ninety men were arrested during the night while the fire was still at its worst, caught in the act of removing articles of value placed in the street for safe keeping. Two hundred were taken the day after, and more as the days went on, till police courts and prisons could no longer hold the hordes of miscreants. And amid the crimes likely to suggest themselves at such moments of fearful excitement, we do not wonder there was one precisely in line with what was going on. One wretch was caught actually trying to set on fire a house on the corner of Stone and Broad streets. It was necessary to call in the aid of the United States marines, who formed a cordon of sentinels along the water front from Fulton to Wall street ferries, and up Wall as far as the ruins of the Exchange. They stood with fixed bayonets ready to drive back robbers from the afflicted district, or prevent the escape of those from within their ranks. Upon official investigation the nearest conclusion that could be arrived at as to the origin of the fire was that a gas-pipe in the store at 28 Merchant (Hanover) Street must have sprung a leak, and the escaping gas set on fire by live coals in an open grate or stove; for it was remembered by some that they had heard a sound as of an explosion proceed from the building at that number. Even in her very calamity New York found the proof of her greatness, the evidence that she was already the head and center of the commerce and finance of the nation. "The artisan and manufacturer," so says a chronicler whose connections are with other cities than our own, "in almost every district of the United States, however remote, were irretrievably involved. Indeed, every species of business and every ramification of trade throughout the Union were seriously affected. It was the fountain-head that had been so dreadfully ravaged, and the whole nation felt the shock."

As if naturally drawn to a place which was assuming this prominent and unquestioned leadership in finance, New York in 1829 was honored by being adopted as the residence of one who has been called the greatest financier this country has ever produced after Hamilton. This was the Hon. Albert Gallatin, who was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Jefferson, and held that office until under Madison in 1811 he felt constrained to resign it on account of a serious difference of opinion with his chief in the matter of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States. He had been a strenuous, perhaps even bitter, opponent of Hamilton, but on the most fundamental principles of finance he could not but be in accord with that master mind. Curiously enough, neither of these men were natives of the United States, and both were of French extraction, Gallatin being a French Swiss, born in Geneva. Gallatin had represented Pennsylvania in the United States Senate when quite young; he had traveled extensively

in Europe, keenly observing men and affairs; was a man of wide reading and diversified sympathies in art, literature, and education, and was regarded as the best talker in the country. He rented a house far uptown, where people of wealth and standing were beginning to settle. Mayor Hone resided on the corner of Broadway and Great Jones Street; Gallatin took a house in Bleecker Street. It was not long after he came here—in himself a valuable accession to New York society—when it was determined to derive for the city the benefit of his financial genius and experience. In 1832 was organized the National Bank of New York, and a lion's share of the stock was sub-



COENTIES SLIP IN THE FIRE OF 1835.

scribed to by John Jacob Astor, on condition that Mr. Gallatin should be made its President. He accepted the offer, although he had then passed the seventy-first year of his age. It was fortunate he thus identified himself with the finances of the city, for these were about to pass through a fearful crisis. The anti-Federalists, now known as Democrats, had always disliked Hamilton's scheme of a Bank of the United States. Gallatin was as determined a Democrat as any of that party, but he did not let partisanship becloud his reason on the subject of the bank, and, as we saw, he had resigned the Treasury because Madison and his cabinet would not support his endeavors to retain the bank in operation. The re-chartering of the bank was made a political issue of the most blindly partisan nature under Jackson's

administration. In fact, he had come into power pledged to abolish it. The charter of the bank finally expired in March, 1836, and, of course, its renewal was impossible under Jackson. It accepted a charter from the State of Pennsylvania. But now a lot of irresponsible state banks sprang up everywhere, reveling in the funds of the United States promiscuously distributed among such institutions by Secretary Taney. From 1830 to 1837 three hundred of these banks came into existence, and their operations were of a very unsteady nature. While times were flush everything went well enough. "Suddenly a check came," says John A. Stevens, whom we find it safer to follow in the statement of the financial situation than to attempt our own account of it. "The balance of trade turned against the United States to a sum of one hundred and fifty millions, and coin was shipped abroad to liquidate the account. But as the entire amount of specie in the country did not exceed the sum of seventy-three millions, the reaction was sharp. . . . Had there been any government debt to attract a foreign investment, the situation might have been tempered. It must not be forgotten that at this period the United States was not a specie-producing country. It accumulated only as the result of a sound financial policy. It could not be retained when demanded by Europe, except by a general suspension. The result was unavoidable."

The result was the great financial panic of 1837. On May 10 every bank in the city suspended, Mr. Gallatin's among the number. The tide of distrust and the lack of financial bottom throughout the country was too much for even the greatest genius to counteract. But he immediately went to work seeking to remedy the situation. At his instance a meeting of New York bankers was held, at which a convention of representatives from all the banks in the country was proposed, to assemble in New York in October, and confer upon an agreement as to a time for the resumption of specie payments. It was necessary for the New York banks to be prompt about this, as it was the law of the State that a bank failing to resume within a period of one year should be dissolved as a corporation. The convention of October and another in December, bringing delegates together from seventeen States, could not make up their minds to set any date for resumption earlier than January 1, 1839. The New York banks could not wait so long, although they would have consented to July 1, 1838. Accordingly they took matters into their own hands, and feeling strong enough with such a person as Gallatin in their midst and encouraging the undertaking, they resolved to resume on May 10, 1838, or precisely a year after suspension. The example thus set keyed up the financial courage in other parts of the country, and the banks generally resumed on July 1. It may be of interest to add that in the year of the panic, 1837, there were twenty-three banks in the city, with a capital aggregating the sum of \$20,361,200.

An event of a nature to put New York in touch with the public affairs of the nation was the visit of Daniel Webster in March, 1837, a week or two after one of the sons of New York State, Martin Van Buren, the only Knickerbocker that has ascended the Executive chair of the nation, had been inaugurated. Webster had married for his second wife a lady of New York, Caroline, the daughter of Herman Le Roy, who resided at 7 Broadway, or next door below the historic Burns's Coffee House of Revolutionary fame. Here, in 1829, she was married to the great orator, it being an auspicious year for him, as that also of his famous debate with Hayne. The champion of internal improvements was not of the President's party, and the Whigs (descendants of the Federalists and ancestors of the Republicans) tendered Webster an ovation. In the evening an audience of four or five thousand assembled in Niblo's Hall to listen to a speech by Webster

on the issues of the day—the National Bank, and the forceful methods to suppress it adopted by the party of Jackson and his "Heir Apparent," now in the White House.



CHRISTOPHER COLLES.

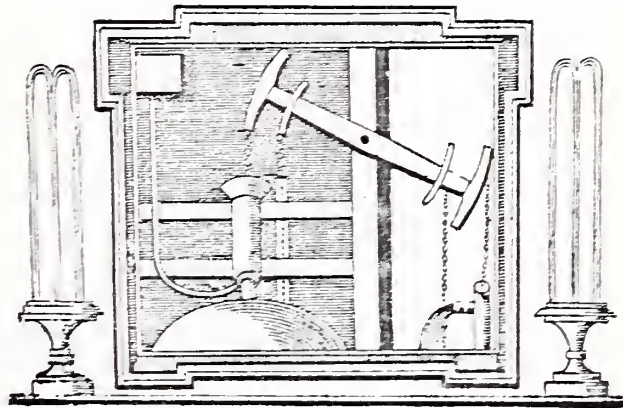
During the period now in hand immigration from Europe began to assume proportions of astonishing magnitude. It will be remembered that there is an account preserved of emigration to New Amsterdam during seven years, from 1657 to 1664, and that the total number of persons brought over during that period was about eleven hundred. In 1708, 1709, and 1710 the German Palatines were driven across the Atlantic by the distresses of war, and the three thou-

sand of them that came at once in the latter year filled the municipal authorities with alarm. Before the War of 1812 immigration from abroad attained to a goodly figure, and shortly after the war the numbers became still larger. But from 1818 to 1819 there was a sudden leap upward, no less than twenty thousand immigrants being reported at the Mayor's office. Then there seemed to be a lull in the flood, for during the nine years from 1820 to 1829 the average annual number of arrivals was about ten thousand, or about ninety thousand altogether. The next nine years, however, saw a phenomenal influx of foreigners; from 1830 to 1839 as many as 343,517 persons arrived, 151,672 of these coming from Ireland alone. In the decade from 1840 on, the average per year became nearly one hundred and thirty thousand. No wonder that the foreign vote, and especially the "Irish vote," began to count in politics. The Democrats seem to have charmed the newcomers

most, and their influence turned the scale decidedly in favor of that party, as a reward for which local offices began to fall to the share of foreign-born citizens in large proportions.

The period previously selected as an epoch in our city's history closed with a pageant in celebration of the Erie Canal, an enterprise undertaken by the State. The year 1842 was marked by a celebration equally imposing, to do honor to the completion of an enterprise undertaken by the city alone for the benefit of its own citizens and as a municipal necessity. This was the system of water works, by which an abundant supply of wholesome and palatable water was obtained from the Croton River, far up in Westchester County, by means of an aqueduct, reservoir, and an elaborate network of subterranean pipes. The water in the city had been from the earliest times notoriously bad. People sank wells on their own premises, but the water they drew therefrom was hardly fit to drink; it was bad to the taste and dangerous to the health. The seven public wells, in Broadway, Broad Street, and Wall Street, were not intended for drinking purposes, as they collected the drainage and rainwater that ran through the center of the street. After a while it was discovered that one well in the city afforded pure and cool and palatable water. It was apparently inexhaustible; a pump was put into it, and the water drawn from it carried in casks about the city and sold to people at their doors. This well and pump were at the corner of Park Row and Roosevelt Street,

quite outside the limits of habitation until well into the eighteenth century. As the water was principally used for cooking purposes, and for preparing tea, the pump received the name of the Tea Water Pump. The first attempt to establish waterworks a little less primitive was



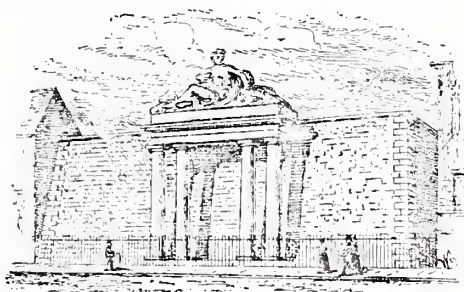
ENGINE IN WATERWORKS OF 1776.

made as early as the year 1774. Two acres of ground were purchased from the van Cortlandt estate for twelve hundred pounds, on Broadway, on the east side between the present Pearl and White streets, and thus almost opposite the site of the New York Hospital, which was then in course of erection. Here a reservoir was constructed under the direction of the Engineer, Christopher Colles, into which water was pumped from wells dug on the grounds, and also from the Collect Pond in the rear. The water was then conducted by

means of wooden pipes to different parts of the city. It was a very ingenious system, and won the admiration of English officers during the occupation by the enemy. One describes what he saw very minutely; speaking of one of the wells, he says: "The well is forty feet in diameter, and thirty feet down to the surface of the water. In this well is an engine which forces the water almost to the top, and from thence through a wooden tube up to the top of the hill, which is a distance of about five rods. At the top of the hill is a pond [the reservoir] covering one-quarter of an acre, from eight to eleven feet deep." It was remembered by the people who watched the construction of the Clermont at the shipyard at the foot of East Houston Street, that the curious mechanism put inside that boat very much resembled the pumping machinery of the Colles water works, afterward utilized by the Manhattan Company. But somehow these works fell into an innocuous desuetude. Whether because the water was bad, or the supply insufficient, or that the British were not up to the Yankee ingenuity of the thing, the water works were abandoned, and the people had to resort again to their good old friend, the Tea Water Pump. It may have been, after all, the poor quality of the Collect water. That limpid lake so often celebrated was not what it seemed to be as far as drinking water went. In 1798, when another system of water works was about to be erected in its vicinity, proposing to draw from it, some one spoke very irreverently of our historic pond: "The Collect behind the Tea Water Pump is a shocking hole, where all impure things center together, and engender the worst of unwholesome productions. Some affect to say that the water is very cool and refreshing. Everybody knows from experience the water gets warm in a few hours, and, sometimes, almost before it is drawn from the carter's hogsheads. Can you bear to drink it on Sundays in the summer time? It is so bad before Monday mornings as to be very sickly and nauseating, and the larger the city grows, the worse the evil will be." The works then in contemplation were those of the Manhattan Company. Their counsel, Aaron Burr, had hoodwinked the Federalists by getting from them a charter for supplying the city with water, and "other business." At that time "watering" stock had not yet become either a phrase or a practice, else the connection between finance and water works would not have seemed so illogical. At any rate, banking was the business Burr and his clients had in mind, and the Manhattan Company, although a bank to this day, calls itself by this indefinite name, not at all suggestive of its real business. It could not, however, leave the water problem entirely untouched. An engineer at its request laid before the company a plan which resembles in some features the system now in operation. The water was to be drawn from the Bronx River, carried in an open canal to the Harlem, and across that river in an elevated iron pipe to a reservoir on this island, where the water was to be subjected to fil-

tration. But the Manhattan Company having its charter, nothing was done toward this excellent plan. The company obtained control of the ground and machinery utilized by Colles, built a reservoir in Chambers Street between Broadway and Centre, dug wells in the vicinity, using for its plant part of the building of the smelting furnace on Reade near Centre street, and laid bored logs under the surface of the streets to convey the water. But again the water failed to satisfy either in quantity or in quality, as may be imagined from the description of it given above. The company was more intent upon banking than water, and the people had to return once more to the Tea Water Pump and water carried in from the surrounding country.

Upon the tablet displayed at the reservoir on Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue appears first on the list of commissioners the name of Samuel Stevens. He was alderman from the Second Ward for several years, and his name deserves that prominence, because it was largely through his intelligent interest and perseverance that New York at last secured for itself that indispensable necessity to health—good and abundant water brought readily into every home. A plan was drawn up by competent engineers, much bolder than the one of 1798, but on the same principle. It was proposed to draw the water from the Croton River, at a distance of forty miles from the City Hall; to conduct it by an aqueduct to the Harlem River; across this by a lofty bridge; then to one or two distributing reservoirs placed on Manhattan Island. The cost of such a system was to run into the millions, and the people who had just been given the privilege, as we shall see below, of voting for their own Mayor in 1834, were asked to vote on the question of "Water," or "No Water," in 1835. A large majority voted in favor of the expensive scheme. But not a few murmured at the cost. They did not want to appear more squeamish in their taste than the fathers who had found the Tea Water good enough. But



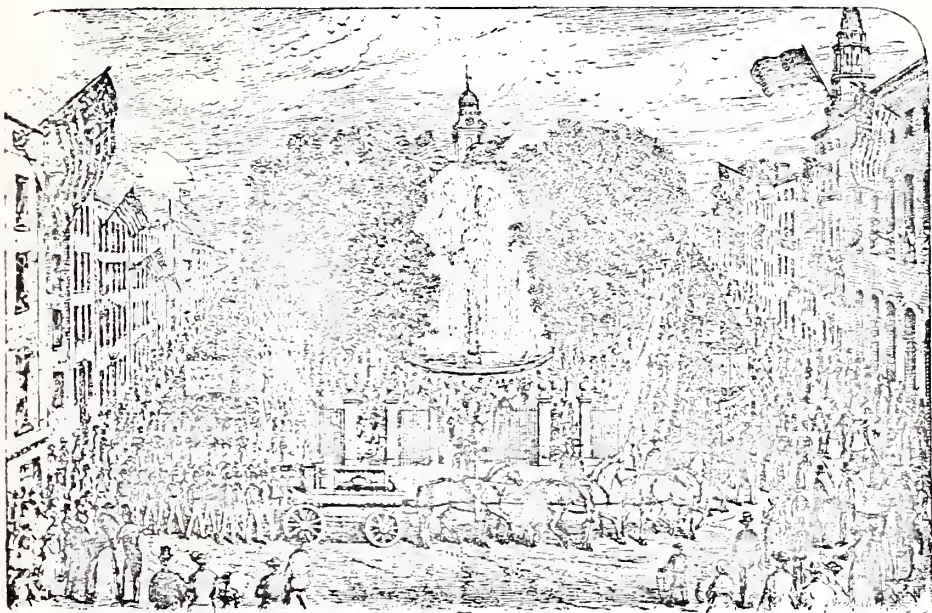
MANHATTAN COMPANY'S WATERWORKS.

the fire in December stopped the months of grumblers, and there soon was all the required popular enthusiasm back of the scheme to push it along to accomplishment. A dam was built across the Croton River, making a basin capable of holding five hundred millions of gallons, covering four hundred acres of land. An aqueduct was constructed down to the Harlem River, carrying the healing streams by tunnels through rocks and hills, and upon embankments across valleys and intervening streams. Across the Harlem was thrown the magnificent High Bridge, even yet not eclipsed in its

glory by neighboring structures, but long alone and supreme, carrying the conduit of iron and brick over fourteen piers of solid granite, a length of nearly fifteen hundred feet; the arches supporting the conduit and connecting the piers having spans of eighty and fifty feet, and at their keystones rising one hundred and fourteen feet above tide-water in the Harlem. This bridge struck the island at the present One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Street, or about a mile above the utmost limit (One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street) of Simeon De Witt's plan of 1807. Here much later a small reservoir was built for Harlem houses. The water was brought to the open air for the first time after its journey of forty miles, in a reservoir placed where the paper plan indicated Sixth Avenue and Eighty-sixth Street, but where they never came to be, as Central Park usurped the place of streets in that vicinity. This was a very large receptacle, covering thirty-five acres, and capable of holding one hundred and fifty millions of gallons, giving plenty of healthy exposure to the air. This reservoir is the square portion of the system now to be seen in Central Park, the circular and larger basin having been added later. A last reservoir was built on Murray Hill, at Fifth Avenue, between Fortieth and Forty-second streets, soon to depart because, with appliances now in use, it is not needed, and is an eyesore instead of an ornament amid its elegant surroundings. It was wont to be visible for miles of open country around when it first reared up its Egyptian walls. The distribution by iron pipes commenced at this reservoir, its lofty situation giving sufficient head of water for every part of the city below it. The New York Public Library is to occupy its site.

The year 1842 saw the completion of nearly all this work, at least in sufficient measure to introduce the water into the city. And now began a series of celebrations. First, after the water from the dam in the Croton had been allowed to enter the conduit, a little boat specially constructed, called Croton Maid, and capable of holding four persons, journeyed through the entire length of the aqueduct for the purpose of a thorough inspection. On June 27 the water was allowed to enter the reservoir at Eighty-sixth Street in the presence of a distinguished company; and again, on July 4, the day was made doubly glorious by similar ceremonies in the august presence of State and City dignitaries, on the occasion of introducing the water for the first time into the distributing reservoir on Murray Hill. It was not until October 14, 1842, however, that the monster demonstration was made, wherein the whole population were given a chance to express their delight at the boon the art of man had bestowed upon them. A splendid and ingeniously arranged fountain had been placed in City Hall Park, now, alas, gone! There was a large central pipe with eighteen smaller ones, and so arranged that by shifting the plate of the conduit pipe the spouting waters could be made to assume seven different shapes. This fountain was set playing all day; the power back of it

being such that the heavy column of water from the largest pipe was forced to a sheer height of sixty feet. The city famous for processions since the days of the "Federal ship Hamilton" in 1788, organized one for this day which put all the former ones to the blush. The President was invited, but did not come; but the Governor was there, and members of Congress, and Mayors of neighboring cities, and foreign consuls. Upon the reviewing stand these exalted people watched for two hours and ten minutes go by a procession indicating by floats the interest which each trade or handiwork, or profession, took in the enterprise just completed. Church bells rang, cannon boomed, flags and bunting decorated public and private buildings. The procession came marching down Broadway, and turned around the southern extremity of the City Hall Park into Park Row, thus going by the splen-



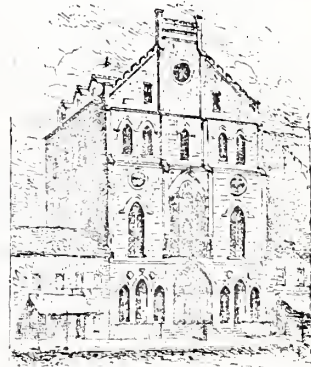
THE CROTON-WATER CELEBRATION.

did display of the fountain on two sides. A prominent place in the parade was taken by the temperance organizations that dated only from the year 1840, and it was a feature of the collation served at the City Hall to the invited guests, that no wine or spirits of any kind were offered,—nothing but Croton water. Upon one of the floats drawn by six horses were pipes and other materials and models used in the construction of the conduit. At the City Hall the exercises consisted of the formal transfer by President Stevens of the Board of Construction, to the President of the Croton Aqueduct Board, a speech in reply by the latter, and speeches by Mayor Robert H. Morris and Governor William H. Seward. Illuminations at night closed a day of happy memory, marred by no disturbances of any kind.

In the history of municipal government in our city we reach an event during this period of the most critical importance. In 1834 home rule for New York was finally made complete by the popular election of the Mayor. It is strange how persistent ancient traditions are. Peter Stuyvesant refused the privilege of electing their Burgomasters to the people of New Amsterdam in 1653. The Royal Governor and his Council invariably appointed the Mayor under the English rule. And when English rule was repudiated and the people became their own sovereigns, the idea that the Mayor of a city must be appointed by some outside authority so prevailed that the appointing power was vested in a specially created body, the Council of Appointment, clumsy in composition and hardly ever smooth in its operations. Concessions had been gradually making, however, to the genius of republican government, and as we saw in 1822, only the Recorder remained to be appointed by State authority, Sheriff and Clerk being elected by the people, and the Mayor by the Common Council. The last Mayors who were thus put in office during the period now in hand were Walter Bowne and Gideon Lee. Mr. Bowne was of Quaker descent, his family settling at Flushing before the days of Stuyvesant, and getting well persecuted by the Director. Mr. Bowne's political affiliations were with the Democrats. His sister had married Walter Franklin, who built the house Washington first occupied, her second husband being Samuel Osgood; and one of her daughters became the first wife of De Witt Clinton. Mr. Bowne also married out of the Quaker line, taking for a wife a daughter of one of the old Dutch families of King's County. He engaged in the hardware business at Burling Slip and Water Street, and attained great wealth. He was elected Mayor in 1828, serving for several terms, and had before this represented the city as Senator at Albany. In 1833 he was succeeded in the Mayoralty by Gideon Lee, who served only one year. He was a native of Massachusetts, establishing an extensive leather business, still maintained by his sons, in the "Swamp" district. In 1834 the State Constitution was changed so as to give to New York City alone of all the cities of the State the privilege of electing a Mayor by popular vote. In 1834 that vote was very extensive, amounting practically, since 1826, to manhood suffrage, except in the case of colored people. All male white citizens who rented a tenement at an annual rate of \$25 at least, and all taxpayers were permitted to vote at charter elections. Accordingly, on April 10, 1834, the citizens of New York met at the polling places in the several wards, to do what their forefathers had only once done before nearly a century and a half ago, under the Democratic rule of Jacob Leisler. Democrats (with a slightly different signification) ruled on this day. Cornelius Van Wyck Lawrence was the candidate of Tammany Hall, strong partisans of Jackson. Gulian C. Verplanck was run as an independent, non-partisan candidate, apart from issues of a national

bearing. Lawrence was elected, but unhappily a fierce riot attended this first exercise of home rule. Indeed, throughout this year (1834) that deserves to be honorably marked, so many disgraceful riots occurred that it is known, from that less honorable circumstance, as "the year of the riots."

First came the Election Riot, in April. Tammany was divided into two factions. The Whigs (old Federalists) had long been in the minority, but Tammany's division made the election very close and correspondingly exciting, so that Lawrence was elected by only a small majority. At that time there was no registration of voters, and in each of the fourteen wards there was only one polling place; thus trouble could easily be made by violent and fraudulent persons. About noon there was great disturbance at the polling place in the Sixth Ward, in the heart of the poorest section of the city, the vicinity of the "Five Points." Jackson Democrats took possession of the polling place, sacked its contents, and destroyed the ballots already cast. Near by, on the block bounded by Centre, Elm, Franklin, and White Streets, stood the State Arsenal. The mob surged toward Broadway raiding the gun shops, and it was feared they would rifle the Arsenal of its arms. A number of citizens hastened to the aid of the police until the Twenty-seventh (later the Seventh) Regiment could be brought into action; who further prevented any harm being done by the mob here. In the evening partisans of the Whigs met at Masonic Hall in Broadway opposite the Hospital, and voted to repair in force next day to the Sixth Ward polling place, and compel a fair vote for their candidate. There was no disturbance on the next day; but on the third there was an encounter on Broadway in front of Masonic Hall, in which the Mayor himself and many of the city-watch were hurt in an attempt to restore order. This was accomplished only by the aid of the militia. It was the first time the Twenty-seventh (or Seventh) Regiment had displayed its efficiency as an aid to keep or restore peace and protect life and property, and was the beginning of a brave and brilliant career for it. The Common Council showed its appreciation of its services by passing a vote of thanks "to the individuals who thus nobly sustained their reputation as citizen soldiers, and proved the importance and necessity to the city of a well-disciplined militia in time of peace, as well as in time of war."



MASONIC HALL ON
BROADWAY.

The "Abolition Riot" was next on this undesirable list. Slavery was abolished in the State, as we saw; but cotton having made slavery profitable, and its production and export having become an im-

mense business, naturally a large portion of New Yorkers were directly interested in the maintenance of slavery at the South. Hence the populace looked with no favor on the agitations for abolition in the Union which William Lloyd Garrison had begun. In the autumn of 1833 he had sought to organize public meetings to advocate the cause in New York City. These meetings were usually molested by the mob, and often broken up altogether. In July, 1834, a mob attacked a chapel on Chatham Street, which had been rented by the colored people for religious services, and where a negro minister was preaching. The audience was driven out after a slight resistance. Lewis Tappan, a rich Quaker merchant, who, like all of his faith, was an enthusiastic friend of the negroes, was present at the meeting. He had been one of those to call the abolition meeting the previous October, and he was marked for vengeance by the mob. They followed him to his house in Rose Street near by, hooting and threatening him, and throwing stones at his house. The next day the chapel was again visited and broken open, but there were no negroes there. So the mob rushed to the Bowery Theater, whose manager was an abolitionist; driven away by the police before much harm was done, the miscreants rushed back to Rose Street and sacked the house of Nathan, the brother of Lewis Tappan. It is pleasant to note here a circumstance growing out of this event at the fire of 1835. The Tappan brothers had a great drygoods business. Their warehouse was built of stone, and the windows were provided with shutters of heavy boiler iron to guard against such attacks by the mob as had ruined their homes on Rose Street. These walls and shutters resisted the fire for a long time, so that ere it reached the warehouse ample opportunity was given to a great number of the colored people to show their love and gratitude. They fairly risked their lives in helping to save the firm's goods. The books and papers and one hundred thousand dollars' worth of property were thus removed to a place of safety. "The energy and daring," remarks an eyewitness, "with which the colored people pressed forward, in the face of every obstacle, to save Mr. Tappan's property, greatly impressed the bystanders."

On the night of July 11, the trouble was removed to another part of the city. St. John's Church was not now on the edge of a wilderness but in the center of the finest residences of the choicest people of the town. Nor was it the only church in that distant neighborhood. A fine Presbyterian Church stood on the corner of Varick and Laight Streets, opposite the same swamp, which had now been converted into a handsome park, accessible only to the residents upon its surrounding streets, like Gramercy Park to-day. And still further out, as it would have been thought in 1807, in Spring Street near Varick, was another Presbyterian Church, within a stone's throw of Burr's Richmond Hill estate, now for many years owned by John

Jacob Astor. The Rev. Samuel H. Cox, the pastor of the Laight Street Church, was an inveterate foe of slavery, outspoken, and fearless; and the Rev. Henry G. Ludlow, of Spring Street Church, was equally offensive to those who were now rioting. So the mob swerved over to this part of town and made fierce attacks on the churches of these clergymen. As a result Dr. Cox resigned a little later, as his congregation did not like him to provoke such ruinous assaults on their property. Both of his sons entered the Episcopal Church, and one was later the celebrated Cleveland Cox, Bishop of Buffalo. While the rioters were busy with these churches the Twenty-seventh (Seventh) Regiment marched upon them. They had thrown up barricades in regular Parisian style. The militiamen with all the *sang froid* of veterans stormed and carried the barricades, and scattered the materials in every direction, the mob back of them having done the same for themselves before the resolute advance of the citizen soldiers. The next day the volunteer firemen offered their assistance in quelling the mob, and the disturbance passed away.

But a taste for rioting is infectious. In August, 1834, there was again another tumult of the populace. It was considerably more of the nature of the uprisings to which we are accustomed in these days, it being an attempt to interfere with the building of the New York University on Washington Square. In 1824 there was trouble at the building of Scudder's Museum on Broadway, because stone-cutters objected to the use of marble as a building material. Not a workman could be found willing to labor at its construction, and a convict had to be pardoned out of Sing Sing prison in order to get the work done. With this in mind the authorities of the University arranged to have the marble for their edifice hewed and shaped by the State prisoners at Sing Sing, the blocks being taken there direct from the Westchester marble quarries. This did not suit the stone-cutters in the city, and the riot that ensued goes by their name, although doubtless due as much to the rough element among their sympathizers. The mob was headed off in time by the Twenty-seventh (Seventh) who encamped on Washington Parade ground (now the Park) and were kept under arms for four days and nights.

In 1835 there was another riot, called the "Five Points' Riot" from its locality. It grew out of the antagonism between native Americans and the Irish immigrant population. It had been announced that an Irish regiment was about to be organized, and the Americans of the "baser sort" did not like it, so there was a free fight in the streets converging near Chatham Square, on Sunday, June 21. The prominent citizens who tried to preserve the peace were, as usual, roughly handled, and some badly injured, yet to the credit of the municipal government it must be said that their own police quelled the disturbance without the intervention of the militia. Finally, in 1837, this era was marked by a "Flour," or "Bread Riot." The panic

was near its birth and speculation of all kinds was rampant. There had been a short crop of wheat the season before, and it was announced that it was certain the crop of Virginia was ruined for the next season. This was just a state of things for the feverish financial frame of mind to seize upon for running up prices and cornering the stock there was on hand. Prices went up at a ruinous rate. Flour advanced from \$7 to \$12 per barrel; meat jumped to a fancy price, and coal rose to \$10 per ton. The people became aware that commission merchants were accumulating provisions and keeping them back from the markets, in order to get still higher prices later. A meeting was called in the City Hall Park at four o'clock in the afternoon of February 10, 1837, in the manner of the pre-Revolutionary days,—by means of a placard borne about the city where the laboring people mostly lived, bearing the words, “Bread, Meat, Rent, Fuel,—the voice of the people shall be heard.” At the meeting one of the rough and ready orators told his excited auditors that a commission merchant of the name of Eli Hart, had in store in his warehouse on Washington Street, *fifty-three thousand barrels of flour*. If true, there must have been some intention of “cornering” about this. At any rate the announcement acted like a spark on gunpowder upon the crowd. In a twinkling they were rushing down to Washington Street, forced open Hart’s store, and ere long it rained flour barrels upon the street. About five hundred ruined barrels had thus been supposed to contribute to cheaper flour when the cry that the militia was coming dispersed the mob. One or two other stores were visited in a similar manner, discouraging, it is to be hoped, the abominable practice of speculating in the price of such daily necessities.

It has been said that at the election of Mayor Lawrence his majority was much reduced because Tammany Hall was divided into two factions. One of these called themselves the “Equal Rights” party because opposed to monopolies, franchises or charters for banks or other corporations. The rather clumsy name was changed into a more popular designation by a circumstance which illustrates the beginnings of things wherewith we have been so long familiar. Gas had been in use for ten years, and its introduction into private and public buildings was quite common. But matches were then still a novelty. It was a great convenience to have the tinder-box and flint supplanted by a little splinter of wood, which by a mere scratch would emit fire. At a meeting in Tammany Hall the faction opposed to the “Equal Rights” noticed that at the approaching proceedings they would be outnumbered by their rivals. Accordingly they thought to disperse the gathering and disconcert the opposition by turning out the gas-lights. It happened, however, that some of the “Equal Rights” men carried boxes of the newly invented matches upon their persons, and the lights were soon ablaze again. The matches went by the name of *Loco foco*, on what principle of Latin-

ity (if any) it is hard to tell. But the opportune possession of these handy substitutes for the tinder-box gave the name of "Locofocos" to the party which had hitherto carried a more descriptive title. It is correctly remarked by Miss Booth "that most, if not all, of the party appellations which have served at various times to distinguish the politics of the country first originated in this city—Federalist, Republican, Whig, Democrat, Locofoco, and many more." In 1837 Mayor Aaron Clarke, the second to be elected by the people, owed his success to the strength of the Locofoco faction which so crippled Tammany Hall that the Whigs, whose candidate he was, carried the election. He had 17,000 votes, and two other candidates had 13,000 and 4,000 respectively. The term of the Mayor was only one year then, and in 1838 the Whigs again profited by division in the ranks of "the enemy." But Mayor Clarke's plurality was only about five hundred then, and in 1839 the Democrats, now united by accepting in common some of the Locofoco ideas, carried the charter election, and continued to do so until 1844. Isaac L. Varian, whom Clarke had beaten by five hundred votes the year before, now in turn had beaten him by over a thousand. He was highly spoken of by men of the opposite party, and was popular as a prominent "fire-lad," or member of the Volunteer fire department, which furnished no less than seven Mayors to the city. He owned a farm about where the Gilsey House stands, on Broadway and Twenty-ninth Street. When he was re-elected in 1840, the novel expedient of registering voters previous to election was first put into operation. It was combined with the division of the wards into voting districts, so that instead of one polling place for each ward there were now several, greatly expediting the work of receiving ballots and gaining time, as now all the voting could be done on one day. It is a pity that in 1842 the excellent provision of registering was repealed. In 1841 Robert Hunter Morris was elected Mayor. His name



MAYOR WALTER BOWNE.

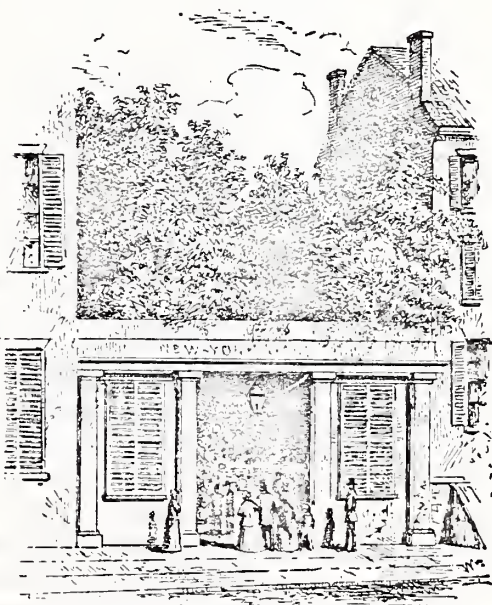
is of interest, bringing back vividly the old colonial times. He was a descendant of Lewis Morris, the Chief Justice of New York Province under Robert Hunter, the Royal Governor. The Chief Justice had named one of his sons after the Governor, and the name was revived once more in the Mayor. He owed his election probably to a species of political persecution. In 1838 he was appointed Recorder of the City, the one officer still remaining under the control of the

Governor of the State. Just before election day in the presidential campaign of 1840, when Harrison was the Whig candidate, a plot was organized by a certain Glentworth for "colonizing" voters from Philadelphia in New York. They were to be brought to New York on the pretense of being employed to lay pipes for the Croton water. The Recorder and District-Attorney on receiving wind of the plot, went at once to the house of Glentworth to demand his papers, for fear the evidence might be destroyed. It was not precisely regular in a free country, and Governor Seward, himself a Whig, removed Morris from office. This was the signal for the Democrats to vindicate his promptness in exposing the fraud of the opposition, and Morris was elected Mayor at the next charter election in 1841, and during three subsequent years. In 1840 the population had grown to 312,852. In 1842 the city was divided into seventeen wards. Those who have read with delight the many historical items there collected, and have looked with gratitude upon the pictures of houses and neighborhoods which would otherwise have been buried in oblivion, contained in the long series of Valentine's Manuals, will not deem it unworthy of notice in a history of this city, that Mr. Valentine, as Clerk of the Common Council, issued the first of these manuals in this same year 1842. It was but a small volume, and contained as yet no historical matter.

Up to this period the principal wharfage for shipping had been on the East River shore, and indeed to this day the large sailing vessels may still be seen lying there. But with the advent of the steamboat the North River shore began to be utilized, and now there was an extent of three miles of wharfage from Corlear's Hook around the Battery to Hubert Street, where the North Battery was located, on the Hudson. As was noticed in connection with the "Abolition Riot," the newly developed cotton trade of the South was making much business for New York as well. The cotton was brought here to be trans-shipped to Europe, or sent to the factories in New England. In 1827 no less than 215,705 bales of cotton came to the port, of which 191,626 were sent to Europe, and 24,000 to home manufacturers. Commerce had received a frightful blow from the fire of 1835, but the recovery was quick and characteristic. The panic of 1837 was another calamity to mercantile interests, but good times soon succeeded. The Erie Canal was bringing a golden stream of prosperity from the inexhaustible West, and the railroads and telegraph, soon to be noticed, were doing much to add to the commercial and financial importance of the city. One handmaid of business was gradually approaching its modern marvelous efficiency. In 1799 the mail was an expensive luxury and slow in movement; for a distance less than forty miles the cost of carrying a letter was eight cents; for a distance between three and five hundred miles the cost was twenty cents; and over five hundred miles, twenty-five cents. In 1842 the rates were

still high from our standpoint: three cents for less than three hundred miles; ten cents for more than three hundred miles. At the close of the century merchants had complained because the postoffice was taken up by Bauman to 62 Broadway, or the corner of Liberty Street. In 1807 it was nearer the center of business again, at the corner of William Street and Garden Street (Exchange Place). Theodorus Bailey, the Postmaster, lived in the house. There were one hundred boxes in the vestibule, entered from William Street. In 1827 the postoffice was removed to the Merchants' Exchange, and in 1835 was involved in its destruction. It was then taken to the Rotunda in City Hall Park, whence, about 1844, it went to the old Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street, and to its present imposing home, again in City Hall Park, less than thirty years ago.

This was the era of the introduction of the cheap and great New York daily newspapers. There were a great number of journals published in the city during the first three decades of the century, some of which, such as the *Commercial Advertiser*, and *Evening Post*, we have already mentioned. The *Morning Courier*, edited by James Watson Webb, the father of General Alexander S. Webb, the hero of Gettysburg and President of the College of the City of New York; the *Courier and Inquirer*; the *Journal of Commerce*, started in 1827; the *New York Mirror*, for which N. P. Willis and Poe and other celebrities wrote, were among the most prominent ones. They were dignified and stately affairs, costing six cents at the lowest per number, but not vulgarly hawked upon the streets; they were sent around to regular subscribers. In October, 1832, James Gordon Bennett ventured upon something more accessible to small purses. He started the *New York Globe*, sold at two cents a copy, but the paper only lived a month. A bolder innovation was that conceived by a young doctor of the name of Sheppard. On January 1, 1833, he issued the *Morning Post*: its cost was only a penny a paper, and another novelty was the employment of boys to carry it about the streets and sell it to people whose patronage they solicited—in short, newsboys. He had barely suc-



CONTOIT'S GARDEN, BROADWAY, 1830.

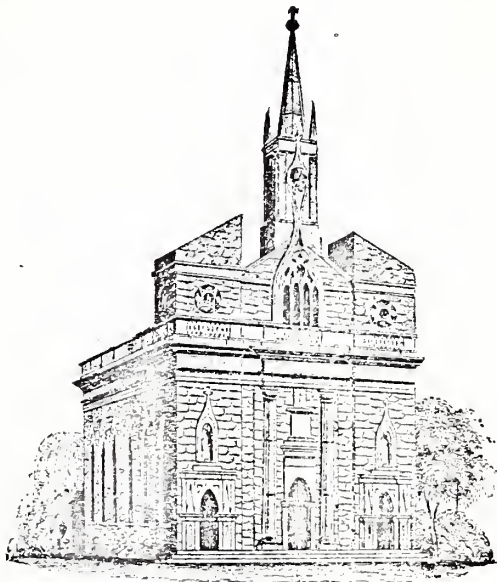
ceeded in his innovation. A bolder innovation was that conceived by a young doctor of the name of Sheppard. On January 1, 1833, he issued the *Morning Post*: its cost was only a penny a paper, and another novelty was the employment of boys to carry it about the streets and sell it to people whose patronage they solicited—in short, newsboys. He had barely suc-

ceeded in getting credit from Horace Greeley and Francis Story, two young men who had just set up a printing business: they had no faith in his newspaper experiment at all. Dr. Sheppard met with no success, and the foresight of the young printers was vindicated. But his idea lived: eight months later, in September, 1833, Benjamin H. Day, a practical journalist, issued the first number of the *Sun*, sold at a penny by newsboys, who in the first hour or two had sold all the copies he had given them. Success was soon assured; in less than a year the *Sun* had a circulation of 8,000, and publisher and newsboys both found that they were making money. Its example was soon followed. Horace Greeley was now convinced that the young medical man was right, and in March, 1834, he, with two partners, began the publication of the *New Yorker*. James Gordon Bennett also came forward again, publishing the first number of the *New York Herald* on May 6, 1835, selling it at the price of two cents a copy. On April 10, 1841, appeared the *Tribune*, published by Horace Greeley and edited by Henry J. Raymond, who ten years later started the *New York Times*; while the *World* began its career in 1860.

We have already noted the migration of churches from down town to up-town in the previous chapter, and that the Abolition Riot pursued two Presbyterian Churches to their location pretty nearly in Greenwich. Another Presbyterian Church ventured still nearer the outskirts, and built on Bleecker Street on the corner of Downing, where the Universalists later held forth. In 1833 the Jews built a synagogue on Crosby Street, an advance upward also from their old sanctuary on Mill Street (South William). Emigration from Catholic Ireland and Catholic centers of Germany greatly swelled the numbers of the Catholic congregations in New York. Unfortunately the peace between them and the Protestants became disturbed by reason of disputes over the share that should fall to Catholic Parochial schools from the State funds devoted to public schools throughout the State. As many of the Democratic voters belonged to their faith the Catholic leaders conceived the idea of mixing up this sectarian question with politics. They sought to form a party in 1841 upon this issue, pledging support only to such candidates as would favor an appropriation from the State funds to their church-schools, which was against the fundamental principles of both the State and Federal Constitutions. This only stimulated sectarian antipathies on the other side, and led to the formation of the Native American party, of a kin with the national "know-nothings," whose main watchword was opposition to Rome, a cry that should never have been heard in the American Union, and would not if Washington's ideas on religious matters could have been strictly adhered to. That it was raised was largely the Romish Church's own fault. In the course of the recriminations the Catholics retorted that the Public School Society's schools were sectarian because the Protestant Bible was read at their

sions; and thus the unhappy opposition to the reading of Scripture in schools, as being a sectarian book, was added to the other contention, and by the aid of infidel hostility to the sacred volume, the reading of it was finally abolished altogether.

New York State, from an early date, interested itself in the cause of education. In 1784 the Board of Regents of the University of New York was instituted, who were to advance the interests of learning throughout the State, and especially take into consideration the extension of a common school system. In 1789 and 1795 measures were taken by the Legislature to create a fund for the support of education. In 1805 a law was passed by which the proceeds of 500,000 acres of public domain were to be accumulated until its income should reach the sum of \$50,000, which should then be applied to the uses of the schools of the State. In 1819 the accumulation had risen to \$1,200,000. In 1822 the constitution then adopted contained a clause making this school fund inviolable and inalienable to other purposes. The trouble with Kieft in the early days had been that he perpetually used moneys raised for school purposes to meet the expenses of the war against the Indians he had exasperated. In the year 1842 the school fund amounted to a productive capital of ten millions of dollars. A study of the origin of the Public School Society gives considerable countenance to the charge of the Romanists that their schools were practically sectarian. They were intended to benefit children who were in no connection with churches, the schools heretofore being inseparably connected with the churches; and whether they took pay or were gratuitous, they were only to embrace children of the church. It was the children destitute of religious privileges, and thereby destitute of educational advantages, whom the benevolent gentlemen who met at Mr. Murray's house in 1805 had in view, and, of course, the instruction provided for them was not unmingled with religious teaching, and that from the nature of the case was of the Protestant order. When the Roman Catholics came to count for



ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, 1815.

something among the sects in the city, then unsectarian education, which at first had meant only an absence of bias as between Presbyterians, or Dutch Reformed, or Baptists, or Methodists, or Lutherans, or Episcopalians, had also to mean an absence of bias as between Romanists and Protestants. Hence in 1842 Governor Seward recommended to the Legislature a law extending the common school system of the State, which was strictly non-sectarian, to the city. This resulted in the erection of the Board of Education, and rendered the bestowal of the State funds perfectly impartial as between Romanists and Protestants, allowing each to have their own church-schools if they pleased, but not permitting them to claim for these any share of the public money. Gradually the friends of education saw the wisdom of the new state of affairs. In 1853 the Public School Society was no longer a necessity, and all its belongings naturally passed into the hands of the Board of Education. It made education the right of all and a charity to none. In 1825 the "free" schools had been changed into pay schools, each child being charged twenty-five cents to one dollar per quarter, and presumably the poor children's expenses were paid by the society. All these distinctions were now abolished, and no child needed to pay; the State and city bound themselves to educate their youthful citizens. In October, 1830, a convention of persons interested in learning of a higher order met at the call of Albert Gallatin. They made him chairman of the meeting, and its deliberations led to the founding of the University of New York. The clergy prevailed more than Gallatin had intended; and perhaps as a reaction against Columbia, which had fallen into Episcopal hands, New York University was as thoroughly delivered into the hands of the Presbyterians, as it is to this day. In 1835 a handsome building was erected on Washington Square, causing the "Stone-cutters' Riot," as we saw, but now no more, an immense mercantile structure occupying its site, while a number of edifices are being put up on Fordham Heights. As for private schools, preparatory for college, and for refining the minds of young ladies, the memory of a few of these abides. There was Professor Charles Anthon's Grammar School for Boys, on Murray Street, near Columbia College. There was a famous *Institut Français* on Bank Street, kept by two French gentlemen, Louis and Hyacinth Pequet, who taught the true Parisian accent to the recalcitrant Yankee tongue. And in Barclay Street a young ladies' school of a high order was kept by Mrs. Mary O'Kill, a daughter of Sir James Jay, a physician, and the oldest brother of John Jay, who had been knighted for his industry and success in raising money for Kings College in the days when it was still so called.

When Albert Gallatin came to New York in 1829 he was at once invited to join a coterie of literary people who had been meeting together for social and intellectual purposes since 1827. The number

was limited to twelve, so as to secure perfectly congenial companionship, which larger numbers do not always permit. They called themselves the "Club" without further designation, and among its members were those representing the legal and medical professions; an Episcopal and a Presbyterian clergyman; and three professors of Columbia. One of this choice company was a "Mr. Morse," President of the National Academy of Design. He was then in Europe, on his return trip from which he was to have the talk which led to his immortal invention, as will be told in the next chapter. It was to fill the vacancy caused by his absence in Europe that Gallatin was invited to join. It must have been congenial society to him, and he an exceedingly valuable accession. The "Club" met once a week, had no officers, was without formalities. A light collation was indulged in at the end, and the sessions broke up before eleven o'clock. For the rest of humanity entertainments of other kinds were multiplying. In addition to the Park Theater, one was built in the Bowery in 1826. In 1837 eight theaters were busy catering to the public taste, in various ways, more or less elevating, as is true of every period or city. Richmond Hill had been converted into a theater, and at its opening a prize was offered to the author of the best dedicatory poem. Gulian C. Verplanck was one of the judges, and he was selected to read the successful poem. The seal of the envelope identifying the author was not to be broken until the poem had been read in the hearing of the people, and it was to be opened in their presence. When this impressive part of the exercises was reached, it appeared that the prize-winner was none other than Fitz-Greene Halleck. Varick and Charlton streets were still too far out of town for the theater-going public, hence in 1842 Richmond Hill Theater closed its doors. In this year Park Theater, always the leading play-house, was put to a different use on St. Valentine's Day. Dickens had come to America on his first visit, and a ball was given in his honor in the theater. All during the evening, in the intervals of dancing, representations of scenes in Dickens's novels were displayed upon the curtain. Mayor Robert H. Morris, ex-Mayor Philip Hone, James Watson Webb, and William



Albert Gallatin

H. Appleton, of the publishing firm, were instrumental in organizing the ball; and Washington Irving graced with his presence a dinner given to the novelist a few days later by more than two hundred ladies and gentlemen. It is well known that Dickens published his impressions of his visit in "American Notes," and embodied them also in the novel "Martin Chuzzlewit." His reflections on Yankee manners were not very complimentary, and what was to be found of etiquette in rather common boarding houses was unfairly made to imply the general amenities of social intercourse in New York. Yet in his "Notes" Dickens had said of New York: "The tone of the best society in the city is like that of Boston: here and there it may be with a greater infusion of the mercantile spirit, but generally polished and refined, and always most hospitable." It sounds like the accounts of travelers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: New York hospitality conspicuous from beginning to end.

In the place of the houses swept away by the fire of 1835, other and greater rose within a brief period, but none could exceed the glory of the Merchants' Exchange. Its rebuilding was begun in 1836, but it proceeded very slowly, and was not finished till late in 1842. Wherever a wooden structure had stood in the way of the fire, one of brick or stone now went up. In other sections of the city rose noble edifices. Washington Hall occupied the block from Chambers to Reade on Broadway, where Stewart's wholesale store stood later. On almost the next block, opposite the Hospital, stood Masonic Hall, considered handsomest next to Merchants' Exchange. The University Building, further out, was a noble specimen of architecture. Washington Square, in front of it, was used as a parade ground for the militia. Union Square was laid out, and Gramercy Park was finished in 1840. St. John's Park and the Battery also furnished breathing places for the people. Omnibuses ran through the populated parts of the city; stages started from the City Hall Park, on east or west sides, for Harlem, Greenwich, Bloomingdale. Horse cars began to run in 1831, the first carrying the Mayor and Common Council. The earliest line ran from Prince Street to Fourteenth. In 1837 the tunnel through Murray Hill, on Fourth Avenue, between Thirty-fourth and Forty-second streets, was completed, and the newspapers and citizens congratulated themselves that they had the most wonderful achievement of engineering skill right in their own great city. A sentence in the *Mirror* of that day reminds us of the experience on emerging from the West Shore Railroad tunnel near Haverstraw: "We know of nothing in any city of the Union to compare with the magnificent view that opens upon you when emerging from the upper end of the artificial ravine that has been cloven down through the solid rocks of Mount Prospect"—i.e., Murray Hill. In 1832 Harlem was gratified in having one of its streets paved and sidewalks flagged. This favored street was One Hundred and

Twenty-ninth Street, the pavement extending from Third to Eighth avenues. For the rest, the furthest uptown streets paved were Clinton Place (Eighth Street), on the west side, and St. Mark's Place, on the east.

CHAPTER XII.

INCREASING THE FACILITIES OF COMMUNICATION.

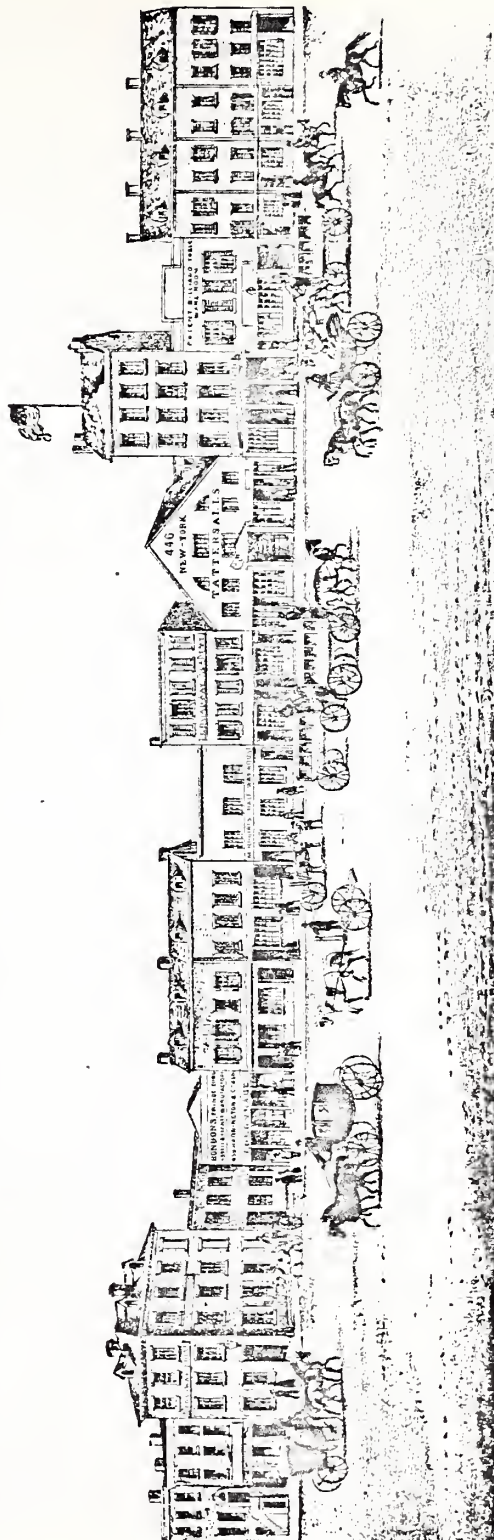


F to Irving we owe a tutelary genius or patron saint whose name and figure instantly call up a personification expressive of our city—viz., "Father Knickerbocker,"—so to his happy and kindly vein of humor we are indebted for another term that serves the purposes of good-natured badinage. One of the papers composing "*Salmagundi*," published conjointly by Irving and Paulding, intended to "correct the town and castigate the age," was entitled "*Chronicles of the Renowned and Ancient City of Gotham*." The "three wise men of Gotham" had already been immortalized by Mother Goose, and was a particularly piquant phrase because the denizens of that north-country parish in England were rather more naively simple in their mental make-up than those of most other parishes. It suited the humor of the two friends to fix upon the New York of their day this familiar and expressive title of Gotham, and it has clung to our city ever since.

If Gotham could afford to laugh at a joke against itself in 1807, it had still more reason to take humorously any reflections upon its shortcomings or failings when it had become assured in its position as by far and away the chief city of the Union. Its natural advantages of situation, immensely assisted by the invention of the steamboat and the enterprise that had pierced the interior with canals as the highways of commerce, had compelled this gratifying result. Beyond even the promise that was furnished by such favorable conditions was the advance of the city to greatness in size and pre-eminence in station, when there were added to these then so wonderful facilities of communication those marvelous annihilators of time and space, the telegraph and railroad. The era of their application to the practical business of life we have now reached, although to an earlier period may belong their invention and exhibition as experiments merely.

It is difficult to transport ourselves back to a generation that knew not the steamboat or the railroad or the telegraph. Yet our fathers or grandfathers were of that generation. These persons, in their youth, or even maturer years, were, so far as concerns the mechanical, industrial, and scientific progress of the world, actually nearer to a date even centuries before their birth than they were to our day. They then had to travel the sea by ships under sail, depending upon fitful winds; or the land by the lumbering stage, or private carriage, or on

horseback; just as men did at the beginning of the eighteenth, or sixteenth, or indeed the first century. How great an alteration has been realized during the short period of these later decades of the present century, in the very face of the world, in the intercourse of nations, in the conduct of business, in the comforts of existence, in consequence of the habits of living produced by these modern means of locomotion and communication, to speak of nothing else; and how vast is the distance, in these respects, between our grandfathers and fathers and ourselves! To quote from one of Prof. Fiske's philosophical works: "We scarcely need to be reminded that all the advances made in locomotion, from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of Andrew Jackson, were as nothing compared to the change that has been wrought within a few years by the introduction of railroads. In these times when Puck has fulfilled his boast and put a girdle about the earth in forty minutes, we are not yet, perhaps, in danger of forgetting that a century has not elapsed since he who caught the lightning upon his kite was laid in the grave. Yet the lesson of these facts, as well as of the grandmother's spinning wheel that stands by the parlor fireside, is well to bear in mind. The



BROADWAY IN 1840.

change therein exemplified since Penelope plied her distaff, is far less than that which has occurred within the memory of living men." And he also calls attention to the circumstance that by means of the railroad and telegraph, this great Republic, stretching from ocean to ocean, and from Canada to Mexico and its Gulf, has been rendered as compact for purposes of intercommunication, and therefore also of management and control, as the tiny Republic of Switzerland or the smallest monarchy of Europe. We might have fallen to pieces from the overburdening greatness of our territorial extent had not the telegraph and railroad appeared, just as we were most expanding, to keep all our extremities well in hand.

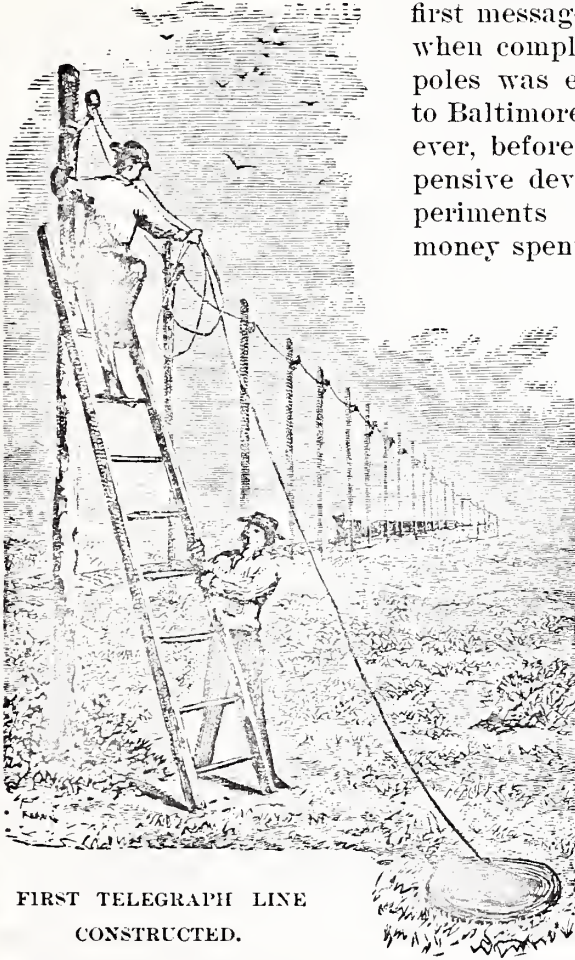
Samuel F. B. Morse, a native of Massachusetts, came to live in New York City in 1815, just after the close of the war. He was a young artist, only twenty-four years of age, an enthusiast in his profession, so that he was not only content to put his ideals on canvas, but he was bound to educate a public and encourage other artists in their work. He thus became the founder of the National Academy of Design, and its President. As we learned in the previous chapter, in 1829 he went to Europe in the pursuit of his art. Curiously enough, like that other great inventor, Fulton, he was not only an artist, but an enthusiast in science, and thus he came to tread a path similar to that of his predecessor. As Fulton lived till 1817, it is possible that the two men, of the same profession, and with similar tastes apart from their profession, became well acquainted. It is not known whether Morse interested himself in any of the scientific investigations or discoveries of the day while in Europe. In 1832 he returned to America, and during the trip across the ocean met a gentleman who had seen much of the recent experiments conducted in Paris with the electro-magnet. He described its operations to Morse, who inquired as to the length of time it took for electricity to pass from one point to another. The gentleman replied that no matter how long the wires along which the electric fluid was obliged to pass, the transmission seemed to be instantaneous, as we now know it must be, traveling as it does with the rapidity of light. These two circumstances: the immense rapidity of electricity, making its effects at distant points practically instantaneous, and the fact that instantly upon its introduction into a coil of wire wound around an iron bar it would produce magnetic attraction, and instantly upon its cessation the attracted objects would be released, led the inventive mind of Morse to the construction of the electric telegraph. On his return to New York, he at once began experimenting in his studio. As we look at the instrument and devices involved, it does not seem as if many years should have been necessary to perfect his scheme. But it is with such matters always as with Columbus and his problem of making the egg stand on end. After it has been accomplished it is very easy to go and repeat it: the simpler the device the longer it takes to hit upon it; and then the

thing comes at last by a happy inspiration after all, that seems born of the instant, but really has all the previous thinking back of it, and would not have been seen to be so happy otherwise. The brush and the palette received but little attention from our artist now, and the purse grew correspondingly slim. But he was possessed by one idea, and he pursued it to the end, though grim poverty looked in at the window, and the wolf was often very near the door. In 1835, after three weary years, Morse had perfected his instrument; had conceived his alphabetical system of dots and dashes; decided upon the means of producing the electricity, and of conveying it from place to place. He was now ready to exhibit its operation to those most likely to appreciate and understand his labors. Even yet many things remained to be corrected, and it was two years longer before he ventured upon a public exhibition. The process and mechanism were so simple that every one in the audience could readily be made to comprehend their working. Taking advantage of the effect of electricity upon iron in making it magnetic, one end of a lever was placed over the electromagnet, at the other end of which was a pencil moving against a strip of paper. When the electricity passed into the coil of wire around the iron, the little lever was drawn down at one end and up at the other against the paper. The paper was made to move at a uniform rate by clockwork. Did the electricity pass into the magnet for one instant, only a dot was made on the paper: was it held there longer, a line or dash was the result, according to the length of time occupied. These dots and lines and dashes constituted a system of letters. By means of a little key with a spring, the electricity could be made to pass into the coil, or released, according as one effected or broke connection with the source of the fluid. As in the case of other inventions, however, ignorance and incredulity long barred the way toward its useful application to the needs of business and intercourse. Not till 1843 could there be secured any legislative action for one of the greatest inventions the world has ever witnessed. Then Mr. Ferris, of New York, offered in Congress the following: "Resolved, That the Committee of Ways and Means be instructed to inquire into the expediency of appropriating \$30,000, to enable Professor Morse to establish a line of telegraph between Washington and Baltimore." The inventor had received permission to fit up his instruments and wires in the Capitol, so that Congress might receive a practical demonstration of the feasibility of his design. It came to a tie vote in the committee, but fortunately Governor Wallace, of Indiana, upon whom the deciding vote would fall, determined to investigate the matter, and asked permission to retire for that purpose. He came back fully satisfied and voted in favor of a report recommending the grant. But on the last day of the session of Congress this bill was still the one hundred and twentieth on the docket. It may be imagined with what an agony of suspense Morse watched the tedious progress through

this heap of petty and uninteresting legislation. He could not endure it, and at a late hour went to his boarding house, not in the least expecting that his bill would be reached, and preparing to wait another long year for the consummation of his hopes. But the next morning he was greeted by a message delivered in person by Miss Ellsworth, the daughter of the Commissioner of Patents, telling him that his bill had been passed. As a reward she was promised that

she should be given the choice of the first message to be sent over the line when completed. A line of wires on poles was erected from Washington to Baltimore. It was some time, however, before this comparatively inexpensive device was fixed on and experiments were made and much money spent on other plans. One of

these was to insert the wires in leaden tubes, insulated by a covering of cotton saturated in shellac, the tubes to be laid under ground. In the month of May, 1844, the line was ready for the first message. Miss Ellsworth was summoned to give her selection, which read, in pious consideration of the providences that had carried the great invention to success, as well in prayerful expectation of the great benefits to be derived from it for humanity: "What



FIRST TELEGRAPH LINE
CONSTRUCTED.

bath God wrought," the original of which is now preserved by the Hartford Historical Society, Connecticut.

Even yet the line between two cities like Washington and Baltimore was only an experiment, without great utility, without special bearing upon the affairs of men. It needed some signal illustration of its marvelous capacity for facilitating communication between distant points. Providence again favored the invention with just such an illustration, one which, so to speak, flashed it at once in the face

of the whole nation. It was the year of a Presidential election, and a nominating convention of the Democratic party was in session at Baltimore. James Polk had been put in nomination for President, and Senator Silas Wright, of New York, for Vice-President. No one thought of sending a dispatch to Wright at Washington to inquire whether he would accept the nomination. But Morse, at the terminus of his telegraph wire in the Supreme Court-room at the Capitol, learned the news from his operators at Baltimore. He at once sent word of it to the Senator. Wright did not desire the honor designed for him, and immediately sent back a dispatch per telegraph declining the nomination. The dispatch was announced to the convention. As the members did not believe that the Senator had been communicated with on the subject and had sent back his declination in so short a time, they appointed a committee to wait on him to ascertain the correctness of the rumor, and incidentally the genuineness of the work of the telegraph. The report of the committee furnished the evidence of the value and practical usefulness of the telegraph, and all the country soon knew the remarkable circumstance. Lines of telegraph now went up everywhere. In 1846 the Washington, Philadelphia and New York line connected our city with the next important commercial center in the Union, and with the capital. Next lines went from New York to Boston, to Albany, and Buffalo. Within seven years fifty different companies were doing business, which seriously hampered instead of facilitating the use of the new invention, for the companies operated in hostile rivalry, and dispatches had to be constantly recopied and retransmitted between distant points. This led to consolidation of companies in various sections, until finally the Western Union comprised all the companies in the United States.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too," had been the watchword of the campaign of 1840, when Harrison had been elected. And the "Tyler too" had received a different meaning from that intended when he occupied the Presidential chair, after Harrison's brief occupancy of a month. The campaign cry in 1844 had been "Polk and Texas," and Polk's election meant war with Mexico for the recognition of the independence of Texas and for its annexation to the United States. The scenes of the war were far away from New York City, but Generals Worth and Wool played a conspicuous part in them, and they were sons of the metropolis, whom the metropolis has since delighted to honor. Yet there were some who had their eyes wide open to the more sinister bearings of the war. They saw the ulterior purpose of the Southern statesmen or politicians, who desired an extension of territory for the spread of slavery, which the statesmen of the North had forever barred against extension northward, even in the great western territories. And it is to the honor of Albert Gallatin, himself of the party that ruled the South, himself an adherent of Jefferson and Jackson, each in their day, and thus a Democrat of the

earliest type, that in his last days he earnestly deprecated the annexation of Texas. He was already eighty-five years old when the war broke out, but he lived till after its close, and till he had seen the marvelous good fortune of the Republic in acquiring California before the discovery of gold, which so powerfully contributed toward establishing a well populated outpost on the shores of the Pacific. As his years grew he still retained his faculties, his vivacity, and his interest in social, literary, scientific, financial, and political matters. One after another contemporary dropped away from his side, and at last, in the early summer of 1849, Mrs. Gallatin died. This proved the finishing blow to a vitality of remarkable vigor. He now failed rapidly. His daughter Frances had married a son of General Ebenezer Stevens, and they lived upon the latter's country-seat at Astoria, L. I., known by the name of Mount Bonaparte. Hither the veteran statesman and financier was taken in the hope that the wholesome air of the vicinity might have a salutary effect upon him. But it was not so much his health as his spirits that were broken, and on Sunday, August 12, 1849, he died in his devoted daughter's arms. There was no public demonstration at his funeral, for the city was then in the midst of the throes of another cholera visitation.

Just before the war with Mexico New York experienced another of those calamities in which she had managed to excel most of the cities of the Union up to that date. In 1845, or in the tenth year after the great fire noticed in the last chapter, the fire-fiend claimed her once more as a victim, having left her since that time comparatively alone, never going beyond the matter of a house or two, or half a block. The fire of 1845 occurred in the summer time, on July 19, and, besides, the Croton water works, put ample supplies of the extinguishing fluid at the disposal of the "fire-laddies," and so far forth the conditions were infinitely more favorable than those of the winter of 1835. But the record of destruction was still a very bad one. This was owing to the origin of the fire. There was a tremendous explosion in a building on New Street, near Wall. In this had been stored a quantity of saltpetre, and it was presumed, and entirely natural, too, to suppose, that this substance had exploded, although afterward there were learned discussions among the scientific denizens of the town, occasioning some irreverent lay merriment, whether saltpetre *would* explode. The explosion, whatever caused it, shook that end of the town so that several houses near the one blown up were shattered, and windows were broken in houses as far away as Greenwich Street. The fire fortunately did not cover any of the ground devastated ten years before, but followed a course closely parallel to it. It burned on either side of New Street, attacking houses on the east side of Broadway and the west side of Broad Street. The other fire had only barely touched some houses on the east side of the latter street. Thus traveling, it went as far as Stone Street, between Whitehall and Broad, which, in

the other fire, had suffered from Broad to William. Altogether three hundred and forty-five houses were destroyed, and from six to ten millions of dollars' worth of property. It was a severe blow, but not so crushing as the former one, and the city had had ten years in which to grow larger and richer. Merchants and insurance companies, indeed, staggered under the blow, and some of them beyond the power of recovery. But pluck and courage soon made the fable of the Phoenix applicable to this burned district as to the other. From Mayor Philip Hone's invaluable diary we get the somewhat thrilling and realistic information that soon building operations were going on at a lively rate where the fire had lately done its work, so soon, indeed, that the builders burned their hands in removing the rubbish to make way for the laying of the new foundations.

We have been forced to repeat the story of a fire; we are also compelled to tell again of another cholera visitation, seventeen years after the former. In 1849 New York once more lay prostrate before the "Angel of Death." But it was not alone in its affliction. The plague struck



GENERAL WORTH.

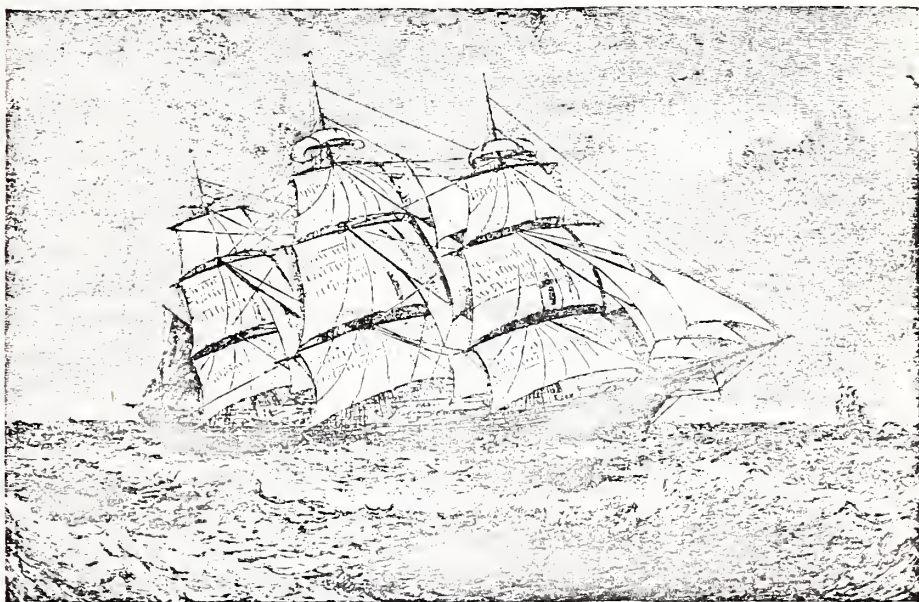
the United States as early as December, 1848, when it broke out in New Orleans, decimating the inhabitants that could not flee the danger. In Boston six hundred died from June to September; but this was not a circumstance compared with the death rate in St. Louis and Cincinnati, each of which cities counted six thousand dead from the disease. Philadelphia, too, was struck with terror by the frightful mortality within its precincts. On May 14 the cholera made its first appearance in New York, and in a spot calculated to invite its readiest execution—the Five Points. During the week ending July 21 more than seven hundred deaths occurred, the mortality that week being the greatest that had ever been experienced in any city in the United States. It will be remembered that the height of the epidemic of 1832 was also reached on July 21. Prompt and efficient measures were taken by the authorities to check the disease, as well as to alleviate the sufferings and promote the recovery of those who were strick-

en with it. On the corner of Monroe (Oak) and Pearl streets, not far from the starting point of the pestilence, a three-story building of ample size was converted into a hospital for cholera patients exclusively. A Sanitary Commission was appointed, with three consulting physicians, who daily published in the papers directions for preventing the spread of the disease, especially insisting upon cleanliness of persons, premises, and streets. Still the scourge spread, claiming hundreds of victims every day. Finally a proposition came from the Board of Health that, as the schools were not occupied during the vacation weeks, they be utilized as hospitals. It was taking an exceedingly great risk to expose these buildings to the infection which might linger in them, and thus introduce germs of the disease into the systems of the children against another summer. The citizens objected strongly, and public meetings were held to protest against the scheme. But in spite of all opposition, the Board of Health carried out the project, one that in the present day our Board would be the farthest from conceiving themselves, or allowing others to entertain. Nineteen hundred patients were accommodated in the school-houses, of which over a thousand died, a much larger proportion than in 1832, when, of over two thousand patients treated in hospital, only about eight hundred and fifty died. So far as the number of deaths could be calculated, at least three thousand died of the plague in New York, but many more may have succumbed of whom no notice was given to the public.

A New York inventor had been the first to send a steamboat to sea; for John Stevens and his son Robert L. were forced by Fulton's priority on New York waters to send their vessels around to the mouth of the Delaware. But their structure was not intended for an ocean steamship. They had, however, already hit upon the device that was to make ocean travel by sea possible to the degree of perfection that now prevails, for they had applied the idea of the screw to propulsion in the water. This was laid aside while machinery of another kind was so much the vogue and doing such good work. R. L. Stevens especially directed his inventive genius to improve the paddle-wheel steamboat, and to him was owing the introduction of the walking-beam, procuring equal results of power with a lower pressure of steam. Just as the era of steamships was opening, there was a last burst of remarkable capacity displayed by the old method of sailing ships. These feats were performed by the famous clipper-ships, whose construction must be placed entirely to the credit of Yankee genius, and many of which were built upon the shipyards of New York. The establishment of several packet-lines between Liverpool and New York at an earlier period has already been noticed; these packets were calculated to accomplish the trip in about four weeks, and as the schedule of sailing advertised was based on that interval, it must have been one that could be depended on pretty regularly un-

der ordinary circumstances. In 1840 clipper-ships began to be built at Baltimore, but New York soon became the center of their construction. These vessels were built for speed as a primary consideration. The travel to Europe, encouraged by the packets, warranted the building of ships that might do less in the way of cargo, and be mainly passenger ships. Hence the lines of the keel were adapted to secure speed in movement through the water, the length being greater in proportion to the width than formerly. The bow was made sharp, and the shape astern was such as to derive as much propulsion as possible from the closing of the waters which the prow had divided. The results were gratifying and astonishing in the extreme. The Samuel Russell, built in 1843 at Brown & Bell's yard (successors of Brown Brothers), foot of East Houston Street, for A. A. Low, the father of President Seth Low, was one of the earliest in the service, and registered 940 tons. Clippers of that size, however, were found to be too small, not merely for carrying of cargo, but on the ground of safety, getting strained too severely in rough weather. Hence about 1850 clippers were made to register from over eleven hundred to more than two thousand tons. The Surprise, owned by A. A. Low & Brother, of nearly two thousand tons, attained a speed that was phenomenal. She made the journey from New York to San Francisco in ninety-six days, and one day covered a distance of 284 miles, a record which some of the slower lines of steamers to Europe to-day hardly ever surpass. Her journey was continued from San Francisco across the Pacific to Canton, where a cargo of tea was shipped for London, the English merchants gladly paying two or three pounds more freight per ton to her than they did to their own ships. Taking a cargo at Liverpool for New York, it was found that the trip had paid her cost, her running expenses, and a profit over and above all this of \$50,000. No wonder that the large importers and their captains made fortunes rapidly. But we are not yet done with the records of speed that these clippers made. The distance between Liverpool and New York was often under favorable circumstances covered in fourteen or fifteen, or at most sixteen, days. An article in *Harper's Magazine* on this subject some years ago gave a number of instances that are almost incredible. One vessel, which had to run into Halifax for some reason, when it was enabled to proceed made up for lost time by running thence to Liverpool in six days. Nay, the clippers could beat the contemporary steamships under favorable circumstances. The Dreadnaught, built in 1853 for Edwin D. Morgan, was a famous clipper. Nothing could catch up with her when the wind was in the right quarter. On the return from her first trip to Liverpool, in 1854, an illustration was offered of her sailing or traveling possibilities, as compared with steamships. The day before the one set for her departure, the Cunard steamer Canada started on her voyage to Boston, a port at least two hundred miles nearer than New York. Yet the Dread-

naught arrived at Sandy Hook a day before the *Canada* reached Boston! No wonder that this pre-eminence in sailing qualities gave a great impetus to the commerce of New York. It made shipbuilding also one of the giant industries of the country. All along the East River shore shipyards stretched, from below and around Corlear's Hook up to 10th Street. And the results attained were not only due to ingenuity displayed in laying out the keels and hulls, for Yankee genius applied itself as well to the sails, and contrived methods of getting the most out of the winds. It was about this time, 1851, that the schooner yacht *America* astonished the Englishmen who had pitted their crack sailers against her in the race for the "Queen's Cup." The course was around the Isle of Wight; at first even in a



CLIPPER-SHIP DREADNAUGHT.

light wind the *America* passed by all her rivals; but when the breeze freshened she left them far behind and crossed the finish line eight miles ahead of her next competitor. It was remarked as a peculiarity that her sails (fore-and-aft, of course, being a schooner) seemed perfectly flat against the wind, with no bagging of any sort. This allowed whatever wind was not necessary for pushing, to slide off the sail, instead of causing a resistance in getting out of the "bag." The "Queen's Cup," which she then carried to America, becoming the "America Cup," has been raced for nine times since, the last unsuccessful attempt to regain it for England having been made in 1895.

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful excellence in construction and sailing qualities, the clipper was bound to be superseded in the long run by the steamship. And during the best days of the clipper

the steamship had already begun its career. Marvelous speed might be attained by a sailing vessel, but adverse winds and waves, and tedious calms, could not be overcome by them, and left them helpless in their beauty and their strength. A power independent of the elements, an element in itself, under the perfect control of man, was certain to commend itself to a progressive age as the better servant, with more reliable results. And finally, not only has this power of steam commended itself for the certainty or steadiness of its operation, but quite as much for the rapidity of movement which it can impart to ships five times and six times the size of the old clippers. These vessels of 10,000 or 12,000 tons burden, steam now drives through the water at the rate of over five hundred miles per day, so that the ocean journey to England requires less time now than did a trip to Albany before Fulton's day.

The honor of first demonstrating the feasibility of navigating the ocean by steam belongs to America, as it properly should. In 1818 was begun upon one of the shipyards of this city the construction of the *Savannah*, of three hundred tons burden, fitted with steam engines as an aid to sailing. In March, 1819, she sailed for Savannah, Georgia, where she was owned. On May 26, she left Savannah direct for Liverpool, accomplishing the trip in twenty-two days. As she passed the signal station near Cork she was reported to be a ship on fire. At Liverpool she created a great sensation, being visited by persons from London connected with the Court. It was suspected by some that her errand was the rescue of Napoleon from St. Helena, and she was closely watched accordingly. From Liverpool the *Savannah* went to Copenhagen, Stockholm, and St. Petersburg, her captain, Stevens Rogers, receiving marked attention from the sovereigns of those countries. Touching at Arendal, Norway, she thence started for home, reaching Savannah in twenty-five days. In 1829 the Dutch nation entered the field of ocean navigation by steam, the *Curacao*, owned in Holland, making regular trips between the home country and her possessions in the West Indies, a still more convincing proof of the feasibility of the new method. But it was eight years more before England entered upon the undertaking which she has carried to such perfection since. The first English steamship distinctly built as such was the *Great Western*, intended for the American service. She sailed from Bristol in April, 1838, but arrived in New York three days after another ship, the *Sirius*, from Liverpool, which was a sailing vessel fitted up as a steamer. On April 23 and 26, 1838, the people of New York were treated to the sight of the arrival of these rare vessels, and soon they were favored with two regular lines of steamers to Liverpool, the Collins and Cunard lines, which were established in 1841. The speed these steamers attained was about two hundred and ten miles per diem, and the regular time made was at most sixteen days. The Collins Line was unfortunate. Two of their steamers

were lost at sea. In 1854 the Arctic was sunk almost instantly in collision with another steamer in a fog off Newfoundland, and nearly every one on board perished, all of Mr. Collins's family included. The profits were not sufficient to counteract these losses, hence in 1858 the line was discontinued. As is well known, the Cunard Line has remained the leading company to this day, her steamers still holding the records for the fastest trips across the Atlantic.

The war with Mexico had resulted in the cession of the province of Northern California and adjoining territory, composing now the States of California and Nevada and the territory of New Mexico. No doubt the ceded provinces were considered of value by the citizens of the Union, for their climate and the products of the soil and vineyard. Suddenly the news came in 1848 that gold had been found in the region acquired by the United States, and a stream of emigration started from the eastern States and from Europe, across the plains and mountains west of Mississippi, or by sea around Cape Horn, filling the Pacific border with a great population. In this excitement, stirring the whole world, New York again found her account and profit. It gave an impulse to the clipper-ship business, and Cornelius Vanderbilt, in addition to his steamers to New Brunswick and the ports on the Sound, started in 1849 a line of steamships sailing to the Isthmus of Panama, thence more quickly reaching the gold fields of California.

It seems absurd that in order to reach California, only three thousand miles across the country, travelers should have regularly gone by means of the clipper-ships around Cape Horn, a distance, perhaps, twenty thousand miles. Nor was the journey much less roundabout when Vanderbilt took them to the Isthmus of Panama to be transferred by rail across that narrow neck, and then taken by steamer again up the coast to their destination. It shows that, until the advent of the railroad, land was a much more serious obstruction to communication than water. With clipper-ships brought to perfection and with steamships just beginning to show their superiority to the best sailing machines, it was yet a long way to the transcontinental railway, doing in a few days what it took the fastest sailer around Cape Horn to do in as many months. It was not until 1854 that the first trunk line had established its communication between New York City and the westernmost extremity of its own State. Probably in consideration of what the Erie Canal had done for the State and the city, this first great railroad was also made to bring the Erie region nearer to our doors, the vast utility of the one naturally suggesting the desirability of the other. As early as 1832, when railroads were still a novelty in England, the project was already conceived to construct a road to Lake Erie, in a general way parallel to the canal, but along the southern tier of counties of the State; and De Witt Clinton, Jr., under the auspices of the Government at Wash-

region, made a preliminary survey. As a result stock was subscribed for, and officers of a corporation were chosen the next year. In 1834 the State became interested in the project, making an appropriation at the instance of Governor Marcy for a complete survey from the Hudson River to Dunkirk, on the shores of Lake Erie, a distance of 183 miles. In 1836 construction of the road was actually begun at various points. In order to remain within the State, and yet get the nearest possible to New York City, the road had to run along the very southern borders of Rockland County. On the Hudson there fortunately was a sudden depression in the line of the Palisades. A pier a mile in length was thrown out along the shallow part of the river, here expanding into Tappan Sea, three miles wide, whence the place has derived the name of Piermont. In 1841 the first section, reaching back forty miles from Piermont to Goshen, was completed and operated. Some financial troubles delayed the work and made changes of hand necessary, but successively section after section was opened: to Port Jervis, in January, 1848; to Binghamton, in December, 1848; to Elmira, October 10, 1849; to Hornellsville, in September, 1850; and at last to its final destination, Dunkirk, completing the gigantic undertaking, on April 22, 1851. At every step accomplished celebrations fittingly occurred, and when the line was completed proper honors were done to the occasion. President Fillmore came from Washington, attended by his Secretary of State, so much greater than himself, Daniel Webster. Two trains conveyed these distinguished guests and a host of others, including the Governor and State functionaries, and representative citizens of New York, all the way from Piermont to Dunkirk. On the morning of May 14, 1851, the start was made, and that night the gayly decorated trains reached Elmira, greeted at many points along the line by booming cannon and the display of flags. A stop was made here overnight for needed rest. The next morning the journey was continued, and Dunkirk reached at six o'clock in the evening. On the next afternoon the



THE "AMERICA" CUP.

return trip was commenced. The road soon vindicated the wisdom of its projection and justified the expense of its construction. Three years later, in September, 1854, the report of business for the preceding twelve-month showed that the road had carried 1,125,123 passengers and 743,250 tons of freight. The earnings amounted that one year to about 16 or 17 per cent. of the total cost. It had in operation 183 locomotives and 2,935 cars.

The next trunk line to be established between New York and the west was the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad. It also aimed to connect the Metropolis with Lake Erie and the Lake region in general, its course being almost exactly parallel, and in many places within a stone's throw of the Erie Canal. It took advantage of the comparatively level country near the borders of Lake Ontario, and of the natural highway to the Hudson afforded by the valley of the Mohawk River. But it was not originally conceived as a trunk-line: it grew to be one by the accretion of several short lines. One section of it, that between Albany and Schenectady, is historic as the first railroad projected and the first in actual operation in America. It was chartered in 1826, and in September, 1831, before the preliminary survey had been made for the Erie Road, it was already running between its two termini. Piecemeal the stretch of country between the upper Hudson and Buffalo was supplied with railroads. There were the Utica & Schenectady; the Syracuse & Utica; the Rochester & Syracuse; the Buffalo & Rochester. But besides this direct extension, or dove-tailing of one road into another, making a continuous line, there were other roads branching off. The Schenectady & Troy branched northwestward. There was the Syracuse & Utica Direct, which indicates that the other was not quite so direct. From Buffalo there first went a road only as far as Lockport; but soon the present "Falls Branch" was laid out by the company, establishing the Rochester, Lockport & Niagara Falls Railroad. There came also to be the Mohawk Valley Railroad, welding together the iron tracks all the way from Rome or Utica to Albany. And while this was being done in the upper and western part of the State, steadily cutting into the freight and passenger traffic of the Erie Canal, projectors had not failed to see the necessity of connecting New York with that upper system, nor the opportunity afforded for easy construction by the east bank of the Hudson. Hence in 1846 the Hudson River Railroad Company was chartered, and the first trains began to run in 1851, about six months after the Erie had been opened for traffic. The New York Central Railroad, in 1853, combined all the fragmentary railways west of Albany to Buffalo, with its side branches, under one company and management. Then making one more combination in 1869 with the Hudson River road, there was constituted the second trunk line connecting New York with the interior country. Philadelphia, in 1854, was connected by rail with Pittsburg, and many roads were run

ing in New Jersey, connecting New York in a desultory manner with Philadelphia and other points. We noticed that at the fire of 1835 a locomotive rushed to Newark with the news, and drew back a number of much-needed fire engines. When Daniel Webster came on his visit to New York in 1837 he traveled from Philadelphia to Perth Amboy by the Camden & Amboy Railroad, then recently opened for traffic. There steamers met the trains, and conveyed passengers to this city. First these various railways of New Jersey became one corporation, as the United Railroads of New Jersey, and then these were absorbed by the Pennsylvania Railroad, making more perfect and less costly the connection of New York with the middle and southern States, as well as sending an artery of traffic from the great heart of commerce into the middle western States.

Great was the effect upon the business of the country of these wonderfully increased facilities of communication. The telegraph, the steamship, the railroad, brought all the world closer together, and sent the products of the world flying to each other's markets, putting into rapid and augmenting circulation great sums of money. The enterprises themselves called for large investments of capital from which phenomenal returns were expected. Hence the very stimulus to business produced by the progress of the world spread the fever of speculation, with its usual consequences. There was the recovery of business after the war of 1812, and a panic about 1818 or 1819. There was a rush of trade about 1825 and a depression a few years later, subsequent both, if not consequent, upon the development of river steamboats and the opening of the Erie Canal. There was the panic of 1837, and now again in 1857 business was prostrated by a fearful collapse. "Commercial crises are periodic," observes Prof. Jevons. "It would be a very useful thing if we were able to foretell when a bubble or a crisis was coming, but it is evidently impossible to predict such matters with certainty. . . . Nevertheless, it is wonderful how often a great commercial crisis has happened about ten years after the previous one." Whether just due or far past due, the crash came in 1857. In August, the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company suspended payment, its obligations amounting to seven millions of dollars. The shock to public confidence was terrible. There was a sudden run on banks and savings-banks, and suspension was inevitable everywhere. In September, Philadelphia banks led those of all Pennsylvania in cessation of payment. In October, the banks of New York followed suit, but they resumed in December. The excitement on October 13, just before the suspension, was indescribable. At ten o'clock, the hour for opening the banks, there were from thirty to forty thousand people in Wall Street, surging in front of the various institutions, each man eager to get in before the other and draw his money before the stock on hand should be exhausted. Trade was paralyzed all over the country. Factories ceased running, and workmen had no

way of earning wages. Steamers on lakes and rivers were unemployed. Cargoes from abroad were sent back again, and shiploads of emigrants returned, afraid of the prospects in the new country. Proofs accumulated that the unnatural stimulus to business given by the new conditions of traffic and transport had brought on the calamity. "A prodigious weight of insolvency had been carried along for years in the volume of trade. Extravagance of living had already sapped the foundations of commercial success. Mismanagement and fraud had gained footing in public companies to an incredible degree. Hundreds of millions of bonds were issued with little regard to the validity of their basis." The suffering among the poor which ensued in the city, with winter on hand, was alleviated as much as possible



PANIC OF 1857. SCENE IN WALL STREET.

by benevolent provisions on the part of the authorities. Many of the unemployed were given work in the construction of Central Park then under way, and at other public works in charge of the city. Soup-houses were opened in many parts, and food and fuel distributed with a lavish hand. In spite of all efforts, however, it is supposed that many perished from cold and starvation. It was a sad, long, and dreary winter, but with spring confidence again revived and the country made ready for recovery. Over five thousand failures were reported, with liabilities running up toward three hundred millions.

The Five Points have been mentioned more than once in the preceding pages. In the earlier days of a primitive colonial town the ex-

istence of such a blot upon municipal life was impossible. While the city grew but was still diminutive, as compared with the period now reached, the conditions were not yet favorable for the dregs of society to sink to such a depth, although the gravitation was beginning, and "Canvas town" after the fire of 1776, gave a foretaste of the later phenomenon. For such the "Five Points" was; it was so eminent in its horrors of iniquity, of moral as of physical filth, that it had become famous throughout the world, and among the "sights" of America that tourists would not miss, was this abominable region. Dickens cannot finish his first paragraph on New York in his "American Notes" without speaking of it: "There is one quarter, commonly called Five Points, which, in respect of filth and wretchedness, may be safely backed against Seven Dials, or any other part of famed St. Giles's." But London was older and bigger: it is to be deplored that New York had already caught up with it in these evidences of human degradation. The region was not far from the old Collect Pond. Five streets converged here to a point: Mulberry, Baxter, Worth, and two others whose names are not now the same. Indeed the region has been greatly altered and purified, the small blocks of irregular or triangular shape formed by the intersection of the streets having been removed, and the space thus made converted into the present Mulberry Park. It was as much as a person's life was worth to go through this region in the daytime. One was liable to rude encounters of all sorts on the part both of men and women. Dickens visited the spot accompanied by a policeman, and he has left on record his impressions: "Debauchery has made the very houses prematurely old. Nearly every house is a low tavern; lanes and alleys paved with mud knee-deep; underground alleys where they dance and game. All that is loathsome, drooping, and decayed is here." In 1850 efforts began to be made on the part of Christian women to penetrate this black darkness of sin with the light of Christianity; but we defer an account of this good work to a succeeding chapter.

Those who remember to have seen, in the late sixties or early seventies (we will not be too precise lest some of our lady readers might remember it) the bridge that spanned Broadway at the intersection of Fulton Street, will note with interest that this same corner was an intolerably congested one as early as 1852. Here was focused the traffic from Brooklyn per Fulton ferry, and that from Jersey City per Cortlandt Street ferry, meeting the tides of carts and trucks and omnibuses and carriages and pedestrians, hurrying about on business errands that could not wait. It was impossible to cross either Fulton Street or Broadway, and the delays were vexatious both to the vehicles and the foot passengers. So some good and wise alderman in 1852 suggested that a passenger bridge be built at this crowded spot, to be reached by stairs from the sidewalks on Broadway. Mr. Valentine has preserved a lithograph in one of his Manuals (1856) showing

the structure proposed. So far as we can recall the one that was built in later days, the plan was but slightly different. One could skip lightly up one stairs and down the other, if Fulton Street was to be crossed: a broad platform, the full width of Fulton between the curbs, extended across Broadway. It was not a popular institution with the ladies, and doubtless a truck loaded more than usually high, would have to turn back into a side street, not without scintillations of profanity from the driver. So it endured no very great length of time, and has faded almost from the memory even of those who were privileged to utilize the well-meant convenience.

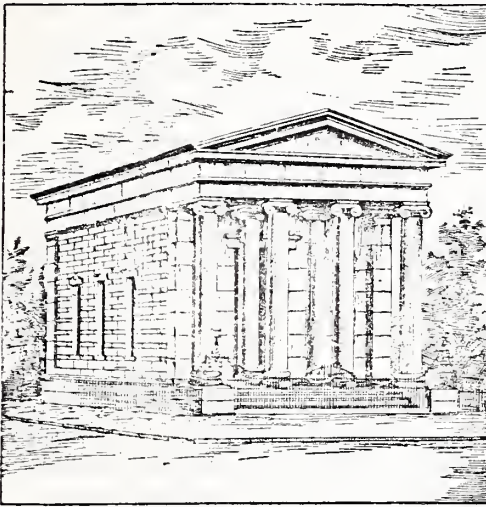
As an indication of the growth of the city we read with interest that in 1849 no less than 1,618 houses were built. The city was getting quite compact as far north as Thirty-fourth Street, yet open spaces were not infrequent in various localities below that. Fifth Avenue had already become the fashionable street, and with dreadful monotony, however severely splendid, arose the interminable rows of brownstone fronts, "all alike outside, and all furnished in the same style within," says one who knows, "heavy furniture, gilding, mirrors, glittering chandeliers. If a man was very rich he had a few feet more frontage, and more gilding, more mirrors, and more chandeliers." Yet once in a while a house would appear out of the ordinary run. On the corner of Thirty-fifth Street and Fifth Avenue the wealthy Dr. Townsend erected a mansion in 1855, which, as the newspapers expressed it, was a specimen of "almost royal splendor." It was thought too fine to be feasted on only by the eyes of the owner and his family; accordingly the ladies of the Five Points Mission asked whether the public could not be permitted to look upon its "royal splendor" at so much per head, the proceeds of the sale of the tickets of admission to go for the benefit of the squalid wretches these ladies were trying to regenerate downtown; truly a curious combination of the extremes of poverty and wealth, and a novel way of helping the poor. That fine house is gone, but a later generation was made to look upon a still more palatial home upon the next corner below, at Thirty-fourth Street, built by A. T. Stewart, and now the quarters of the Manhattan (Democratic) Club. In 1850 street railways had become pretty general, but it is sad to learn that the franchises, even at that early date, were obtained by bribery of the common council. The earliest cars had run only to Fourteenth Street; they needed to go up further now. Yet the resident on Bleecker Street, or about St. John's Park, in 1846, was of the opinion that Fourteenth Street was far uptown. St. John's Park and church were now the center of a fashionable neighborhood. Here resided the families of Alexander Hamilton (Mrs. Hamilton lived until about 1858), General Schuyler, and General Morton. "They owned their houses," says "Felix Oldboy," whose father was pastor of a church nearby, "and had their own keys to the massive gates of the

park, from which all outsiders were rigorously excluded." About 1850 another select neighborhood grew up farther uptown, in the section long known as Chelsea, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues, from Twenty-seventh to Thirtieth Streets. A few vestiges of its faded respectability still reveal themselves to the observant eye.

In 1844 the Wall Street Presbyterian Church could no longer withstand the pressure of business. Its fine building was sold, and the block between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets on Fifth Avenue was purchased, where the "First Presbyterian Church," dangerously near the ruinous downtown limits, still stands. Garden Street Church, after the fire, had become two bands. One party was so wildly foolish as to determine to build away up on Washington Square, corner of Washington Place, opposite the New York University. The conservative element could not fall in with this madness and therefore built on Murray Street. Alas! they themselves had to pass Washington Square and build up on Twenty-first Street and Fifth Avenue, and now the Washington Square and the Twenty-first Street Churches have both been demolished to make room for huge business buildings, while the Twenty-first Street congregation, still clinging to the old name of South Church (so appropriate to that which was first the most northerly, and later the most southerly, church edifice in the city), worship in an Episcopal Church purchased by them and converted to their own usages, on the corner of Thirty-eighth Street and Madison Avenue. No less interesting is it to follow the migrations of the other churches that once resounded with the Dutch language. In 1844 the last service was held in the Middle Dutch Church on Nassau Street. The government had bought the property (or leased it) and altered it just as it was into a postoffice, with a nondescript array of additional buildings. But in 1839 the Collegiate Reformed people had already dedicated a new and magnificent structure on the corner of Lafayette Place and Fourth Street. It was an imitation in solid granite of the Parthenon on the Acropolis at Athens, but by a crazy freak the architect piled on the top of the front pediment a steeple, which made the effect simply preposterous. The officers had the good sense to have it removed after some years, and now the church became a real ornament to the city, and worthy of the study of lovers of Greek architecture. This church, so far away from Nassau Street, became the Middle Church in 1854, when a handsome and graceful marble church in the Gothic style, with a single steeple, was erected on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street. This is still the "Marble Collegiate," only unfortunately, like Dr. Parkhurst's and old Trinity, and others in like case, steeple and church and all are dwarfed by the lofty building (a hotel) that stands by its side. Lafayette Place Church made way for business several years ago, and in 1869 the "North" Church in Fulton Street (now entirely South), after completing a round century, was demolished. It is of course impossible, except in a history specially devoted to churches, to follow all the

migrations of congregations originally downtown. We have indicated enough of them to give an idea of the general trend. The claim of the original historic church to such particular notice, however, cannot be denied. We add that after the Fulton Church was also made to disappear, the complement of three principal edifices usually maintained as a tradition from the past was filled up by the exceedingly elaborate Gothic brownstone edifice on the corner of Forty-eighth Street and Fifth Avenue. The account of the chief architectural ornament in the way of church building, St. Patrick's, on Fiftieth Street, belongs properly to a later period, although the cornerstone was laid in 1858. In 1846 the present splendid structure replaced the church erected in 1790 on the old site of Trinity.

As many as sixteen public schools were scattered throughout the city in 1842. All the buildings of the Public School Society had now



FRENCH CHURCH IN 1834.

been turned over to the Board of Education, and as the population increased the schoolhouses multiplied. Greenwich was fast losing all marks of having been a village or a suburb, yet it was by no means as yet solidly built up. It rejoiced in the old schoolhouse at Hudson and Grove Streets, and there was also one on Greenwich Avenue, the former Greenwich Lane. The latter became the scene of a frightful calamity, the horror of which is not yet forgotten, and which gave

occasion to a wise and salutary law as to the hanging of doors in public buildings. One of the lady teachers had come to attend to her duties on the morning of November 20, 1851, although she had not been well for a few days. About two o'clock in the afternoon, weary with the day's work, she was overcome by a sudden faintness depriving her of the power to speak. Her pupils became very much alarmed, and some of the larger girls in the class, seeing she was about to faint, cried to the others to go and get some water. The cry of "water" was taken up by the children, and this alarmed those of the neighboring classes, who, imagining that it was wanted to extinguish a fire, changed the cry for "water" into one of "fire." This produced an instantaneous panic all through the school. Pupils rushed pell-mell and blind with fright from one room after another in one mad rush toward the stairs. These were arranged

at eight angles around a wide well in the center. Several little ones stumbled ere they reached the bottom and those behind fell over their prostrate forms, piling into a heap by the front door. The door was locked, according to the custom of the day, but even if it had not been, it would have been impossible to open it with that solid mass of juvenile humanity blocked against it on the inside, the doors at that time invariably swinging inward. Meanwhile the children still on the upper floors could not be restrained from crowding down the stairs. The struggling mass pressing against the banisters upon the different flights and upon the landings, soon demolished these frail guards, and as they broke away the children from the first, second, or third stories, and the upper portions of the stairways, kept falling sheer down upon their suffocating companions below. The same cry of fire that had done the mischief within was taken up outside when the shrieking and the struggling was heard, and a fire engine was soon on the spot. This fortunately brought helping hands to the scene of the calamity, and several children, as in their desperation they were jumping to their death from windows, were caught and saved by the firemen and others in the street. Soon after the parents of the children came hurrying to the school frantic with anxiety as to the fate of their little ones. About forty children were taken dead from the building, and a few more died from their injuries later. While some were bruised and mangled by their fall, the most came to their death from suffocation. A law was passed shortly afterward requiring all doors on public buildings to be hung so as to swing outward or both ways.

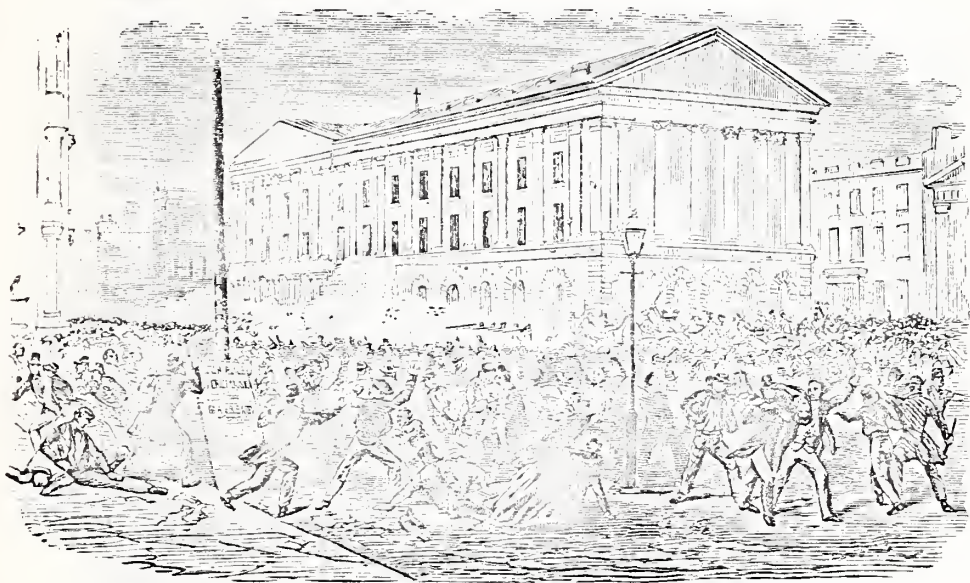
Some account has already been given of the march of fashionable society uptown. Besides those places mentioned, the wealthier citizens were congregating around Washington Square, now converted from a parade ground into a handsome park (after having been a ghastly Potter's field, or pauper burying ground). In Bond Street, Astor Place, Clinton Place (famed only lately by Crawford's novels), houses went up worth tens of thousands, even a hundred thousand dollars. As early as 1842 numerous servants in livery were affected, quite in the European style. Not always the "old families" occupied these sections, or affected such style. They were found rather around St. John's, or in the Chelsea neighborhood. In these showy mansions were apt to be found the "*nouveau riche*," satirized by Dickens in "Martin Chuzzlewit," and by George W. Curtis in the "Potiphar Papers." The aping of Europe was the consequence of the trips across the Atlantic that were made so convenient by the increasing steamships. As Mr. Roosevelt says rather severely, but with truth: "New York possessed a large wealthy class which did not quite know how to get most pleasure from its money. . . . With singular poverty of imagination, they proceeded on the assumption that to enjoy their wealth they must slavishly imitate the superficial features, and

the defects rather than the merits of the life of the wealthy classes of Europe. . . . They put wealth above everything else, and therefore hopelessly vulgarized their lives." In the very midst of this fashionable crowd occurred one of those sensational murders in high life that have occasionally startled New York citizens. On January 30, 1857, Dr. Harvey Burdell, a prominent and wealthy dentist living on Bond street, was found murdered in his room. At the coroner's inquest suspicion fixed upon a Mrs. Cunningham, who had been his housekeeper, or worse, as the guilty person, and she was arrested and subjected to a trial. The matter was complicated by a claim of marriage to Dr. Burdell by this woman, and Rev. Mr. Marvin, of the Reformed Church on Bleecker and Amos (now West Tenth) streets, was brought forward to testify he had married them, but not much more was proved than that the man at the ceremony had personated Dr. Burdell. Accomplices of the woman were also placed under arrest and tried. The case was watched with breathless interest by the whole town. There was evidence enough against Mrs. Cunningham and some other occupants of the house to secure a conviction by the Coroner's Jury and an indictment for murder by the Grand Jury. But the trial resulted in the acquittal of all the accused, and mystery still hangs over the real incidents of the case.

It is like a whiff of the good old days to read of a benevolent and antiquarian Boniface who about this period furnished the citizens of New York with a collection of historical relics, and among them the mutilated remnant of William Pitt's statue, placed at the intersection of Wall Street and William in 1770. On the corner of West Broadway and Franklin Street, west side, where now wholesale grocers rear their great warehouses, but close to the choice residence-quarter of the St. John's Park of those days, there stood what was called by the proprietor, Riley's Fifth Ward Museum Hotel. It was the especial delight of the children of the neighborhood, as "Felix Oldboy" remembers with a relish, who had, like all others, free access to the room where the curiosities were displayed. Here was the club which had brained Captain Cook in the Sandwich Islands; Jackson's pipe; Tecumseh's rifle. But on Franklin Street, just outside the basement door, stood the most interesting, if not the most sightly, relic of all. It was the statue of Pitt, or what was left of it after the British soldiers had vented their spite on it, as representing too staunch a friend of the colonies. It was a little too late for the days of summary beheadings, or doubtless George III. would have enjoyed giving his great minister a taste of it. But the soldiers, in loyal deference to the noble feelings of their master, knocked off the marble head of the statue, and broke off an arm and demoralized the sculptor's effort generally. Mr. Riley found it somewhere and seized upon it in his thirst for relics; so there it stood at least seventy years after the day of its abuse, to remind children of both smaller and larger growth of the

things that happened in New York in the olden times, too apt to be forgotten amid the novel modern conditions that were just starting upon their career. The New York Historical Society since obtained possession of the statue, and secured also some fragments of the leaden George III., complimented in a similar way by the American soldiers.

Theatrical entertainment had kept pace with the progress of the city in wealth, and while Italian opera had been but a brief and doubtful experiment in the previous period, one of the handsomest playhouses in the city at this time was the Italian Opera House on Astor Place, in the building afterward known as Clinton Hall, on the site of the present Mercantile Library. But unfortunately, its name and



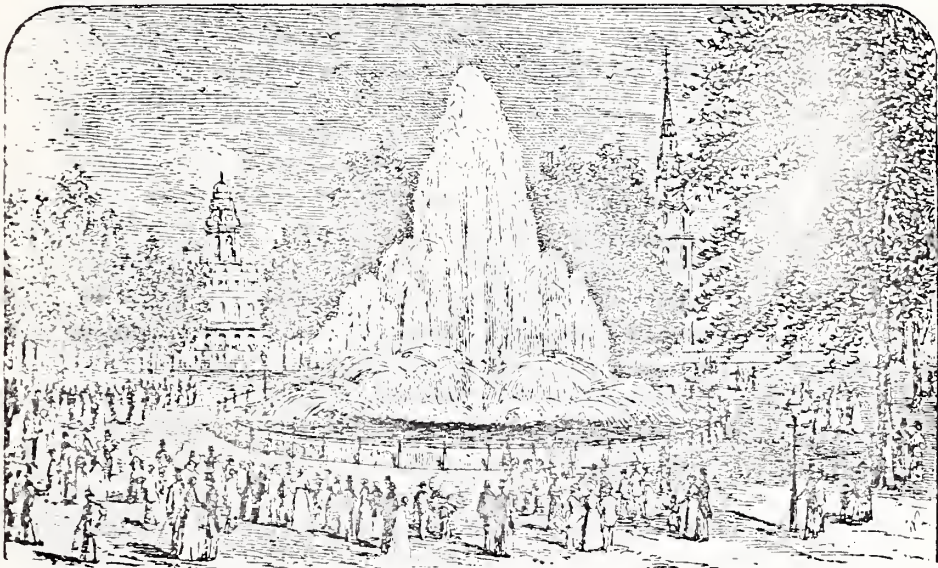
ASTOR PLACE RIOT, 1849.

fame this day rest more upon a great riot which took place in its vicinity, by reason of a play that was going on within it, than on any special histrionic triumphs, although it was by no means without these. Professional jealousies and national antipathies combined to produce this unhappy affair. One of the most celebrated tragedians, the Edwin Booth of his time, was the American actor, Edwin Forrest. Contemporary with him, the finest interpreter of Shakespeare the English stage produced, was W. C. Macready. The latter had been in America, and had met with great success, being received and applauded with great cordiality everywhere. When Mr. Forrest visited England he was received with anything but cordiality, even without an approach to decency, and Macready was responsible for the treatment. In Paris, too, the rivals came into hostile contact. Under

those circumstances, it was a bad move on the part of Macready to attempt to tour America again. During the latter part of 1848 he entered upon a series of engagements in various parts of the country, and in May, 1849, came to New York to finish with a number of nights at the Astor Place Opera House. The New York native American populace, however, determined to punish him for his ungenerous treatment of the American actor, and to prevent his playing in New York. The play upon the boards for the first night was *Macbeth*, and the house was about half filled with the enemies of the actor. His appearance was the signal for a deafening uproar, made up of hisses, groans, insulting remarks, and cries of "Down with the English hog," "Remember how Edwin Forrest was used in London." The actors kept on as best they could, but not a syllable of what they said was heard. Before the final act, therefore, the performance was abandoned. Many gentlemen of the city, headed by Washington Irving himself, felt that the honor of the city was at stake, and begged Macready to appear once more, and they would guarantee his not being molested. He consented, but the invitation and its acceptance were looked upon as a challenge by the mob, and now much more serious consequences followed. On May 10 Macready again appeared; there was, as before, a serious disturbance inside the house, and the police made many arrests. A rumor that the crew of one of the Cunarders was to be on hand to protect the English actor had excited the populace and the Mayor had called out the militia in the afternoon to prevent trouble. This only provoked the populace the more. Crowds collected in the vicinity of the Opera House, exposed on all sides to attack, as it stood at the junction of three streets, Eighth Street, Astor Place, and Lafayette Place. A shower of paving stones was the first notice of their presence. These crashed through window glass and barred shutters and fell among the audience. Now the time for the military to act had come, and a troop of horse rode into the mob from Broadway, scattering them for the moment. But soon they rallied. As usual, there was too great reluctance and hesitation to fire. The first fire of the soldiers was over the heads of the people, which only emboldened them to resistance. A volley of paving stones was the reply, whereby many of the militia were badly hurt. These missiles happened to be on hand in abundance, as one of the streets was being paved. Seeing their mistake, the officers gave the command to "fire low," and soon the desired effect was obtained, the mob quickly dispersing; but as the result of the professional rivalry between the American and English tragedians twenty-two lives had been sacrificed.

A pleasant contrast to this display of national hatred and mob violence was the visit of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian Patriot in 1851. He came to arouse the American people to an interest in his cause, as he had already done in England. He had made himself ob-

noxious to the Austrian government by his agitations in Parliament and in the press, for reforms for his country, demanding self-government for the subject and oppressed realm of Hungary. For this he was imprisoned by the Austrians on a charge of treason, but the indignation awakened thereby was so intense that they were forced to release him. Finally resort was taken to arms, but on the field of battle the Hungarian cause suffered defeat, and Kossuth was compelled to flee the country. He took refuge in Turkey. His extradition was demanded by both Russia and Austria. The Sultan was delivered from a painful dilemma by the United States, who sent a steam frigate to Constantinople to convey Kossuth to this country. A



THE FOUNTAIN IN CITY HALL PARK.

great reception was tendered him on his arrival at New York, on December 6, 1851. Crowds filled all the streets, and functionaries civil and military vied to do him honor. A curious incident is recorded, illustrative of manners and customs of the day. The military companies were in the habit then of assuming gorgeous uniforms, in imitation of those of the most famous regiments of Europe. The City Guard bedecked itself with the glittering accouterments of the English "Coldstream Guards"; and the Light Guards, another fashionable organization, arrayed themselves in the superb regalia adorning the Body Guard of the Austrian Emperor. Now these same Light Guards, just because they were so magnificent, were detailed to escort Kossuth as his close and special attendants. It was the poor man's fortune, therefore, to be met face to face at the very instant of landing upon American soil by the uniform worn by

his most determined foes at home. An eyewitness assures us that "he started back with an involuntary shudder." Besides Kossuth, many distinguished foreigners came about that time to have a habit of visiting New York: Dickens, Marryat, Louis Napoleon, later Emperor, and the ex-King of Spain. Indeed, it led Gulian C. Verplanck to remark in an article in the *Talisman*, speaking of this fact regarding New York: "It is a sort of thoroughfare, a spot where almost every remarkable character is seen once in the course of his life."

Much has already been said concerning the conditions of trade and commerce during this period. The telegraphs and railroads of the country had a most telling effect upon the business of New York, not only in augmenting it, but in modifying the manner of its conduct. It had been the custom of merchants of the interior, located at Pittsburg or Buffalo or Cleveland or St. Louis, to pay a visit to New York once a year and buy up a stock of goods for the year. Now this was no longer necessary. At any moment that a want was felt for a particular line of goods, the telegraph made it known at the source of supplies in a few minutes, and in a day or two, or at most a week, the railroad brought the material to the merchant's door. Further to facilitate these quick demands for particular goods, and because the dealings in them largely increased as the interior country developed, merchants in New York ceased to carry a miscellaneous stock. Different houses limited themselves to special lines. A New York paper of 1855 gloried in the circumstance that "the wealth of the great Northwest was poured into the lap of New York. St. Louis formerly bought goods at New Orleans, now it comes to us. Illinois bought at St. Louis, now it purchases on the Atlantic Coast. Ohio went bodily to Cincinnati for its supplies. Cincinnati itself now seeks them in the metropolis of the Empire State." The panic of 1857 has been described. It was produced by those new methods and this vast augmentation of business, too sudden to be soberly borne, and in its turn brought business back again to a solid basis, making a foundation for another advance. It was of great benefit to finance that the Clearing House was in existence at the time of the panic. It opened its doors for business on Tuesday, October 11, 1853, at 14 Wall Street. The London bankers had established such an institution in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and it was greatly needed in New York. In the Association fifty-two banks were represented at its beginning, and their capital combined amounted to \$46,721,262. It was largely owing to it that the banks of New York were able to resume so shortly after the suspension of October, 1857. If Harriet Martineau, famous for her tales on Political Economy, and therefore an authority, could say, after the fire of 1835, "the commercial credit of New York can stand any shock short of an earthquake like that of Lisbon," surely a compliment even more pointed than this was due to the city in 1857, and with the Clearing House as an addi-

linal rock amid the breakers. The markets of the city had grown to the number of fifteen, among them now those so familiar to us all: Jefferson and Washington and Fulton and Essex and Center and Clinton; but also some of those then in existence are gone, others having taken their places in other localities. In 1846 Howe invented the sewing machine, and a perceptible effect followed upon the clothing and furnishing trade. Like almost every other important invention, of course, there were prior claims. A very well-founded one seems to be established for one Walter Hunt, who in a workshop on Amos (now West 10th) Street, New York, invented, built, and put into successful operation, between the years 1832 and 1834, a machine for sewing, stitching, and seaming cloth. By formal testimony it was shown that in New York alone the machines saved \$75,000 on every \$200,000 paid for sewing labor. The business of manufacturing machine-sewn clothing in this city, as early as 1858, involved the expenditure of \$100,000,000 per annum, the cost of the sewing alone reaching \$20,000,000.

The Democratic party was accustomed to carry the election of the Mayors by aid of the foreign vote, mainly Irish, which, as we noticed in a previous chapter, resulted in the bestowal of many local offices upon persons of that extraction. This state of



ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, FORDHAM.

things produced a reaction, giving new zest to the "Native American" party, and in 1844 that party in the charter election carried their nominee, Mr. James Harper, of the great publishing firm, into the Mayor's chair. He was the son of a farmer at Newtown, L. I., and in 1818 with three brothers beside himself established a printing business in New York. But in 1845 the Democrats were again successful, as those who are in politics for business are always apt to return to the spoils. They elected Mr. William F. Havemeyer. He was of German parentage, but born in New York in 1804. He graduated from Columbia College, and engaged in the sugar business, his father having founded the concern which has since acquired such gigantic proportions. In 1848 he was elected again, and, what is more remarkable, nearly a generation later, in 1872, when he was almost seventy years of age, he was again made Mayor by the suffrages of his fellow citizens. In 1849 an

amendment was made to the City Charter providing that elections for city offices and the national elections should be held on the same day. In 1830 the reverse of this had been effected, but it seems that the separation of the two did not have the desired results, and hence in 1849 the citizens returned to what those of the present day would like to abrogate once more. A change of a more striking nature was the division of the city government into nine great departments: I. the Police Department, under the care of the Mayor, assisted by a bureau, the head of which was called "Chief of Police"; II. the Department of Finance, with a Comptroller, and three subdivisions under a Receiver of Taxes, Collector of City Revenues, and City Chamberlain; III. a Street Department, having a Commissioner of Streets, with two bureaus, under a Collector of Assessments and Superintendent of Wharves; IV. a Department of Repair and Supplies, in four bureaus; V. a Department of Streets and Lamps, with three bureaus, one having superintendence of markets; VI. the Croton Aqueduct Board; VII. a Department of City Inspection; VIII. the Almshouse Department; and IX. the Law Department, its chief known as Corporation Counsel. The heads of these departments were all to be elected by the people and to hold office for three years. The Common Council had power of legislation over all; the charter of 1830 had given also the appointment of the heads of departments to the Council. The charter of 1849 still retained for the people the right to vote on important questions of municipal policy. Between 1849 and 1857 a popular vote was taken on the free school question; on the act establishing the police; on the Croton water question; and also on the establishment of the Free Academy, now the City College.

A change gradually came over the character of city officers. At the beginning of the era now under discussion it could still be said that aldermen, assistant aldermen, delegates to city conventions, and all kinds of municipal officers, were men of note and weight in business or law. By reason of obligations to certain undesirable portions of the community, at first some of the minor offices went into questionable hands. But such men as Lawrence and Havemeyer and Mickle and Morris, were still placed in the Mayor's chair. But we have already seen that street railway franchises in 1850, and later, were obtained by bribes. In 1857, says one chronicler not inclined to harsh views of his fellow men, "bribery was common; political influence often shielded great criminals; the aldermen were no longer reputable," and as if to cap his climax, he observes, "the Mayor was Fernando Wood." A historian accustomed to more forcible language says of the city officials of this period: "Fernando Wood, an unscrupulous and cunning demagogue, whose financial honesty was more than doubtful, skilled in manipulating the baser sort of ward politicians, became the 'boss' of the city, and was finally elected Mayor." This dreadful event occurred in the year 1855, and the man was re-elected,

so that he held the place also in 1856 and 1857, and was put in again in 1860 and 1861. It was probably on account of the composition of the municipal government that New York lost so much of its "home rule" by the charter of 1857. Some writers lament the loss of the city's independence, since not even in the matter of an amendment to the charter, or a new charter, the people now have a voice. Even Prof. Fiske grows indignant over the dependence of our city upon the arbitrary will of a state legislature as established in 1857. "A man fresh from his farm on the edge of the Adirondacks," he argues, "knows nothing about the problems pertaining to electric wires in Broadway, or to rapid transit between Harlem and the Battery." But then his bucolic freshness might act as a brake upon certain proceedings likely to come from Fernando Wood and his confrères. In reply to this, however, Fiske pointedly urges that "it did not prevent the shameful rule of the Tweed Ring."

Mr. Wood distinguished his reign in 1857 by organizing a riot, an affair which other Mayors usually sought to suppress at the risk of their lives, and hardly ever without receiving personal injury. In 1844 the legislature passed the Municipal Police Act; but as the Common Council did not harmonize in politics with the State body, the act was not seconded by the necessary city ordinance until 1845. Then was begun the regular uniformed police. The riots of 1834 and 1837 had proved how inadequate were the previous constabulary arrangements, even with such an efficient chief as the notable and redoubtable High Constable, Jacob Hays. He was appointed when Edward Livingston was Mayor of the city, or about 1802, and up to his death, at the age of seventy-eight, he was reappointed by every successive Mayor. He grew to be a feature of the city itself; if any place was given to the town in story or essay or book of travel, Constable Hays was sure to figure in the pages. In a street brawl his great physical strength made him a terror, and by his shrewdness and intelligence he supplied a whole Detective Bureau in one. No miscreant could escape him; and he did not know the name of fear. He could deal with a mob as well as any one man can, and yet he was universally liked by the populace. He was himself, or his parents before him, converted from the Jewish faith, and having married a Baptist lady from New Brunswick, N. J., he connected himself with that denomination. But with the uniformed municipal police, the High Constable's occupation was gone. This new body now undertook to guard the city's peace, under the partial control of the Mayor, and in 1857 "the Mayor was Fernando Wood." Perhaps for that reason the Legislature in the Spring of that year created another kind of police, called the Metropolitan, and gave its management into the hands of five commissioners, appointed by the Governor and Senate. To this arrangement Fernando Wood would not submit. He defied the new Commissioners, claiming that the law was unconstitutional. He col-

lected his own "Municipals" around him, and prepared for war. A Commissioner appointed by the Governor was forcibly ejected from the City Hall. The latter, obtaining two warrants for the arrest of the Mayor, came back with fifty "Metropolitans." There was a pitched battle between the "Municipals" and the "Metropolitans" (something like twiddle-dees and twiddle-dums), and many men were badly wounded, so that the City Hall actually ran with blood, a thing to make a law-abiding citizen shiver. At the very moment when the battle was fiercest, the gallant Seventh Regiment was marching by on its way to take the boat for Boston. General Sandford, the hero of the Astor Place riots, being informed of the situation, turned the Regiment at once into the Park, and proved himself quite as capable of dealing with a riotous Mayor as with a riotous populace, for Mr.



HIGH CONSTABLE JACOB HAYS.

Wood, alarmed at the turn matters might take, agreed to allow the warrants to be served on him. The victorious Seventh went on to Boston, not having been delayed long enough to miss the boat; but nine other regiments were placed under arms to overawe Mayor Wood's respectable adherents and partisans. The Court of Appeals deciding that the new law was constitutional, dismissed the Mayor's plea, and the Metropolitan Police took the place of the other force.

In 1840 the population of New York was 312,700; in 1850 it had increased to 515,547; and in 1855 it was about 630,000. While the city extended in a manner as far as 34th Street, the habitations were greatly scattered; yet in 1855 the population above 40th Street was estimated at 58,000. In 1849 the city had eighteen wards; there were nineteen in 1851, and twenty in 1852. In 1857 tenement-houses were in use, and produced already their evil results, but the lower-middle class was not yet housed in its apartment-houses or "flats." These came down to our age from Rome in the days of the Empire, being revived in Edinburgh and Paris, and thence brought over to New York somewhere near the seventies. The emigration from Europe between 1847 and 1858 ran up to 2,486,463 persons. Of these Ireland contributed 1,027,002, and Germany 913,370. In one year, 1854, alone, 318,438 persons arrived at our port from abroad. This vast influx of humanity, however deleterious in some of the elements, contributed to make the Metropolis of the Empire State an imperial city herself. Its population was only one of the measures

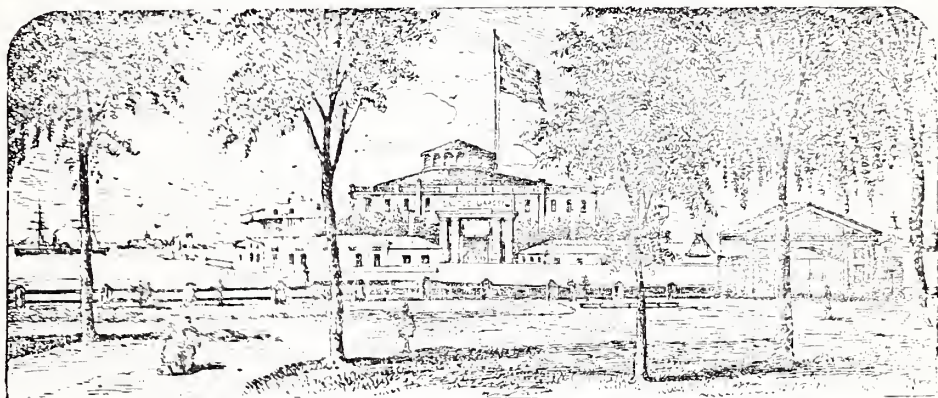
of its vastness. There were great suburbs on all sides of her: Brooklyn and Williamsburg nobly flanked her on the east, consolidated now into one city, and constituting soon the third city in the Union, a rank it held until Chicago began to annex the upper part of Illinois. Likewise Jersey City and Hoboken and even Newark were growing to great size as suburbs of New York, owing existence to her, nourished by her commerce, giving residence to her men of business. It was in reality but one great city that clustered about the mouths of the Hudson and East Rivers.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CITY'S HIGHER LIFE.



FTER a brief account of the public events that fill up the few years between the period last treated and the beginning of the Civil War, it will be a pleasant diversion to devote our thought to a consideration of our city's higher life—*i.e.*, its interest in education, art, science; the æsthetic life of the people; the advancement of the nobler instincts of the individual; the ministration to chaste and elevating pleasures; the writing of books and the



THE BATTERY AND CASTLE GARDEN IN 1850.

reading of books. Of this higher life, amid all the intensities of her business and all the magnificence of her commerce—sometimes perhaps too exclusively emphasized—there are happily many evidences.

As already intimated, the recovery from the panic of 1857 was very rapid, owing to the solid financial backbone, preserved to a great degree by the Clearing House system. In two months' time the banks were resuming payments, and at once confidence was restored. As a Frenchman told a merchant with whom he had invested a few thousand dollars: "Suppose you no got de money, den I vant him ver much. Suppose you got him, den I no vant him at all. *Vous comprenez, eh?*" Since the people were assured the banks had their money, they did not care to trouble the banks about it, and it was left

for them to circulate it again among the channels of trade and industry. Somehow the drygoods trade showed the evidences of the late trouble longer than any other business. At least quantities of goods were being offered for sale at wonderfully reduced prices all through the winter. It must have been some prudent people who had cash enough left to buy at ruinously low prices when the crash came, who now were enjoying a big profit out of the cheap prices they could still offer. The unemployed, too, were much in evidence around the region of Tompkins Square. But as one chronicler shrewdly observes, they could not have been greatly in want of bread, for once when a baker went by during one of the open air meetings, he was rudely knocked about and his loaves were kicked and thrown around as if they were footballs instead of necessities of life.

The lively times occasioned by the conflict between Mayor Wood's Municipal and the State's Metropolitan Police, were followed up by that description of citizens and voters who were most closely allied with the Mayor. A number of residents in the Five Points organized themselves into a band or gang, styling themselves by the euphonious and savory epithet of "Dead Rabbits," or the "Roach Guard." Not to be outdone, either in name or organization, dwellers in and about the Bowery formed the "Atlantic Guard," or "Bowery Boys," a title which has perhaps not quite departed yet. The gentlemen composing these gangs frequently had trials of strength and fighting qualities. The evening of the 3d of July, 1857, was deemed an appropriate occasion for warfare, and a battle was fought in Bayard Street, near the Bowery. This only warmed them up to more heroic efforts on the glorious Fourth itself, when another battle royal was fought with stones, sticks, and knives, and men, women, and children, indifferently, were wounded right and left. The "Dead Rabbits" of the Five Points carried the day, and marched in triumph to the City Hall to call upon their friend, the Mayor, on this day devoted to patriotism. They must have liked the looks of things there, for on another occasion, when the courts were sitting, they came and took possession of the building for a whole hour. When their rivals of the Bowery attempted to join them, they were beaten off, one of them within an inch of his life; and then the "Dead Rabbits" revelled in glory amid the precincts of justice, stopping its course by shouts and objurgations. Mayor Wood really had too much of it; his own police had too many friends among the mob to be useful, and so the militia had to be called in again. The Seventh was still visiting Boston and was telegraphed for, and several other regiments were called into action. A regular siege was laid to the stronghold of our Municipal dignity, and not till fire had been opened upon the rioters and a record of six killed and a hundred wounded had attested the seriousness of the disturbance, was peace once more restored. The only good that flowed from the *commotion* was that citizens of all political stripes were determined to ac-

cede to the State's bill creating a Metropolitan Police. There was also a reaction against officials like Mayor Wood. A citizens' party was organized, with the Democrat Havemeyer ranged side by side with the indignant opposition leaders. Hence at the charter election in December (which had again been separated from the national election) the citizens' ticket prevailed, and Daniel T. Tiemann was chosen Mayor, defeating Wood, who was the candidate of the "regular" Democrats. The reaction to better government, for a wonder, lasted longer than a year, and Tiemann was elected again in 1859. But then the inevitable "wallowing in the mire" could no longer be postponed, and Fernando Wood ascended the chair again in 1860 and in 1861, giving him a chance to distinguish himself once more when the crisis of war came on.

There were more than flutterings in the air here as the tempest of civil strife was coming on, although New York was quite on the edge of the cyclone that was whirling around the capital. When news came to this city of the execrable conduct of the cowardly Southern brute who beat Senator Sumner into insensibility, the excitement was intense. An indignation meeting was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, one of the largest audience-rooms in the city, and resolutions passed expressive of New York's opinion of Southern "honor" as thus exemplified. It gave the city and the country a taste of the temper of the South. It illustrated what little confidence they had in their own position on the slavery question, when in this way they replied to arguments showing the injustice of foisting the "institution" upon an unwilling State. When men can no longer meet reason with reason, they resort to brute force to maintain their side and hide its weakness. Freedom of speech was but a small affair to those by whom freedom of person was systematically denied to so many. "The crime against Kansas," so far as attempted or perpetrated, was deplored and deprecated by our citizens, yet it was not thought in New York that such a serious result as war for the existence of the Union would follow. Kansas was far off, things were apt to be somewhat turbulent in border States, the threats of the South were considered to defeat themselves by their very extravagance, and affairs were getting into such a fine condition of prosperity again in 1858, that it may have contributed to keep the generality of the citizens, not usually possessed of exceptional foresight, in a sort of fool's paradise.

During the summer of that same year the attention and interest of New York were absorbed in a new enterprise, another annihilation of time and space, intended to make Europe our very next-door neighbor, within a few minutes' speaking distance. The project of laying a cable across the Atlantic Ocean had engaged the thought and labor and means of many public-spirited men. Cables had been laid across narrow seas and gulfs in various parts of the world, and had worked successfully; but it took Yankee genius and pluck to make so exten-

sive an application of it as was involved in bridging a distance of three thousand miles. It may well serve to excite a pardonable pride in our own city, that the main movers in the project were Cyrus W. Field and Peter Cooper, both reckoned among her denizens. They interested Englishmen of science and means in the undertaking, and in 1857 the cable was constructed and ready for laying along the bed of the ocean. Two points nearest to each other on either side of the water, and reasonably accessible, were selected. One-half the cable was coiled on board the United States steamship Niagara, the other on board the English steamship Agamemnon. In mid-ocean, on June 26, the two ends were made fast, when the Niagara started for America and the Agamemnon for Ireland. Three times the cable broke and the attempt was abandoned. In August a different plan was attempted. The cable was made fast at Valentia Bay, the Niagara began to pay out, the Agamemnon to take up the work when the first half was laid. The cable broke again on August 11, when over three hundred miles had been paid out. There was no renewal of the attempt that year, but in 1858 the two vessels were again called into service, and the first plan once more put into operation. They met in mid-ocean on July 29, and on August 6 each arrived at its destination, and the shore ends were made fast. Telegraphic communication was attempted and was achieved with perfect success. The fact was announced to the country, and President Buchanan was notified that the Queen would send him a message. The excitement all over the country was tremendous. We are so accus-



JENNY LIND.

tomed to the wonders of our day that we have no feeling left for the surprise, delight, awe, wherewith a former generation first realized that in a few moments they could know what was going on on the other side of the ocean; that merchants might send orders for goods to-day to be ready for shipment on a steamer that might sail to-morrow. In scores of cities throughout the land rejoicings and celebrations honored the happy event, and people sent their congratulations to the Metropolis whose sons had conferred so great a boon on humanity. On August 17 the message of the Queen arrived (rather long in coming), and the President replied, and both seemed to have been transmitted satisfactorily.

Before this Mr. Field had been given a banquet; the choir and organ in Trinity had sung a Te Deum in thanksgiving for the event; the City Hall was made brilliant with fireworks and illuminations, which, however, resulted in ruining its handsome front, setting the roof on fire, cracking its windows, and leaving it in a sorry plight generally. Its fate may have been an anticipation of the mourning that was soon in order for the same cable which had set the city thus jubilating. After the messages of the Queen and President had been exchanged, the citizens supplemented the previous festivities with a general celebration, consisting of a parade with bands and banners and floats and all just like those on previous great occasions already described, and of which each latest was always "the grandest ever seen in New York." Sad to say, however, the hopes of an established communication per telegraph with Europe were doomed to disappointment for a while as yet. In September it was known that the cable was broken again, and messages failed to "transmit." Field, Cooper and the others felt the blow keenly, but it did not crush them. Eight years later, with war overpast and peace again making ready for prosperity, their project was crowned with success. "*Tout vient à point, pour qui peut attendre.*"

A reminder of the Doctor's Riot occurred almost at the same time that New York was in gala attire for the cable celebration. We have not yet forgotten with what dislike the people near Fire Island regarded the purchase of that place as a temporary Quarantine Station to receive the passengers detained upon steamers coming from Hamburg during the cholera visitation of a few years ago. For many years the quarantine had been established upon Staten Island, and its residents had never looked upon it with a friendly eye. It discouraged the purchase of property on the island, being supposed to spread there the diseases which it was meant to keep from the city. Thus the presence of the hospital and other buildings gave great offense. In August, 1858, the people gathered to the number of over a thousand, and despite the remonstrances of the officials, and the interference of the military from the neighboring forts, they attacked the station and burned the buildings to the ground. It was of course not a very intelligent view of the situation which induced such a summary and riotous proceeding, but it was entirely natural. The State at least respected the prejudices of the residents and removed the Quarantine hospitals far out upon an island built upon some shallow ground. The result to Staten Island rather justified the conduct of its people, as thenceforth many persons of wealth bought lands for country-seats and villas, and many came to settle on the island as permanent residents.

The year 1860—let us linger over it as the last year of peace before so sanguinary a war—was made notable by three important events, two of them visits to our shores of distinguished personages, and the

third that of a remarkable specimen of human ingenuity. On June 16, 1860, there landed at Castle Garden an embassy from the Empire of Japan. Since the early part of the seventeenth century Japan had cut herself off (after a brief and not very pleasant experience of intercourse with them) from all communication with the nations of Christendom, and had excluded their representatives from her soil, with the single exception of the Hollanders, whom they permitted to retain a "factory," or mercantile station, at the city of Nagasaki. In 1852 Commodore M. C. Perry, of our navy, had boldly broken in upon this reserve, and in course of time Japan had reopened intercourse with the rest of the world. In 1860 the Japanese Court resolved to place this intercourse upon a specially amicable and advantageous basis with the United States by means of a treaty, and they sent out a delegation or embassy to convey the treaty to our shores. On March 27, 1860, they landed at San Francisco. Thence they went to Washington, and in June they reached New York. They were received at Castle Garden by the Mayor and Corporation, and escorted by regiments of the militia to the Metropolitan Hotel, on Broadway and Prince street. A grand serenade was given them in the evening, and illuminations adorned the hotel and the buildings in the vicinity. Two days later a ball was given in their honor. Every effort was made to give them a favorable impression of the city, whose merchants were eager to take advantage of the treaty to open new channels of trade. The Japanese dignitaries remained until July 1, when they started on their journey to Europe and the other capitals of Christendom.



THE GREAT EASTERN.

While they were still in the city there arrived what was fondly called one of the wonders of the world—or to be precise, the Eighth Wonder—the newspapers of the day diligently setting forth what the other seven wonders were, so that the people might by no means miss the point of the designation. Yet it was no greater wonder than the little Clermont of 1807. The Great Eastern was a monster application of the principle that created the Clermont, it was a stage in the evolution that might be regarded as the mastodontic. Its construction was begun in 1858, and the progress of the work kept before the people by pictures in the *Illustrated London News*, eagerly devoured by young and old in New York. The question was asked again and again, "When will she come?" At last she was known to be on the ocean, and men waited breathlessly for her appearance in the harbor, wondering whether she could get over the bar at Sandy Hook. On

June 28, 1860, she arrived, passed through The Narrows and lay at anchor in the North River, the cynosure of all eyes. Perhaps some not old among us remember her on a later visit, when we were school boys, but a younger generation would naturally like to be told of her dimensions and capacities. She was fitted with paddle wheels and screw both. The wheels were fifty-six feet in diameter, the screw propeller twenty-four feet. The horse-power developed by the screw engines was about six thousand, that of the wheel engines about four thousand. There were five smoke stacks. Of her six masts, the three in the center were ship-rigged; one in front and two at the stern were small and arranged for fore-and-aft sails. The sides of the ship were of iron. Its length was six hundred and eighty feet. It was arranged to carry eight hundred first-class passengers, two thousand of the second class, and one thousand two hundred third class. On June 17 she sailed from Southampton, the highest number of miles run in one day being three hundred and twenty-five; as she went by the long Southern course in order to avoid the ice, she did not make a very quick passage. All the city was on the *qui vive* as she came up the Bay. Having had to wait till high tide at 2 o'clock P.M., to cross the bar, it was about 6 o'clock when she reached her dock. After discharging her passengers and cargo, she made ready to receive visits of inspection, and thousands availed themselves of the opportunity. In order to give people an experience of her sea-going qualities, an ocean excursion was arranged to Cape May. The excursion took place on August 2, but was somewhat of a disappointment, being poorly managed, so that the people complained they had no place to sleep in, and that they were almost starved. The Great Eastern served a good purpose when employed in later days to lay the Atlantic Cable, but on the whole she was not a success, except as a curiosity of the first order. It was too early in the history of steamship construction to make her practically serviceable. The modern ocean greyhounds are approaching her in size, with the greater advantage of attaining twice her speed.

One other visitor came this year. In October, 1860, under the modest title of Baron Renfrew, the eldest son of Queen Victoria passed through the United States, and was welcomed also in New York City. He was only about eighteen or nineteen years old, and his title excused the nation from paying him honors due to a royal personage. But society was wild over the chance of dancing with the Prince of Wales *de facto*, if not in name, and the good feeling toward the excellent woman, his mother, made civic and military honors an appropriate and heartfelt tribute without servility. Trinity Church entered upon the race to do the young Prince honor, with magnificent decorations of the pews set apart for him, and exquisite prayer books specially bound and ornamented for his use, and presented to him. It was an acknowledgment of what Trinity corporation owed to the

magnificence of the Crown of England, from Queen Anne down. After exceptions by the city authorities, a ball was given at the Academy of Music on October 12. Over three thousand persons were present; a floor was laid embracing parquet and stage, one hundred and thirty-five feet long and sixty-eight feet wide. It was pronounced to be the greatest ball that had ever been given in this country. Being the day of the capacious and expansive crinoline, the rustle of the circular garments must have been immense, and "all went merry as a marriage bell."

And then came the rumbling of the distant thunder. Less than a month after this gay assembly in honor of the youthful heir of a throne which he has not yet attained, even now that he is getting old, there passed to the chair of the Chief Executive of this Nation a man much more truly a king among his fellow creatures. In November, 1860, took place the election which made Abraham Lincoln President. New York had seen him and heard his voice. The year before the city had been rudely shaken out of its security and optimism. It learned that all was not well, that a conflict and clash must sooner or later come, when it heard of the raid on Harper's Ferry, a bold, rash, ill-advised step on the part of the enthusiast, John Brown. Yet his bold endurance of death—the carrying to the bitter end of the technical justice in the case and the braving of such an issue—showed the intensity of feeling, the irreconcilableness of the conflict on



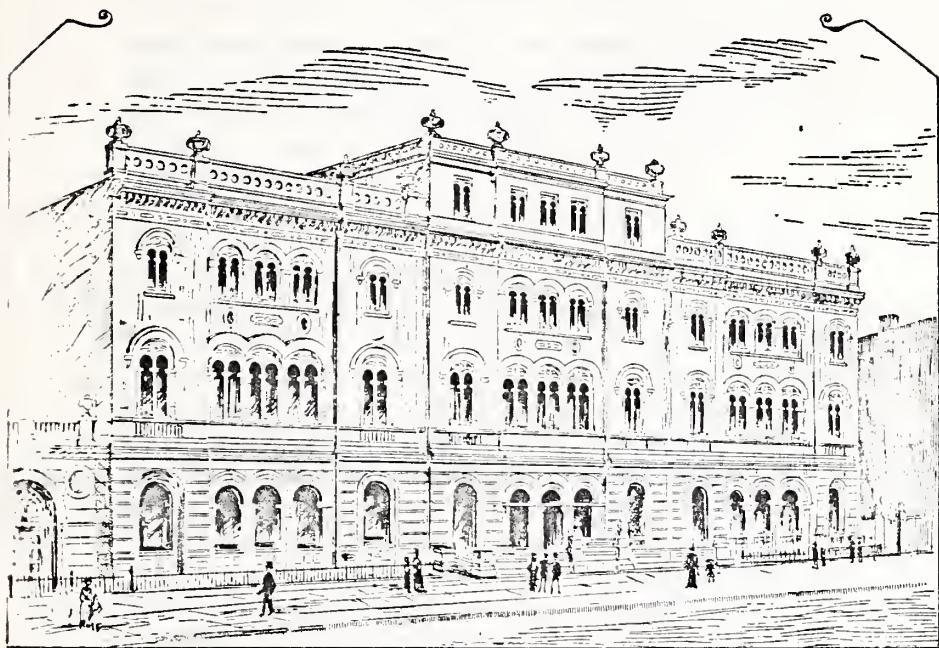
William Cullen Bryant.

the question that must have a settlement soon. On October 18, 1859, the news of this strange episode reached New York. In that same month a few gentlemen, among them William Cullen Bryant, sent an invitation to Abraham Lincoln to speak in New York some time during the winter. Lincoln's fame had gone all through the country as the result of the famous debates with Douglass during the summer of 1858. He was already looming up as the inevitable presidential candidate, but when he came to New York the nomination had not yet been made. On Saturday, February 25, 1860, he arrived in the city. On the next Monday it is recorded that he was found "dressed in a sleek and shining suit of new black, covered with very apparent creases and wrinkles. Of course the great Westerner felt he must be a little

particular as to his outward man in such a fashion center as the Metropolis, and the careful packing had preserved the novelty of his garments in a painfully noticeable manner. When he appeared before the great audience "he felt uneasy in his new clothes and a strange place." Matters were not improved by the rather cool introduction by Bryant as "an eminent citizen of the West, hitherto known to you only by reputation." The friends of the cause in the great city on the sea were a little uncertain as yet regarding this rough Western diamond. But when Lincoln fairly got into his subject, clothes and embarrassment were soon forgotten, and the audience were entranced by a lucid exposition of questions that had agitated and divided the minds of men. These were discussed with a power of argument in support of that which was best in human liberty, combined with an emphasis upon what was most imperative in the duty of federal union, such as they had never experienced before. "The rough fellow from the crude West," says Prof. Morse, "had made a powerful impression upon the cultivated gentlemen of the East." In the convention for nominating presidential candidates, which met on May 16, 1860, the first ballot gave a considerably larger number of votes to one of New York's honored sons, ex-Governor Seward, than to Lincoln. Seward was still in the race at the second ballot, but now only about three votes ahead; while at the third Lincoln had passed him and was within one and one-half votes of the required number, whereupon a transfer of four votes made Lincoln the Republican nominee. In the election in November, 1860, New York State gave him fifty thousand more votes than Stephen A. Douglass, the Democratic candidate. The result of the election meant war, but first it meant disunion. In December, 1860, the first State, South Carolina, stepped out of the compact; others followed month by month and week by week. New York City found its gunshops empty of guns and pistols; they had been shipped South on big orders. Thus was the cloud of war rising upon the horizon of disunion. The business of the commercial capital now awoke to what was coming, and another panic was on hand: credit refused; gold hoarded and kept out of circulation; the banks helpful but cautious. As the year 1860 took its departure, destined to take peace with it for many a year, the city numbered 814,000 souls, a motley multitude not easily manageable, and apt to prove refractory in the crisis of war. But we shrink from the calamities so nearly due, and fondly stop to linger among the proofs the last decade was affording that New York, as a commercial city, with bread-winning and money-getting so prominent in its make-up, yet had many among her citizens who owned it true that "man shall not live by bread alone," and that there is a higher life than that of the workshop or the counting-house.

Yet those who had been most successful in money-getting, whose particular genius had been the amassing of enormous wealth, showed

how that higher life was not ignored by them, and how wealth could be made the minister to better things. The most conspicuous instance of this was the erection of the Astor Library. At his death, in March, 1848, John Jacob Astor was found to have bequeathed \$400,000 for the purpose of establishing a free public library. It was incorporated in January, 1849, Washington Irving and Fitz-Greene Halleck being among the trustees, as well as William B. Astor, the millionaire's son,



THE ASTOR LIBRARY.

and Charles Astor Bristed, his grandson. Mr. Astor had always shown an interest in art and letters. His encouragement of the drama has been noticed. His grandson, Bristed, who was a writer of no mean ability, was a great favorite of his, and he was upon terms of the most familiar friendship with Irving, who lived at his villa near the East River while he was writing "Astoria," the story of Astor's attempt to establish a fur station in Oregon. The ground selected for the library was part of the old Vauxhall Garden property, bought by Astor in 1803, where Lafayette and Astor places had now been laid out. It was built in the style of the royal palace at Florence, but on a very much smaller scale than the structure now upon the spot. In 1858, and again later, by the munificence of William B. Astor, additions were made to the building, more than doubling its size. Early in February, 1854, the Library was opened to the public. In 1864 there were one hundred thousand volumes upon its shelves. The aid this library has afforded to scholars, writers, scientists, students of

art of all kinds, it would be vain to attempt to estimate. Every one has free access to its treasures, and to-day it is hard to mention a book on any topic not found in its collection. No book is allowed to be taken home from the library; but from nine o'clock in the morning to four or five o'clock in the afternoon all facilities for the study of its volumes are given there. Upon recommendation from some person or firm of repute, the privilege of studying in its alcoves is granted to the student, in which case he is permitted to roam all over the building at his pleasure, and collect himself the books he needs upon his table, to be left for as long a period as he needs daily to return to the study in hand. It was here that Captain Mahan spent a considerable portion of his time in 1891 laboring on his celebrated work "Sea Power in History," and many another epoch-making volume has had its learning lived here.

The beginnings of the Society Library in the eighteenth century have already been duly noticed in the proper place. We saw it last established in the first home of its own on the corner of Cedar and Nassau streets in 1795. Thence the pressure of business drove it in 1836, when a building was erected on Broadway at the corner of Leonard Street, to which the books were removed in 1840. But another move was necessary in the decade we have now reached. In 1853 the Broadway building was sold, the books temporarily preserved in the Bible House, and in May, 1856, removed to their present home on University Place, between 12th and 13th streets. To derive the benefits of the institution one must pay a membership fee. Nevertheless it stands a monument to the early appreciation in the community of the value and necessity of encouraging the intellectual life. The happy thought of a few young men in 1754, it goes still farther back and is the memorial of the city's estimate of the value of learning as long ago as 1700, when its nucleus was formed by the books given to the city by the Rev. John Sharpe, which the city gladly accepted and cherished as a library for the people's use.

There was, however, an evidence of a still closer connection between business and books in our commercial town. On November 3, 1820, young clerks and office boys downtown read this notice on a prominent bulletin board: "Notice to Merchants' Clerks and Apprentices. Those young gentlemen who are disposed to form a Mercantile Library and evening reading-room, are desired to attend a meeting for that purpose at the Tontine Coffee House, on Thursday evening next at seven o'clock, when a plan of a Library and Association will be presented for their consideration. The young men of South Street, Front, Water, Pearl, Maiden Lane, and Broadway, are particularly desired to attend." It need cause no surprise that the original of this poster, the beginning of its history, is sacredly preserved at the Mercantile Library to this day. Its constitution gave the management of the library when organized to merchants' clerks, while member-

ship was accorded to all upon the payment of a fee, slightly larger for the general public than for clerks. On February 12, 1821, the library opened its doors at 49 Fulton Street, occupying one room, and possessing just seven hundred volumes, most of them presented. Its growth and migrations are interesting. In 1826 its six thousand books and enlarged membership needed larger quarters, which were furnished in the Harper Brothers' building on Cliff Street. When prosperity seem to justify the erection of a building, a modification of the constitution needed to be made, as men of property had to take the place of merchants' clerks. Accordingly an association of merchants was now organized to purchase and hold the property and building needed. This company took the name of the "Clinton Hall Association." The building erected, Clinton Hall, stood on the corner of Nassau and Beekman streets (where Temple Court is now), facing the old Brick Presbyterian Church. It was dedicated November 2, 1830. With the movement of dwellings and churches before the swelling tide of business, the libraries had to migrate upward also, and in 1854 (five years after the famous riot), the Italian Opera House on Astor Place was bought by the Association, and the name of Clinton Hall transferred to it. In 1890-1891 that historic building was torn down and a magnificent modern edifice reared on the site, the present home of the Library. A very large portion of the collection is devoted to light reading, mainly fiction, as reading must be a recreation



FITZGREENE HALLECK.

rather than a labor for young men weary with the duties of the day. But the library is rich also in works on every other subject, history, theology, science, art. Opportunities for scholarly work are afforded by the reference department, where books are furnished to members to be used in the reading-room, the part of that room set aside for such work being also lined with shelves containing dictionaries and encyclopedias of all kinds. Certain valuable books that are rare or out of print are not allowed to circulate, but can be consulted in the reference-room. Another library in existence at this period had in view the mental improvement of youthful workers. The Mechanics' or Apprentices' Library was established in 1820 by a society which had before secured schooling for the children of deceased mechanics and tradesmen. It opened on Chambers Street, removed to 472 Broadway in 1832, where it remained till after the war, and has since removed to

its present building at 18 East 16th Street. The origin and some of the proceedings of the New York Historical Library have been duly traced. During this period, in the eventful year 1857, fifty-three years after its organization, it took possession of its present home on Second Avenue, corner 11th Street, facing the historic St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery, on the side where the stone tablet recording Stuyvesant's burial is sunk into the foundation wall. It wandered about from place to place before this, occupying rooms in the City Hall till 1809; in the Government House, built for the President on the site of the old fort, until 1815; in various other buildings until 1857. Then the growing wealth of the citizens composing its membership and the gratifying interest in historical subjects that increasingly took possession of the public, enabled the Society to purchase ground in a fashionable quarter and to put up a handsome stone building, as another monument to the city's higher life.

An advance was also made during this period in the system of public education. The schools were already the model of the country and the world; but even yet the city was not satisfied with the advantages of education which its youth were enjoying. In 1847 the Board of Education addressed a memorial to the Legislature asking that the system under their care might be so extended by law as to permit them to establish a free academy or college for the benefit of young persons who had passed through the common schools. The Legislature passed the act in May, 1847, but with the proviso then usual and necessary that a vote of the people of the city be had on the measure. On June 9, 1847, the question was submitted to the citizens with the result that more than nineteen thousand voted for it, and only thirty-four hundred against it. A site was secured on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Lexington Avenue, and a spacious and tasteful building erected upon it. In January, 1849, the Free Academy, as it was then called, was ready to receive scholars. In 1854 the Legislature gave it all the power and privileges of a college, and in 1866 the name was changed to the College of the City of New York. Dr. Horace Webster was president of the Academy or College until 1869, when he was succeeded by the present incumbent, General Alexander S. Webb, a graduate of West Point, who had distinguished himself in the battle of Gettysburg. The conditions of entrance were: Age, fourteen years; residence in the city; at least one year's attendance at one of the public schools of the city, and an entrance examination in all the branches taught in the schools. It thus opened the way for a college education to the poorest children in the city, to such at least as could afford to go through five more years of support by their families without becoming themselves wage-earners to help along the rest.

In the year 1857 began the excellent work of Cooper Institute, affording free lectures on scientific, industrial, and other subjects, and free instruction in evening classes in technical, mechanical, and busi-

ness branches; and in drawing, artistic, architectural, or engineering. Peter Cooper, the prominent merchant and philanthropist, himself beginning life as a poor, uneducated boy, put up the building at a cost of \$600,000, filling up the triangle formed by Third and Fourth Avenues, and Eighth Street, or Astor Place. The Young Men's Christian Association, which, although primarily a religious institution, aims to meet almost the same object by its evening classes and its library, although charging a moderate membership fee, was organized in 1852. Its library also contains some notable and valuable features.

This, too, was the age of the great literary monthlies. Several magazines had made their appearance between 1823 and 1832, but they all died in infancy. The first one to survive that tender period was the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, begun in 1833. It had a blue cover representing old Father Knickerbocker in full colonial toggery, not omitting the ever-present pipe. This magazine held its ground in solitary glory for more than a dozen years, when a rival started up which is still in the most vigorous kind of existence, while *Knickerbocker* is known only to the antiquary. It has been seen that Mayor James Harper began the printing business with three brothers in 1818. In 1847 the enterprising quartet conceived the idea of a monthly literary magazine, and *Harper's Monthly* began its career. At first foreign authors were specially solicited to write for it, and many of Dickens's monumental stories appeared serially first in *Harper's* in this country. Later it became more patriotic in its literary ventures. It undertook early to procure the finest results in wood engraving, and it is largely due to the friendly rivalry between it and later contemporaries that this branch of art has attained such a high degree of perfection. In 1853 the building then occupied by the firm on Franklin Square was destroyed by fire, causing a loss of about a million dollars, while six hundred people were thrown out of employment. But their business had attained such proportions that even this great loss did not cripple them. The very next year they erected a large, absolutely fireproof building on the site, covering half an acre of ground. Here all the work necessary for the production of books is done, and over one thousand hands receive employment. Before the end of the decade *Harper's Weekly* supplied the illustrated news that had hitherto only come from London, and its pictures of the war in Italy in 1859 were particularly appreciated by old and young in the city. Up to



CHARLES F. HOFFMAN.

1844 the *Weekly Mirror* of George P. Morris had furnished a few fair and feeble wood cuts of a primitive style, not in the least to be compared to what now came from the Harpers. In 1853 another famous publishing house started *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, with Charles Briggs, George William Curtis, and Parke Godwin as a formidable trio to compel success. But somehow it failed in 1857, a fine feature of the catastrophe being that G. W. Curtis, by heroically assuming and paying a debt that did not come upon him through his fault, was permitted to repeat in American literary history the noble conduct of Sir Walter Scott. At about the same time with the *Knickerbocker* began the *American Monthly Magazine*, but it ceased in 1858, when its editor committed suicide. In addition to the existence of the periodicals, it was a sign of the higher life of the town that lectures by eminently learned or eloquent speakers were frequent, and were attended by



JAMES K. PAULDING.

crowds that filled and more than filled the audience-rooms. Dr. Hawks, on "The Period of Washington," was considered a great treat. Henry Ward Beecher drew crowded houses to hear his words of wit and wisdom. Emerson's metaphysical and slightly puzzling disquisitions were none too much for the people that thronged the hall of the Historical Society. Edward Everett, most polished of speakers, was a great favorite. There were also readings from authors, that drew select audiences. Dickens was most heartily welcomed as he read his inimitable scenes or characters; so was Mrs. Fanny Kemble and her selections from Shakespeare.

New York possessed a galaxy of authors and poets of her own of whom she might justly be proud, amid all her commercial supremacy; and that they found a congenial home within her precincts, showed that they were appreciated and honored by their fellow-citizens. The lion among them all was of course Washington Irving. He died nearly at the end of this decade in 1859, greatly lamented, because greatly beloved. "No one ever lived a more beautiful life," says Tuckerman, "no one ever left less to regret in life; no one ever carried with him to the grave a more universal affection, respect, and sorrow." At one time Irving lived on the corner of State and Bridge Streets, facing Battery Park and the Bay; later he occupied a comfortable house on the corner of Sixteenth Street and Irving Place.

was named from this circumstance. He was by far the most famous author of the day, excepting Cooper, but Cooper had made himself disliked, while Irving's genial temper never excited any one's hostility. It was with great delight and pride that his townsmen learned of his having been appointed Minister to Spain. James K. Paulding, living at 17 Whitehall Street, at one time partner with him in the "Salmagundi" papers, also received recognition from the administration by being made Secretary of the Navy. In 1850 all of Cooper's sixty-seven works had been published, and some posthumous publications carried the number to seventy-one. In September, 1851, he died at Cooperstown. But he had belonged to New York City all his literary life, beginning with "Precaution," written at Mamaroneck. In New York most of his tales were published, even though some of them had first seen the light in Europe. It was with James Watson Webb, and the editors of the *Tribune* and the *Commercial Advertiser*, that he had his famous libel suits, managing his own cases in court with consummate skill and indomitable pluck, and generally winning them, teaching the freespoken editors to be a little more mindful of saying hard things and assailing irreproachable reputations, however provoking a man might be. For indeed it is difficult even at this distance of time to read without a shiver Cooper's strictures on the crudities and vulgarities of American society. He may have meant well, and no foreign foe could assail American men and manners without drawing down upon himself sledge-hammer blows from the prolific and ready pen of our novelist. But, nevertheless, these books are exasperating reading. Their extravagant denunciation of the merest foibles neutralized the good they might have done. Good humor while just as searching, would have been more edifying. But as Cooper had no humor, the seriousness of his tone made him appear bitterly hostile, when in reality he was only paternally anxious to improve our race. Still he was a man of mark, and his passage across the stage of New York literary life tended to confirm the conviction that America had won for herself a place in the republic of letters. It is but fair that among New York literary men should be found one with a name reminding us of its origin. New Amsterdam had had its poets, Jacob Steendand in the vernacular, and Domine Selvyns both in that and in Latin. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, in all three parts of his cognomen, smacked of the Dutch. He was a writer of elegance and versatility, and none the less active in public affairs. From a Professorship in the Episcopal Seminary, he turned to politics, and became a Member of Congress. He ran once for Mayor on an independent ticket, but the "regulars" got the place. He served till his death at 84 (in 1870) as President of the Board of Emigration. One of the departed periodicals—the *Talisman*, an illustrated annual, was edited and issued by him. He gave particular study to Shakespeare, publishing an edition of his plays in two volumes with prefaces to each

drama, which are freely quoted in Rolfe's recent and valuable edition of Shakespeare in small separate volumes. At one time he lived on Pearl Street, some four or five doors below Hanover Square. Altogether, New York has not often looked upon his like. Among the literary lights of New York may also be noted with especial pride the historian of the United States, George Bancroft. The first volume of his history was published in 1834, and by 1840 the first three had appeared. The solidity and power of these volumes at once gave Mr. Bancroft a commanding position in the land. Honors of a public nature were showered upon him. President Van Buren in 1838 made him Collector of the Port of Boston. Mr. Polk gave him the portfolio of the navy in 1846, and later in the same year made him Minister of the United States to England. On his return in 1849 he made New



GULIAN C. VERPLANCK.

York City his residence, resuming there his work on the History. In 1852 he published Vol. IV; in 1853, Vol. V, and in 1854, Vol. VI. He frequently was asked to give addresses before the New York Historical Society, his most brilliant one being considered that at the celebration of the Society's half century of existence, in 1854, on "The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race." He delivered several commemorative discourses, one on Prescott and one on Irving, upon their death in 1859. He served with Irving and Bryant on the Central Park Commission, and his interest in art was manifested in an able discourse on the "Culture, Support, and

Object of Art in a Republic." in 1852.

The list of poets must begin with Fitz Greene Halleck. He was early identified with New York City, as we know, for we saw him skating in a familiar way with the future King William IV, on the Collect Pond in 1784. But unfortunately one who claims to be his biographer-in-ordinary, is so uncertain of his dates that after making this interesting statement, with the additional flourish of a life-saving episode, he calmly tells us on another page that he first came to New York in 1811. All through his career he resided in New York, his poetic triumphs and his personal attractiveness giving zest to literary life in the metropolis. He may be far from being "the greatest poet the New World has yet produced," but we are grateful that he helped along to give tone to the higher life of the city. Charles Fenno Hoffman was a worthy brother poet. At the Café Français in Warren Street, the two congenial spirits were constant visitors. Many lyrics,

born of the stirring scenes in the war with Mexico, came from his pen; his songs have the melody of music, and his literary sketches strong drawing and rich colors." By birth and education (at Columbia) Hoffman was a New York man through and through. N. P. Willis, although born in Maine, was in New York, publishing with George P. Morris the *New York Mirror*, when he was but twenty-two years old. As some one says of him: "Like Pope he lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." But unlike Pope, he wrote almost as beautifully and faultlessly in his lispsings as at the latest period of his life." With what vividness stand before our eyes, as our schoolreaders of a generation ago took care that they should, his stately scriptural poems, written when he was still at Yale College. He was a master of prose also, and tried many ventures in the newspaper line. A recent writer in a book-review of the day, from personal reminiscences of the poet, places him in a somewhat unexpected light: "It is not strange that those who saw Willis superficially considered him only a dandy and a trifler, for he was a dandy. He belonged to that age and that immediate phase of civilization which cropped out in England after George IV. had made all the men in love with small waists and flowing neck-gear." Much serious work came from him, however, and the galaxy of New York authors cannot afford to lose this "bright particular star." With Willis is always inseparably associated George P. Morris, who wore also one of the high military titles that are now so common and often so meaningless, that of General. He came to New York from Philadelphia, and was one of the few men who reaped a financial harvest from literature in those days, his drama "*Briar Cliff*," based on Revolutionary events, clearing him some thirty-five hundred dollars. This good fortune, as per contrast, makes one think of another brilliant star that shone in the literary sky of New York. Edgar Allan Poe was in the city at various times. He lived here at the time of his beautiful wife's death, in 1847. The little cottage where they loved and suffered from hunger and cold, on the Kingsbridge Road at Fordham, still stands, and it is a sight to make one's heart ache to think that the author of "*The Raven*" was reduced to such a pass as to be compelled to live here; and even here to be without the means of getting the most necessary comforts for his sick wife. The cottage has been bought by the Shakespeare Club, and the danger of its destruction is past, but it will have to be moved out of the way of the demon of improvement which is coming to widen the old road. If misfortune as well as madness is to genius nearly allied, and we needed a Burns or a Chatterton to offset our rather uniformly prosperous and decorous literary lights, poor Poe furnished the requisite exception. Joseph Rodman Drake passed away long before the present decade had arrived, but he belongs to the coterie of authors whom New York may fairly claim as her own. Halleck and Drake were strongly bound together in personal affection, and in literary work; their joint

production were the "Croaker Papers," good-natured criticisms of the ways of the age and society, in verse. Drake died in 1820, only twenty-five years of age, but "The Culprit Fay," and his lines on the nation's flag, have made his name one which neither the city nor the country shall willingly let die. And still does William Cullen Bryant live among us in his name and by his work. "Thanatopsis," the fruit of early years, and, while nobly supplemented, perhaps never surpassed by later productions,—was already published before he came to New York. This was in 1825, and until he died in 1878, fifty-three years later, he was thoroughly identified with the literary and social life of the city. The next year he became identified with the *Evening Post*, so that the mention of one calls up the thought of the other to this day:



JOSEPH R. DRAKE.

and the tone given to the paper by his connection with it still lingers as a tradition, and should help it to retain it as a fact. In many ways affairs of a public nature received the stimulus of his support, by written words or personal activity. It was he who presided at the Lincoln meeting, and at the public gathering in honor of Cooper's memory he began that series of scholarly, eloquent, and popular addresses on deceased literary worthies which would have been sufficient to give him a high rank as an author, apart from the effusions of his muse. What is said of the Cooper address might be repeated of those he delivered on the others: "not only the most eloquent tribute that has

been paid to the dead author, it has also remained, during all these years, the fullest account of the life he lived, and the work he did." City and State have indeed delighted to honor Bryant as one of her own. Nor must we forget in this list of authors drawn to New York if not born and reared there, the many female writers of high repute. Inceretia Maria Davidson, who was of an earlier age, having died in 1825, and her sister Margaret Miller Davidson, who followed her to the grave twelve years later, received appreciative attention and aid from Morse and Irving. Lydia Maria Child came to New York in 1841, the first perhaps of women to become noted as a correspondent of newspapers. Her letters and tales and romances in support of her anti-slavery views were hailed with pleasure by a large circle of readers. Susan and Anna B. Warner found that New York publishers and the New York public were friendly to conscientious literary work, and about this time (1849 and 1853) came to live among such hospitable surroundings. Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland be-

gan an industrious trade at authorship here in 1839 which lasted through all this period; while, last but not least, it must be noted by the loyal denizen of the metropolis that Alice and Phœbe Cary, sweet and tender and plaintive in their song, came to enroll their names upon our list of literary worthies in the years 1850 and 1851 respectively. There might be an "Augustan Age of American literature" studding the sky over Boston with stars of the first magnitude. There Emerson and Longfellow and Holmes and Lowell and Motley and many more, might be doing the work that will never be lost. Yet even Hawthorne depended largely upon New York for the appreciation of his literary labors. The circle of authors here has given quite as pronounced a character to American literature, and produced fruits that time will only mellow and enrich. And indeed one fact can not well be disputed. The two American authors whose books were first read abroad were New York mēn, Irving and Cooper. If this constituted (according to Sydney Smith's famous sneer) a test of literary quality beyond anything else, then we may well agree with Mr. Roosevelt when he says: "New York may fairly claim to have been the birthplace of American literature."

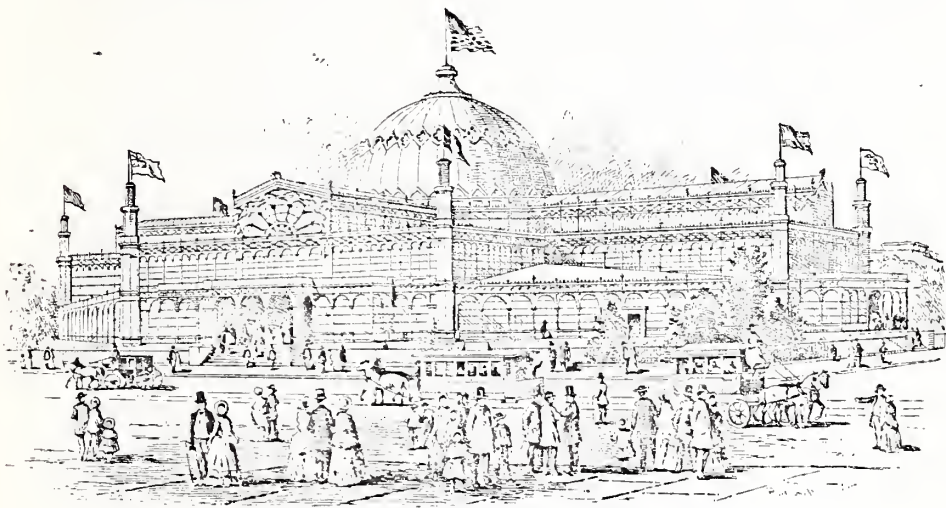


LAURA KEENE.

An amusing anecdote is told by "Felix Oldboy" which illustrates better than anything else, what was the view taken of art by some of New York's best society, before the middle of the century. A young artist had made love, and that with "reciprocity," to a cousin of Charles F. Briggs, one of *Putnam's* editors. "Society was shocked. . . . Society drew the line at artists, and did not recognize them as eligible." The father of the young lady therefore put in his veto upon the affair. "One day as Mr. Briggs entered the house, the entire chorus of its women," the mother and a bevy of sisters, "threw themselves upon him and begged him to remonstrate with Emily and save the family honor. 'The family honor,' said Briggs, 'what has Emily been doing now?' 'Doing,' shrieked the chorus, 'she's going to disgrace us all by marrying an artist!' 'Pooh,' came the quick reply, 'he isn't enough of an artist to make it anything of a disgrace.' When the sibylline utterance of Briggs was carried to the father, he was so amused by it that he withdrew his opposition to the marriage." But we have seen that art as a profession had already organized itself, Samuel F. B. Morse having founded the Na-

tional Academy of Design as early as 1826, remaining its President until 1842, when all his time was needed for developing the telegraph system of the country. We come upon the name of Robert R. Livingston again in a movement for the elevation of his fellow-citizens in this connection. In 1801 while Minister to France he urged in letters, under the inspiration of what he saw in Paris, that a fund be raised for the establishment of a public gallery and an art-school. As a result the New York Academy of Fine Arts was founded in 1802, which obtained a charter in 1808 under the name "American Academy of Fine Arts." The city corporation came forward to show its appreciation of the object in view, and granted the society a lease of ten years without pay, of rooms in the New York Institute on Chambers Street. Some controversy as to management or policy led to a split in the membership, and those who withdrew founded in 1825 the New York Drawing Association, "for art study and social intercourse." Morse had come to the city in 1815, and he was a leader in this separation. The success of the new society led to the founding of the National Academy, as related, in 1826. At first, indeed for a long time, the Academy had no buildings of its own. When Clinton Hall was put up on the corner of Beekman and Nassau Streets in 1830, the exhibitions of the society were held here for nine years. From 1839 to 1849 it leased quarters in the Society Library Building on Broadway and Leonard Street. It was not till 1863 that the cornerstone was laid of the present building on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. While at other exhibitions a permanent collection of the same pictures was presented to sightseers, the Academy, in order to stimulate work among its members, made it a rule to exhibit only pictures never before seen by the public. This whetted also the curiosity of the lay population, and drew it in crowds to its rooms when others were deserted. The "American Art Union" was another organization greatly promotive of art appreciation and art productiveness. It began its successful career in 1840. Its practice was to purchase only American works of art, which were exhibited without charge to the public at their galleries, No. 497 Broadway, and after exhibition went by lot to its members. Among the earliest paintings exhibited at the Art Union were Durand's "Passing of a Summer Shower," and Leutze's "Landing of Columbus." Besides these there were, between 1844 and 1860, at least four or five other galleries in the city, not including that of the Crystal Palace, of which more anon. Among artists themselves there were "Sketch Clubs," of various descriptions, and descending to various associations or clubs of a later day. Cooper Institute embraced among its practical curriculum all branches of drawing, also modeling; and in 1859 there was a class in wood engraving established for women. At the same time a separate organization rented rooms in the building as a School of Design for Women including drawing and painting, as well as wood engraving.

Popular music had already become a very much loved pastime with the citizens of New York. That fine corps of military gentlemen, the Light Guards, who horrified Kossuth with their Austrian uniforms, deserve the credit of having organized the first brass band in the city, and of starting the Dodworths upon their long and delightful career. It was only after 1850 that martial music assumed this melodious and heart-stirring as well as ear-pleasing form. We might call it multi-melodious, as compared with the duet of fife and drum which contented our patriotic soldiers through the Revolution and the "War of '12." After what New York has had since 1850 it is wellnigh impossible to imagine how a fife and drum could put a soul under the ribs of death, like our splendid regimental bands can do it. Architecture had not as yet many specimens to boast of. The Cathedral on Fifth Avenue had its cornerstone laid in 1858, and for many years only a few feet of the walls stood waiting prudently for funds to realize the splen-



CRYSTAL PALACE IN 1853.

did structure that now ornaments the city. The churches at 37th Street, and 29th Street were good to look upon, and if the steeple was taken off before 1860 (perhaps it was) the church on Lafayette Place near the Astor Library furnished a fine reproduction of the Parthenon, or the Madeleine of Paris. The Library itself gave a satisfactory idea of the Florentine style. It is notorious, however, that none of the United States Government buildings were up to the mark. Its Postoffice was the old Nassau Street Church, rising amid a straggling collection of nondescript buildings. The Custom House was taken from the corner of Nassau and Wall to the resuscitated Merchant's Exchange, a heavy, gloomy structure, of no grace and no sunshine. The former Custom House became the Sub-Treasury still in the same spot, and at that time the best of the government buildings in this city.

The climax of interest in art, science, and industry, as felt by the people of New York, was doubtless expressed in the World's Fair held in 1853. England had gone before us under the intelligent guidance of the Prince Consort, in 1851, and the Crystal Palace at Sydenham still remains. New York too had its Crystal Palace, but it was consumed by flames five years after its construction. What had been done in England under the auspices and with the backing of the treasures of the Government, was undertaken here by an association of citizens "for the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations." It constituted a stock company, in which persons from all over the nation shared, and to which the Government also lent substantial aid and encouragement. New York was naturally chosen for the place, and the ground back of the Reservoir, or the entire block on Sixth Avenue between 40th and 42d Streets, running nearly to Fifth Avenue, was granted by the city (now Bryant Park). Here was erected a magnificent structure of glass and iron, somewhat in the shape of a Greek cross, surmounted at its intersection by a splendid dome. The spring of the arch inside the dome was sixty-eight feet above the floor. Each diameter of the cross was three hundred and sixty-five feet long, each arm of the cross one hundred and forty-nine feet broad on the ground plan. The diameter of the dome was one hundred feet, and its exterior height one hundred and twenty-three. The exterior angles were closed up with triangular lean-to's, giving the ground plan an octagonal shape. At each angle of the four façades was a small octagonal tower eight feet in diameter and seventy-five feet high. The building contained on the ground floor 111,000 square feet of space, and in the galleries 62,000 square feet, making a total area of about four acres. But even this vast area was soon seen to be too small to accommodate the exhibitors applying for space, and a large additional building or annex was constructed, occupying the entire distance from the main building to the Reservoir. It was two stories high in the middle, its length four hundred and fifty feet, and its breadth on the ground floor seventy-five. The first story of this annex was devoted to machinery in motion, to cabinets of mining and mineralogy and to restaurant purposes. The second story in its entire length of four hundred and fifty feet and with a width of twenty-one feet, was set apart as a gallery of paintings and statuary.

It was intended to have the building ready and exhibits placed in time to open in May, the regulation month for world's fairs ever since. But not even the glorious Fourth could be utilized for the ceremonies. These fell on July 14, 1853. Franklin Pierce, President of the United States at that time, and the members of his Cabinet, as well as distinguished foreigners, graced the august occasion. Prayer was read by Bishop Wainwright, and the vast assembly sang a choral written for the occasion, and beginning "Here, where all climes their offerings send," to the impressive tune of Old Hundred. After the

proper speeches of presentation and acceptance, the organ pealed forth Handel's Hallelujah Chorus as a fit conclusion to the services. It is gratifying to learn, for the purposes of this chapter, that the Art Exhibition of Pictures and Statuary, drew quite as much attention as any other part of the great fair. There were so many German artists represented by canvases, that it created some surprise. Certainly they must have thought it worth while to send their works to be viewed by a nation supposed to be rather crude and uncultured in point of art. In the department of Sculpture there was a group of colossal figures, by no less an artist than Thorwaldsen, representing Christ and his apostles. It attracted a great crowd of admirers day after day. There were also a copy of the famous "Amazon" in bronze, at Berlin, and a fine equestrian statue of Washington. The veiled statues created a good deal of astonishment at the skill in sculpture displayed. Indeed, while paintings had now been exhibited in abundance in New York for several years, this exhibition of the finest productions of the sculptor's art was something that novelty, aside from intrinsic merit, made all the more piquant. In the Italian department was seen a life-size statue of Columbus, in purest marble, from the hand of Del Medico. France contributed as works of art and



INTERIOR OF CRYSTAL PALACE IN 1853.

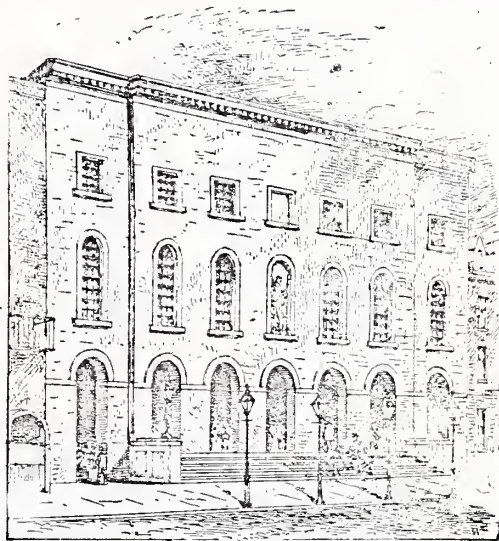
industry combined, the famous Gobelin carpets excelling the Persian fabrics in softness and smoothness of texture, and in strength, while the colors and designs were unsurpassed. The exhibition was kept open the usual number of months, closing in the autumn. But it was decided to preserve the beautiful and striking edifice which had contained it, and to open a permanent exhibition in it. On May 14, 1854, the exercises rededicating the Crystal Palace to this more permanent use, were held, made memorable by a brilliant speech by Elihu Burritt, who said among other things: "Worthy of the grandest circumstances which could be thrown around a human assembly, worthy of

this occasion and a hundred like this, is that beautiful idea—the Coronation of Labor . . . the labor of mankind as one undivided brotherhood,—Labor, as the oldest, the noblest prerogative of duty and humanity.” Only a few years was this Palace of Industry permitted to remain an ornament and an attraction to the city. For on October 5, 1858, it caught fire while the American Institute Fair was in progress, and in half an hour the structure of iron and glass was reduced to a molten mass of ruins. As a final word on the subject of art, and the devotion to it that began to mark New York as a community, it must be mentioned that the colossal equestrian statue of Washington in Union Square, was placed there on July 4, 1856, with appropriate exercises. The orator of the day was the Rev. Dr. George W. Bethune, one of the foremost speakers of the day, and pastor of a Dutch Reformed Church in Brooklyn. As early as 1847 a monument was proposed to Washington at Fourth Avenue and 68th Street, where the Normal College is now, somewhat in the style of a memorial fane, surmounted by a statue; the project got as far as the laying of a cornerstone on October 19, but the monument never materialized. On November 25 (Evacuation Day) 1857, the monument to General Worth opposite Madison Square was unveiled, and his remains conveyed from the City Hall (whither they had been brought from their temporary resting place in Greenwood Cemetery) and deposited in this place with military honors.

The citizens of New York certainly did not suffer from the lack of opportunities for enjoying the histrionic art. In 1837 there were already eight theaters. The familiar name of Wallack's Theater appears in the chronicles of this decade (1852) and it is noted with satisfaction that here, in 1858, the “Vicar of Wakefield,” dramatized, as well as other plays of a high literary character, won much favor from the cultured New York citizens. The Old Park Theater had had its final fire: out of that of 1820 it had arisen like the Phoenix by the ready assistance of John Jacob Astor. In 1848 the firefiend claimed it once more as a victim, without the Phoenix incident, as the movement of churches as well as theaters was uptown, and it was not deemed advisable to open again in Park Row. The year and date were both noticeable: December 16 was the anniversary of the Great Fire of 1835 (the superstitious will be glad to observe this was *thirteen* years later); and 1848 was exactly half a century since the opening of the “Old Park” in 1798. “Brougham's Lyceum,” sometimes called the Broadway Theater on Broadway and Broome Street, opened in 1850; and Wallack's in 1852, soon made up for the loss of the “Park.” The Academy of Music was built on the corner of Fourteenth Street and Irving Place in 1854, designed, as its name indicates, for opera alone, but prose and speech have as often resounded from its boards. Fire claimed the original building as it did the Park twice and the Bowery a half dozen times, and in 1868 the present building was

erected. A theater was built for Laura Keane, on Broadway near Houston, in 1856. Franconi, the King of the Circus, whose latest descendant on that throne died the other day in Paris, opened a "Hippodrome" during the World's Fair, on Madison Square. Barnum's similar use of the spot near by, where Madison Square Garden is now, long gave that name to the block or building after it ceased to be the depot of the Harlem Railroad. When the Fair ended Franconi went back to his more congenial Paris. Barnum, by the way, was at this time upon the site of the St. Paul Building, corner of Ann Street and Broadway, with a museum and a small theater attached.

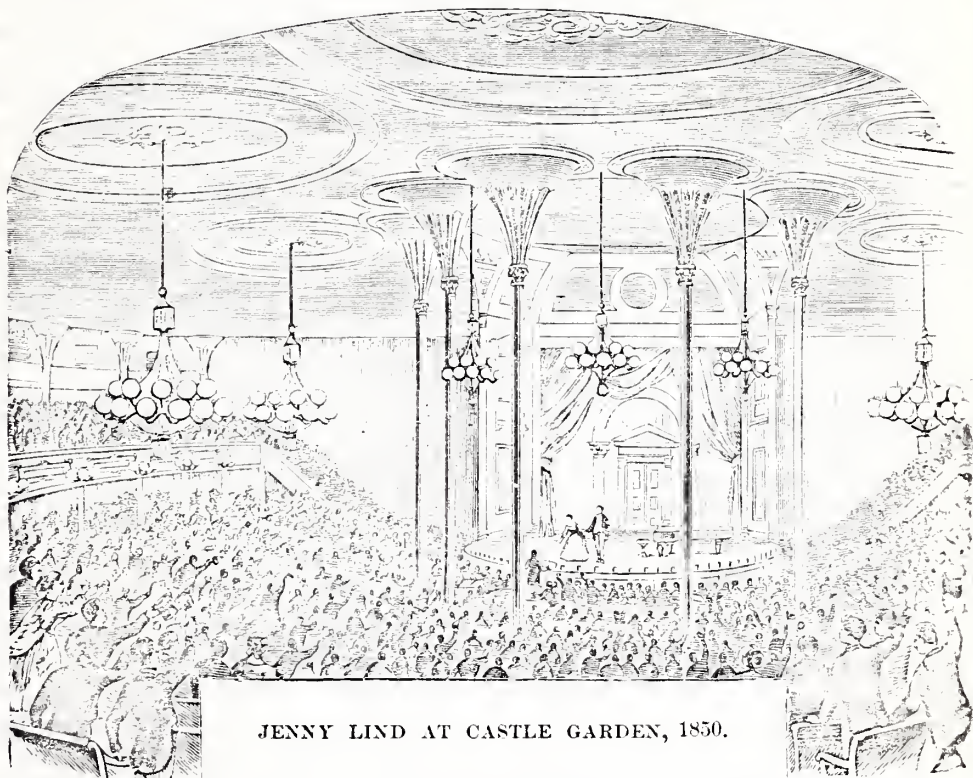
Whether these theaters and places of amusement all contributed their share toward the higher life of New York, promoting a love of pure art and thus keeping the citizens above the level of mere money-getters, may be doubted. But nothing can be more certain than that an uplift to the finer sensibilities and a joy and pride in human art were produced by the visit of Jenny Lind to this city in the year 1850. P. T. Barnum, who had already begun his career as a showman, undertook to introduce the "Swedish Nightingale" to the American public. He made her the most munificent offer through an agent in Europe before he had ever seen or heard her, but there was little risk in the highest terms. There are few singers who have succeeded in exciting such enthusiasm of a personal nature as Jenny Lind; doubtless due to the charm of



PARK THEATRE.

her personal qualities, the sweetness of her disposition, her boundless generosity and charity, and her irresistible modesty, which arrogated nothing but kept her in a perpetual surprise that people should admire her performances so greatly. She arrived per steamer Atlantic, on September 1, 1850. It was as if a queen had come. Thousands of persons filled wharves and shipping and streets in the vicinity. Sloops and steamers out on the river were crowded to the danger line. A bower of evergreens was erected upon the wharf where she was to land, and she was made to pass under two triumphal arches, upon one of which amid flowers and bunting was inscribed the legend "Welcome Jenny Lind," while the other bore one reading "Welcome to America." She was driven to the Irving House, one of the famous hostelries of the day, on the corner of Chambers

Street and Broadway. That night she was serenaded at the Hotel by a band of two hundred musicians, who were escorted to the hotel by three hundred firemen in uniform; it was thought that twenty thousand people were in the throngs filling the streets and the City Hall Park opposite. Visitors of high social and official standing called upon her even before her first appearance upon the stage, and soon everything in the city became "Jenny Lind"—enterprising shopkeepers taking advantage of the popular enthusiasm and dubbing gloves, bonnets, riding hats, shawls, pianos, chairs, sofas, with her magic name. It was at Castle Garden that her concerts were to be



JENNY LIND AT CASTLE GARDEN, 1850.

given. In 1855 this place of entertainment became an emigrant depot, and the associations of most of us connect it with that rather unpromising employment. It is somewhat better now that it has been resolved into an Aquarium. But the old Castle Clinton meant for defense in 1812 had been ceded to the city in 1822, and ever since that date had served as a place for public gatherings, receptions to distinguished guests, balls, plays, and concerts. Here Kossuth was received the next year (1851) and the circular space rang with his passionate appeals. Its name had been changed to Castle Garden, and only associations of pleasure or brilliancy were connected with the name to an earlier generation. It had a seating capacity of five thousand, and

every seat was disposed of long before Jenny Lind's first night, which was set for Wednesday, September 11. On the previous Saturday and Monday, the tickets were sold at auction, and the first ticket brought \$225. The arrangements for handling the immense throngs expected were perfect, so that there was no disturbance or difficulty of any kind. Before she had sung a note, as she came upon the stage, the reception accorded her was beyond description. The entire audience rose to their feet, the men giving her three cheers and the women waving their handkerchiefs. The Swedish Nightingale was more than usually impressed and agitated: she had never faced so vast an audience. But the orchestra quieted her nerves and after a few notes she was quite herself. Her first piece was a selection from "Casta Diva." Although expectation had been raised to an almost inordinate pitch the beautiful singing came quite up to it and went beyond it, and the people were so wild with delight that they actually could not wait for her to finish the first number on the program, but burst into applause and cries of enthusiasm. It was Jenny Lind's practice to devote the proceeds of her first night to charitable objects, and when Barnum, who was called for at the close of the concert, and reluctantly appeared, perhaps because he did not know what else to say, announced this fact, the enthusiasm passed beyond all bounds, and people seemed to be absolutely frantic. Her benefactions to societies and individuals during her tour of America amounted to no less than \$50,000. A scientific description of Jenny Lind's voice calls it "a soprano, embracing a register of two and a half octaves." It was clear and powerful, the strong and passionate passages ringing full and thrilling through the largest auditory, while the soft and subdued notes could be heard at the greatest distance. "No difficulties appalled her; a perfect musician, she suffered herself to revel in all the *roulades* of which the time and occasion admitted." The effect upon the hearer of the combination of all these musical and vocal powers, as well as of her manner and feeling in the rendition, was something to which no language can do justice. To be understood it had to be experienced.

Closely allied to art, and a part and parcel of that feeling for a higher life which possessed New Yorkers, while calculated to promote and perpetuate that feeling in succeeding generations, was the public spirit which set apart a great area of city property, of incalculable value in money now if counted as real estate, for the creation of Central Park. It has been stated that some men proposed the laying out of a park around the fine bit of natural scenery afforded by the Collect Pond, in 1808. But it was deemed impracticable, as too far out of town. In 1856 the project of a park was earnestly advocated, and then the going out of town involved a far greater distance from the City Hall. Gouverneur Morris, with his city on paper laid out to 155th Street, proposed reserving a space of three hundred acres be-

tween 23d and 34th Streets and Third and Eighth Avenues. But nothing came of this scheme except that Madison Square happens to form one small corner of that larger space, containing six acres of ground instead of three hundred. This park would have been transversely laid across the city's progress upward. The space selected finally fell more into line with its length. Jones's Wood, redolent of beer, was next thought of, and a bill actually passed for its appropriation in 1851. This was done as the result of a message urging the project sent by Mayor Kingsland to the Common Council. Commissioners were appointed to consider the proposed site, and also to report upon others that might be desirable. Jones's Wood was finally condemned as too much to one side of the city, and lacking in diversity of surface, and the bill regarding it was repealed. The Commissioners thereupon selected a tract of land extending from 59th Street to 106th Street, and between Fifth and Eighth Avenues. This made a width of about half a mile and a length of over two miles. Their report was adopted by the Corporation, and in July, 1853, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the purchase of the land. There was a State Arsenal at 63d Street and Fifth Avenue, which still remains; this was bought for \$275,000. The value of the remainder was ascertained by a commission of appraisers, and placed at \$5,398,695. It required a great degree of devotion to the higher necessities of her citizens, and to the loftier instincts of human nature, to bring the people of New York to consent to the expenditure of so vast an amount of money for a mere pleasure ground. No wonder that bitter opposition met the warm advocacy of the measure, and the Common Council was brought at last to adopt a petition begging the Legislature to pass a bill reducing the amount of land to be set aside for the park. But the Mayor vetoed the petition, and in 1859 the territory for use of the park was extended so as to embrace also the ground from 106th Street to 110th Street, making a length of two and a half miles complete. The first Park Board in 1856 consisted of the Mayor and the Commissioner of Streets, who invited to the membership of it three distinguished residents of the city, Washington Irving, George Bancroft, and William Cullen Bryant. They called for designs, of which several were submitted; the one selected by the board being that of Lieutenant (now General) Egbert L. Viele. The work before him was not pleasant or safe. Five thousand squatters occupied the rocks and hills in this section of the city; they were mostly of foreign birth, and their manner of living made the entire region a plague spot. They objected to being removed, and were by no means scrupulous in their modes of resistance. As General Viele himself says: "Such was the danger of the situation that the designer of the park had to go armed while making his studies, and in addition to this, to carry an ample supply of deodorizers." In 1858 a plan for laying

out the park, submitted by Messrs. Olmstead and Vaux, landscape gardeners, was adopted, and the park became what it is now in general features, somewhat artistically, perhaps artificially, arranged in the southern portions, below the main lake; but on the east side of the lake, and north of it, left studiously and comparatively wild, the paths, almost labyrinthine, allowing the most perfect enjoyment of nature in her own moods. Here is the Ramble, containing the striking feature of a cave, dark and weird, and perhaps a trifle too malodorous. Before the end of the decade work was well under way. Indeed even in 1857 relief was furnished to people out of employment as a result of the panic, by giving them a chance to work in the park. In this enterprise, so indicative of an unselfish and earnest regard for the higher interests of the population, New York led all the other cities of the Union. Her commercial instincts could not have been very depressing to the better side of human nature, if she were willing to expend millions of money upon an investment that gave no material returns, but was merely intended to be a "thing of beauty and a joy for ever." Philadelphia and other cities have followed the noble example. But even yet London is far behind New York; her largest park covers but 403 acres while Central Park contains nearly 863. Even the Bois de Boulogne of Paris must yield in size to our park. Besides this great garden in the upper part of the town, before 1860 there were reserved for air and recreation also the park at the Battery, Washington, Union, Madison, and Tompkins Squares, and many others; while the space devoted to parks to-day is measured by more than five thousand acres.



As an evidence of no mean force of the state of things for which we are contending in this chapter—that there was prevailing among our citizens a regard for higher things than mere dollars in sight or in prospect,—there must not be forgotten the celebrated Grinnell Arctic expeditions. There seemed eminent poetic fitness in the fact that the pursuit of Arctic exploration should meet with a hearty sympathy and support from men in New York. It will be remembered that the discovery of her site was the result of an arctic expedition. The Half-moon was sent out by the Dutch East India Company to find the north-east or the northwest passage to the Indies, by way of the Arctic Ocean. When Hudson sailed up the river of his name, he was still under the impression that he might be tracing a Magellan's Strait in the Northern hemisphere from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The occasion for New York to manifest how she felt upon the subject, which had now become a scientific rather than a commercial quest, came when all the world was filled with anxiety and uncertainty as to the

fate of the explorer Sir John Franklin, who had left England in May 1845, and after having been spoken by some whaling vessels in Baffin's Bay in July or August of that same year, had never been heard of or seen again. The English Government had sent out one searching expedition after another, without finding a trace of the unfortunate party. Lady Franklin, while her own country was so responsive to her appeals, called also on the citizens of the United States "as a kindred people, to join heart and hand in the enterprise of snatching the lost navigators from a dreary grave." The President laid the case before Congress, but the legislative machinery moved slowly and precious time for beginning operations was passing away when,—as a member of the expedition, Dr. Kent Kane, remarks in his account of it,—“a noble-spirited merchant of New York of whom as an American and a man I can hardly trust myself to speak, fitted out two of his own vessels, and proffered them gratuitously to the Government.” This hastened the action of Congress who now authorized the President to detail the requisite number of navy officers and seamen to engage in the enterprise. The New York merchant referred to was Mr. Henry Grinnell, a member of the firm who in 1817 established the “Swallow Tail Line” of packet ships to Liverpool. The two vessels he placed at the disposal of the Government were the brigs *Advance* and *Rescue*, of small burden, the former a little larger than the other, but better adapted from their size to the peculiar exigencies of Arctic navigation than larger ships would have been. The *Advance* had been originally intended for the carrying of machinery, and her timbers for that reason were of a peculiarly large and solid kind, the fastenings that held them together applied with especial care and placed at less infrequent intervals than ordinary. She was thus calculated to resist sudden concussions while sailing amid ice-floes, or the continued pressure when caught between great fields of ice. Mr. Grinnell not only furnished the ships, but largely added to the supplies requisite, and Dr. Kane has left on record a gratifying account of the general interest of the people of New York in this work of combined benevolence and science. “I could not help being struck with the universal sympathy displayed toward our expedition. From the ladies who busied themselves sealing up air-tight packages of fruit cakes, to the managers of the Astor House, who insisted that their hotel should be the free headquarters of our party, it was one continued round of proffered services. I should have a long list of citizens to thank if I were allowed to name them on these pages.”

On May 22, 1850, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon the *Advance* and *Rescue* started on their perilous journey. There were no salutes of cannon as the little squadron left the navy yard, but the people showed their interest as they passed the Battery, where cheers and huzzas burst from an immense multitude assembled there. Ferry-boats and steamers went out of their way to salute them as the tug

drew them out of the Bay to sea. Engaging a pilot boat, Mr. Grinnell and his sons accompanied the brigs far out to sea until the 25th, when they signaled their farewell and returned home. The expedition proved, of course, as fruitless as regards its main object—the finding of Franklin—as all those that had gone before it or that came after. They drifted helplessly in a great ice-field, several miles long and broad, to 75 degrees north latitude, and remained fixed in that position for nine months. They discovered some new coasts, when they were free again, to which was given the name of Grinnell's Land. On September 30, 1851, the two ships arrived safely at New York, having stood the wear and tear of the unusual journey bravely, and without the loss of a single man. Dr. Kent Kane, the scientific chief of the expedition, was not without hope of success in another trial, and in December, 1852, he was commissioned by the Government to institute a second search. Mr. Grinnell again placed the *Advance* at his disposal, and Mr. George Peabody, the philanthropist, provided all the necessary equipments. The New York Geographical Society, and other associations and individuals, gave aid by contributions in money or costly scientific apparatus, and on May 30, 1853, the *Advance*, now alone in her quest, left her moorings and started out to sea. A fleet of steamers accompanied her as far as The Narrows, where salutes boomed from cannons and shrieked from whistles as she passed into the Lower Bay. The expedition met with even greater hardships than before. The *Advance* had to be abandoned in the ice. In May, 1855, the party started for home, traveling 1,300 miles over snow and ice before they reached the Northernmost settlement in Greenland. Two men died on the way. The United States Government had dispatched two vessels to the relief of Dr. Kane, and these they met on the coast of Greenland. Thus in October, 1855, after an absence of more than two years, they arrived in New York. Sir John Franklin had not been found, nor any trace of him; but the liberality and intelligent appreciation of the scientific value of arctic exploration on the part of a New York merchant were well rewarded. The two expeditions had added several items of importance to the information of the world regarding those mysterious and impenetrable regions of perpetual ice and snow. In 1860 Lady Franklin came in person to New York to thank its citizens for the generous aid and sympathy displayed in her behalf. She was received as the city's guest, and many attentions were paid to her.

The multitude of benevolent societies that have been established in New York in the course of her history, is another vivid and convincing proof of the higher life realized among her citizens. Many of these were in operation during the ante-bellum period we are now discussing. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor was organized in 1843, and incorporated in 1848; an earlier society of somewhat the same nature was that for the Prevention of Pauperism.

established in 1818. The New York Juvenile Asylum was incorporated in 1851. In 1850 serious efforts were instituted by the New York Ladies' Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to reclaim the outcasts and alleviate the misery of the Five Points, and this was the beginning of the history of the Five Points' Mission. Its operations began in a little twenty by forty room on the corner of Little Water and Cross Streets, where a Sunday-school was organized, consisting of about seventy pupils the first day; but a day school was soon found to be a necessary addition. Funds coming in to aid so laudable a movement, an old brewery standing upon a triangle formed by one of the intersections of the numerous streets converging here, was purchased and fitted up as a Mission House, and here the Thanksgiving Dinners that have become such a



GRINNELL EXPEDITION IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.

notable feature, were annually given. The "Five Points House of Industry" was an institution started by the Rev. Mr. Pease, the first missionary employed by these ladies. He hired two houses in the locality, establishing himself with his family in one of them; in the other he placed sewing machines, giving employment to the women of the neighborhood, making shirts, while he provided a school for the children. His idea was self-help rather than charity, and it worked well. Soon eight houses were in use for the enterprise. The Protestant Episcopal Church now took it under their charge, and regular incorporation was effected in 1854. In 1853 the Children's Aid Society began its useful existence under the fostering care of the Rev. Charles Loring Brace; its object, the res-

cue and education and general improvement in condition of the homeless and friendless children roaming the streets of the city. As a branch of its work it interested itself in the newsboys, and in March, 1854, established the "Newsboys' Lodging House." The Bible Society had been established in 1816, and was occupying its large edifice on the triangular block formed by Astor Place, Third and Fourth Avenues and 9th Street. The cornerstone of St. Luke's Hospital on Fifth Avenue was laid in 1854; and the Demilt Dispensary, on Second Avenue, corner of 23d Street, named after two maiden sisters who had left a large sum of money for the purpose, was established in 1851.

We have noticed in its proper place the "Great Awakening" of 1740, under the influence of the preaching of Whitefield. The present century witnessed a similar religious revival, and it fell in the decade before the war. It has been sometimes supposed that it was the result of the panic of 1857, as it occurred in that same year, and the conclusion has been drawn therefrom that commercial convulsions, with their consequent distress, are favorable to the awakening of men to the less material needs of their souls. Whether *post hoc* or *propter hoc*, the two events were certainly synchronous. In Burton's Theater on Chambers Street, between Broadway and Center, a noonday prayer-meeting was organized in an ordinarily large room. It soon became too small, and the large auditorium was thrown open. The crowds filled that too. It was at this time that the Fulton Street prayer-meetings were begun in the lecture-room of the Old Dutch Church on Fulton Street. They have been kept up ever since, although the church has been demolished, the Collegiate Church officers having provided a chapel in the office-building which they erected on the site of the church. As a result of the revival, which lasted through the winter until the spring of 1858, it is worthy of note that the week-day evening or "prayer-meetings," customary in the churches of many denominations, at which laymen make addresses and offer prayers as well as the minister, were then initiated. Whatever may have been the statistics of "Conversions" during the awakening of 1857 to 1858, such a permanent and prolonged consequence speaks better for it than any figures. But after forty years the practice is falling off again. In many localities the prayer-meeting is left only to the women, and a few churches in the city and country have accepted the situation frankly, and abandoned the practice altogether.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CRISIS OF WAR.

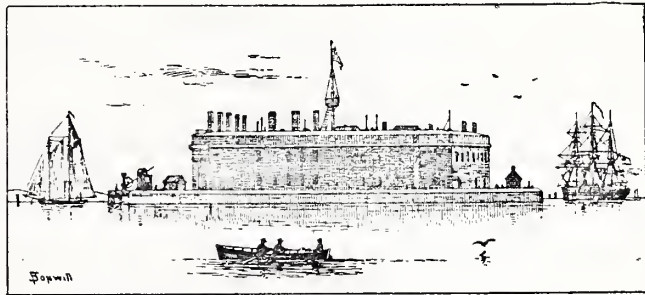


THE first note of war was raised on December 20, 1860, when the people of South Carolina, by their representatives in convention assembled, in the city of Charleston, announced in the hearing of all the world, and in defiance of the American nation, that "the union before existing between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States, was dissolved." This note was taken up rapidly by State after State in the Southern tier—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas—all before February 1, 1861, thus before the election of Abraham Lincoln was formally consummated by the last procedure customary in the case—the official count of the electoral vote in the House of Representatives. On February 4, 1861, delegates from six of the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and constituted themselves a new union under the name of "The Confederate States of America." Thus secession had at last come. The threats of it had often been heard in the Republic. The Hartford Convention of New England States, voting no supplies for the war of 1812, except for their own defense, had come perilously near it. And, strangely enough, secession from the Union so recently formed was in the minds of men as early as the time of the Hamilton-Burr duel. Gouverneur Morris was tainted with it, and this is what made Burr seem a "dangerous person" in Hamilton's eyes. Senator Lodge, himself a new Englander, says of Burr: "He sought the governorship of New York, behind which was the possibility of a northern confederacy and presidency, a phantom evoked by the murmurs of secession now heard among New England leaders." And Mr. Lodge advances the theory that Hamilton accepted Burr's challenge only for the reason that such a state of things existed. Hamilton suspected or foresaw that Burr was entirely capable of disrupting the Union for the sake of personal ambition. He was certain that Burr would eagerly place himself at the head of a secession, or was capable of fomenting one in order to lead it; and we now know that he did something very much like this in a southwesterly direction a few years later. Hamilton himself would rather have shed his last drop of life-blood than do such a thing. Hence he risked the duel. His courage had been put to the proof so often that it was entirely unquestioned, and the declining of a challenge could not have impeached it. But he thought that under the cir-

circumstances there lay upon him "a peculiar necessity not to decline the call." As he put it himself significantly: "The ability to be in future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good, in those crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudice in this particular." That is, should a general have been needed in the crisis apprehended, not a finger must be pointed at him in derision of his personal courage, not a breath uttered casting a doubt upon it, however unreasonable.

So it was the threat and the fear of secession in the young Republic he had aided to make a federal union, that really cost us the premature loss of such a man as Hamilton in 1804. The crisis he feared was long in coming—but it came. And who, then, would have thought that the question of slavery would bring it on? In the beginning every one, both South and North, was anxious to eliminate it from the Nation, and was devising steps for its gradual disappearance. But suddenly slavery

became a gold mine for the South, and now there was a change. Now everything must be done to prevent the nation from acting in its federal capacity to remove the plague-spot in this one section



FORT LAFAYETTE DURING THE WAR.

that disgraced the whole. And now, also, came again threats of secession. But they came from the North first. Secession was the purpose of the abolitionists, and thereby they hampered and complicated most fatally their glorious cause. It was not slavery that made a division of sentiment possible at the North, but the proposition to clear the skirts of the North by breaking up the Union and casting off the slave-holding States. This was seriously contemplated and advocated, and the friends of union, the people with any sense of nationality, could not endure such a proposition, even at the cost of retaining slavery. Therefore many men abhorring slavery could not be abolitionists. They were content to plead guilty to Garrison's accusation of a "slavish subserviency to the Union." They were proud to be "still insanely engaged," as he termed it, "in glorifying the Union," and to be pledging themselves "to frown upon all attempts to dissolve it." Thus Motley wrote: "The very reason which always prevented me from being an abolitionist before the war, in spite of my anti-slavery sentiments and opinions, now forces me to be an emancipationist. I did not wish to see the Government destroyed, which was

the avowed purpose of the abolitionists." It was because the abolitionists wanted to destroy the Union, to secede from the Southern States and leave them alone with their abomination, that they found such bitter fault with Lincoln and the men who, with him, wanted to save the Union as well as abolish slavery. It is for this reason Wendell Phillips sneered bitterly at the choice of Lincoln as nominee. "Who is this huckster in politics? Who is this country court advocate?" he exclaimed when the nomination had been made in 1860. It seems scarcely possible that this excellent man and eloquent orator could have descended to even a coarser bitterness than that. But he actually published an article with the heading: "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave-hound of Illinois," opening with the sentence: "We gibbet a Northern hound to-day, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia." So strong was the feeling among the abolitionists that secession was alone right, that every attempt to save the Union with slavery in it seemed to them only a compromise with iniquity and a condoning of it.

It was a relief to the situation in the North, so seriously straining the relations between men who had exactly the same feelings about the one great evil that needed abolition, when the slave-holding States did what once the New England States came near doing, and what the abolitionists wanted the non-slaveholding States to do. Rather than have their institution even remotely threatened, they would sacrifice the Union—that is, destroy the nation. And the considerations that lay back of secession now, were not unlike those that came to the foreground in 1804 or 1812 in a more northerly latitude.

It was in the earlier days an attachment to local, sectional interests above those of the nation; a selfish determination to save its shipping and manufactures, even at the expense of the national prosperity, and the national honor. So it was a devotion to sectional interests, at the expense of national duty, or conscience, or honor, which precipitated the later secession. The men of the South had been keensighted and keen-scented regarding slavery, ever since the cotton culture made it a mine of wealth. Even so innocent and remote a project as internal improvement, in the way of canals projected by the Government, or in the way of settling and managing government lands, was resented and resisted with a virulence that now seems either inexplicable or ridiculous. But there were nerves of feeling running beneath the surface into the festering sore of slavery, which made men winch when any questions of the right or duty of action on the part of the general government were raised. This was the secret and significance of the Webster-Hayne debate of 1829; and in that glorious defense of the principle of Union *and* Liberty, as against that other disintegrating doctrine of Union *or* Liberty, the son of New England forever wiped out the stain of the days of 1812. "The avowed purpose of the abolitionists," as Motley wrote, now "became

the avowed purpose of the slaveholders," and therefore "the whole was turned upside down." All parties at the North could unite as one man to fight secession and slavery together, and put a quietus to them both. But that there might be hesitancy and holding back and apparent disaffection, as well as real, in the States of the North, and therefore among the citizens of New York, the presentation of these preliminary remarks will readily explain.

A most extraordinary exhibition of a real and deep and disgraceful disaffection on the part of a certain element in New York, came to the foreground even before the Confederacy had been formed, and while the Southern part of the Union was still only breaking up bit by bit. We have had more than one view of the character and actions of Mayor Fernando Wood. The Police Muddle and the affection for him so effusively displayed by the "Dead Rabbits" in 1857, had proved too much for his re-election as Mayor in 1858, though he was again a candidate. But he was placed on the shelf for only a little while. The "reform element," as usual, had become weary of their well-doing by the autumn of 1860; so that in December the "Dead Rabbits" and "Bowery Boys," and all of that ilk, came to their own again, and Fernando Wood once more became the Mayor of New York. He came in at the right time. It was now, as in days of yore, "a time to try men's souls"; and it was worth observing what kind of a soul Mr. Wood really had. He soon revealed it. South Carolina had seceded on December 20, six other States following after her during the months of December and January. It struck the Mayor that it would be a fit and happy thing for the greatest city of the country, with over eight hundred thousand inhabitants, not so much less than some of these Southern States, to do as they did. Accordingly on January 7, 1861, Mr. Wood, in his annual message to the Common Council, oracularly declared that disunion was "a fixed fact." This being established beyond gainsaying, Mayor Wood went on to propose that New York City should secede from a Union no longer intact, and become a "free city," like Hamburg and the Hanseatic towns of Germany, whose commerce had long been their sole glory. Then allowing his fancy full play he drew a picture of a new Arcadia, a country to be called "Tri-Insula," consisting of Manhattan, Long, and Staten Islands. The message with its romantic and euphonious geographical modifications—to say nothing of its civic creation—fell upon eager ears and congenial minds. The Common Council adopted the suggestion with wild enthusiasm. Having put such men in office, what else could New York expect.

Yet many noble men in the city were sick at heart when they thought of the action of their brethren and fellow citizens at the South, and longed earnestly to win them back from their fatal precipitation. Disloyalty might hasten to act as it did: loyalty did not necessarily exclude the desire to preserve peace and brotherhood.

This was the motive of the famous Pine Street meeting, held on December 15, 1860, five days before the seceding act of the Charleston Convention. Private letters had been circulated to men of prominence all over the State without respect to party affiliations, asking them to unite in an effort to conciliate if possible the spirit of the South which seemed ready to break out into that antagonism not yet materialized but on the very eve of so doing. A great multitude of favorable replies were received, so that two houses in Pine Street were rented instead of one as at first intended. The leaders in the movement numbered among them such men as John A. Dix, William B. Astor, Samuel J. Tilden, Royal Phelps, Wilson G. Hunt, and James W. Beekman. When the "peace convention" met, the eminent lawyer Charles O'Connor was chosen to preside over the sessions. The dis-



CHARLES O'CONNOR.

cussions centered about several resolutions, breathing a spirit of fraternity, expressing a desire for the maintenance of union, yet in no weak or unworthy way offering to make a sacrifice of the higher principles involved. The urgency of appeal and the earnestness of the desire for peace and friendship are evinced by a letter accompanying the resolutions, which afforded a better opportunity for fervent pleading than was allowed by the style and phraseology appropriate to formal resolutions. It began with the address: "Fellow Citizens and Brethren of the South"; and among other things said: "We make this appeal to you in entire confidence that it will not be repulsed."

. . . We have asserted your rights as earnestly as though they had been our own. You cannot refuse, therefore, to listen to us, and to weigh with becoming deliberation the reasons we have for believing that the wrongs which have led to the existing alienation between the two great sections of the country may, with your co-operation, be speedily redressed. . . . We will not review the dark history of the aggression and insult visited upon you by abolitionists and their abettors during the last thirty-five years. Our detestation of these acts of hostility is not inferior to your own. . . . We call on you as friends to delay action until we can induce those through whose agency the evil has been brought upon us to listen to the voice of reason and duty. . . . We know that great changes of opinion have already taken place. . . . that errors and prejudices which in the heat of the canvass were inaccessible to reason have been on cool reflection renounced; nay, more, that many whose opinions have undergone no change are willing, in a praiseworthy spirit of patriot-

... to make on questions which are not fundamental . . . the concessions necessary to preserve the Union in its integrity, and to save us from the fatal alternative of dismemberment into two or more empires, jealous of each other, and imbittered by the remembrance of differences which we had not the justice or the magnanimity to compose." This letter, with the resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, were placed in the hands of a committee of which ex-President Fillmore was chairman, to be conveyed by them personally to Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and the Governors of the States then most loudly agitating secession, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. But the appeal was in vain; and at least too late for South Carolina, for December 20 was already at hand before the Committee could get there. Then again, when the die had been cast in more than one State, the Chamber of Commerce called a large meeting of merchants on January 18, 1861, at which a memorial similar to the one of December was drawn up, and, with 40,000 signatures, sent to Washington. Once more, on January 28, a mass meeting was called at Cooper Institute. By resolution three commissioners were appointed to visit the Conventions of all of the six States then seceded, to labor with them in the interest of Peace and the National integrity, the Crittenden Compromise being submitted as a basis of conciliation. But the harvest had now become a whirlwind, and there was no stopping it.

The retiring administration in 1860 was noted for its inefficiency or indecision, as is too well known. Therefore it is refreshing to remind ourselves of the one brilliant exception in the person of a citizen of New York. In January, President Buchanan, thus at the very end of his term, was in need of a new Secretary of the Treasury, and he offered the portfolio to John A. Dix. The revenue cutters in many Southern ports had been flagitiously and treasonably seized. The first care of Mr. Dix, therefore, on arriving at his post was to send a special agent to New Orleans, Mobile, and Galveston, to prevent any more such seizures. On January 29, the agent, a Mr. Jones, telegraphed the Secretary from New Orleans that Captain Breshwood of the *McClelland*, a revenue cutter stationed there, refused to obey the directions of the department. On the instant Mr. Dix wrote a reply, to be forwarded by telegraph. It was a bold and brave utterance, yet for its better effect he determined to act with caution. He therefore consulted Attorney-General Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, as to its legality, and General Scott, as to the military proprieties involved. Encouraged by these officials the momentous dispatch was wired to its destination. It read: "Tell Lieut. Caldwell to arrest Capt. Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order I gave through you. If Capt. Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieut. Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly.

If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." There was no weakness or hesitation about language like that. The war might have been averted altogether, if dispatches so precisely to the point had gone to all the ships or fortresses within the borders of the States that were now rebelling against the Nation. For one who dared lower the Stars and Stripes there was but one treatment proper: "*shoot him on the spot.*"

Secession had raised the first note of war in the convention at Charleston on December 20, 1860. The first blow was also struck in the same locality. At thirty minutes past four, as one particular



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

chronicler records, on the morning of Friday, April 12, 1861, the first gun of the great Civil War opened fire upon Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor. It was like Major Pitcairn's pistol shot a little earlier in the morning of another April day, eighty-six years before: at its report a whole nation rose in arms. Federal Union rose to maintain its necessity as the foundation of National existence. Secession rose to defend its right to be, in disregard of any such duty as nationality. What the Constitution had left to be implied on either side, a sanguinary war had now begun to settle. The conclusion that the Constitution meant these States to be a nation has now been finally written in indelible characters of blood, and has been deeply imprinted upon the heart and conscience of our people by inexpressible

suffering. An incident of thrilling interest in itself and particularly worthy of note by the people of this city is preserved by Miss Booth in her excellent history. With Major Anderson at Fort Sumter was Peter Hart, a soldier who had also served under him in the Mexican campaigns. Hart was a native of New York, and had been a sergeant on the New York police force. Nine times during the bombardment the Stars and Stripes were pierced by shots from the Confederate batteries: at last a ball struck the staff, and down came old glory to the dust. Thereupon Peter Hart (as his name would show, of the old Dutch stock of the city) sprang upon the parapet, raised and fixed a temporary staff, climbed to the top and nailed the flag to it, while shot and shell were pouring all around him in a hissing shower. It remained in its proud position until the surrender, on April 14.

Among the historic memories of the time," the historian well observes, "it is worthy of record that a New Yorker saved the Stars and Stripes from falling in the first historic battle of the great war, as a New Yorker, Lieutenant De Peyster, was the first to raise them anew over the Confederate Capital." Off Sandy Hook Major Anderson wrote the dispatch to Secretary of War Cameron, announcing the surrender and the necessity therefor, he and his men having been brought North on board the United States steamer *Baltic*. The perusal of its terse and simple description will at once satisfy the reader that they were justified in surrendering, while at the same time the words unconsciously bespeak the quiet heroism of the officer and his band of seventy-nine men. It was dated April 18, and reads as follows: "Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge walls seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames and its door closed from the effects of heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions remaining but pork, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the eleventh inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort Sunday afternoon, the fourteenth inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property and saluting my flag with fifty guns." A brave record for a handful of men left unsupported by the administration that had gone out, and not even remembered by the one that had just come in! The guns fired on those faithful servants of the Nation roused it to the supreme effort of defense. Their modest heroism and quiet performance of duty amid the roar of artillery, till human courage could be asked to do no more except needlessly throw away lives that might serve the republic on a better field,—nerved the hearts of the North to simulate such soldierly example. To do as well would be to do great things.

On the very day that this dispatch was sent on its way to Washington, from one of the telegraph offices of New York, the rumbling tread of marching regiments began to resound along her streets. On the night of April 17 the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment had reached the city per boat from Boston. The news spread through the city that they would be served with breakfast at the Astor House, and there form again in marching order to take the train via Philadelphia to Washington. Broadway along the Park and all the way from Barclay to Fulton streets was one solid mass of people. A dense and surging sea of humanity stood upon the triangular space where Ann Street and Park Row come together. The crowds had collected to see the men sally forth from the hotel and start on their way to the front. When all was ready, so still was the hush of the vast throng of spectators, that distinctly could be heard the quiet word of command, that meant so much at such a moment, "*March.*" The band at

the head struck up the tune "Yankee Doodle," but only a few strains of it were heard. The pent up enthusiasm of the people now burst forth into one long loud cheer, repeated again and again. It was solemn, an awful, thing to hear. One who heard it, the Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, in the memoirs of his father, writes of it thus: "Instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life and never will hear; such as is never heard more than once in a lifetime. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven, as with sudden peal it smites into silence all lesser sounds. . . . One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation."

Now, day after day had its tribute of excitement. On April 19, 1861, auspicious day for the cause of a free nation and the preservation of the Union, and only a week since Fort Sumter was fired on, the glorious Seventh Regiment, nearly a thousand men strong, followed the Sixth Massachusetts to the front. It was not an occasion to be left without evidences of the people's approbation and enthusiasm. For several weeks the men had been going through extra drills. Three months before, their board of officers, through the Commandant, had expressed to the Governor of the State their readiness to be called out for any duty prescribed. And stout old General Scott, who had resided for many years in New York, and knew the regiment well, had written from Washington in January to General Sandford: "Perhaps no regiment or company can be brought here from a distance without producing hurtful jealousies in this vicinity. If there be an exception, it is the Seventh Infantry of the City of New York, which has become somewhat National, and is held deservedly in the highest respect." The pride of the city and the favorite of a whole nation could not be allowed to depart for the scene of war without an ovation from the citizens. Along the line of march there was a fine display of flags and bunting. The regiment began to collect shortly after noon on Lafayette Place, opposite the Astor Library. At three o'clock the command to "March" was spoken, and the men moved on to their varied destinies. The line of march was into Fourth Street, to Broadway, down to Cortlandt Street, to Jersey City Ferry. If any additional fuel was needed to inflame their own courage and to excite still more the enthusiasm of the citizens,—the news came just before they started that the Sixth Massachusetts had been attacked on its way through Baltimore, and three of her men had been killed. Some had predicted that the regiment would be assaulted in New York: the lie was given to that expectation in a most convincing manner. The shout of praise and encouragement that had drowned their music on the previous day, was now redoubled all along the route which was taking the Seventh to the train for Washington. The streets could scarcely be kept clear for the passage of the troops. Sidewalks, house fronts,

troops, windows on every story, roofs, were one mass of cheering, waving, excited humanity. It was more than sufficient to reconcile the brave fellows to all the hardships of war, to wounds and death itself, to be thus sent on their way. As one of them wrote: "An avenue of brave honest faces smiled upon us as we passed, and sent a sunshine into our hearts that lives there still." The next day the Sixth, Twelfth, and Seventy-first Regiments went on their way, and on April 23, the Eighth, Thirteenth, Twenty-eighth, and Sixty-ninth. The action of the Baltimore populace had given a roundabout turn to the journeys of all our regiments. Colonel Marshall Lefferts had taken the Seventh around by Annapolis. The four regiments that started on April 20 were taken by transports to Fortress Monroe, and those on the 23d again to Annapolis. Certainly Lincoln's administration did not begin vigorously; the dilatoriness in dealing with the Baltimore mob created much disgust in New York, and led to the sending of an open letter to the President demanding that some determined movement be made by the Government to re-establish direct communication between Washington and the North; and that the one disloyal city which lay in its rear be subjected to military occupation in order to effect this.

This provoking supineness on the part of the Government may have been due to the excessive confidence placed in the unbounded capacities supposed to reside in the old hero of Lundy's Lane, Gen. Winfield Scott. It is almost pathetic to observe the blindly enthusiastic confidence people placed in the old general. They were sure there abode in him vast and mysterious possibilities, that were only waiting some sudden *coup* to startle the Nation, but whose exact course of action was not to be surmised or suspected. The historian Motley, writing to his wife, reflects this prevailing estimate and gives us a view of Scott's idea as to the celerity with which everything could be accomplished: "To the question whether the task is beyond our strength I can only reply that General Scott—than whom a better strategist and a more lofty minded and honorable man does not exist—believes that he can do it in a year." Enumerating the generals on our side, Motley again observes: "to say nothing of old Scott, whose very name is worth 50,000 men." Even when murmurs of doubt about the great and mysterious designs began to arise, Motley keeps bright his faith in the generalissimo. "Don't be affected," he writes on July 14, 1861, one week before Bull Run, "by any sneers or insinuations of slowness against Scott; I believe him to be a magnificent soldier, thoroughly equal to his work, and I trust that the country and the world will one day acknowledge that he has played a noble and winning game with consummate skill." Unfortunately that day has never come. The veteran of the War of 1812, now past his seventy-fifth year, could hardly be expected to do the wonders people were looking for. The noble old general was

not to blame that his fine record of past deeds was making the Nation wild over still greater deeds to come. But much valuable time was lost, and the lack of a vigorous opening gave the enemy a most tremendous advantage. From the one extreme men went to the other, when the war was not ended in one year, some intelligent observers did not expect to see it close except with the century.

From these military incidents we turn once more to the actions of the citizens of New York, now that the crisis of war was actually upon them. On the day that the Seventh Regiment left for the front the Chamber of Commerce held a meeting, at which resolutions were passed urging the Government to blockade the ports of seceding States "for the protection of the commerce of the United States against privateers." A committee was appointed to arrange for placing \$9,000,000 of the government loan still calling for takers. Before the meeting broke up it was made known that the seven regiments still waiting to follow the Seventh were hampered by a lack of funds for the journey. A collection was taken up, and in ten minutes a sum of twenty-one thousand dollars was ready for the use of the troops.

A meeting of a more general character was that held on Saturday, April 20, 1861, at three o'clock in the afternoon, on Union Square. It is estimated that there were one hundred thousand people present. John A. Dix presided, and eighty-seven vice-presidents represented the best men of every rank and profession. All the stores and banks and offices were closed. Four stands had been provided at sufficient distances for the speakers, but they fell far short of the number needed, and some of the orators spoke from the balconies and stoops of neighboring houses. Among the speakers were Professor O. M. Mitchell, the astronomer; Daniel S. Dickinson, David S. Coddington, and Col. Edward D. Baker, who had led a New York regiment to the war in Mexico. To stimulate an enthusiasm already sufficiently pronounced Major Anderson and his brave company of defenders of Fort Sumter were present, and displayed the shot-pierced flag that waved over the ramparts to the end of the bombardment. The four stands were under the presiding care of John A. Dix, ex-Governor Hamilton Fish, ex-Mayor Havemeyer, and Moses H. Grinnell. One practical result of the meeting was the appointment of a committee, something like the Committee of Safety in the old ante-revolutionary days. It was composed of John A. Dix, as chairman; William M. Evarts, as secretary; and such men as Moses Taylor, Alexander T. Stewart, Samuel Sloane, Royal Phelps, A. A. Low. In the evening the Committee met in the building at 30 Pine Street, and took the name of Union Defense Committee. Its duties, as defined by the resolutions adopted at the Union Square mass meeting, were to collect funds and to aid or promote the movements of the Government so far as possible. To facilitate these objects and receive subscriptions, it

sat at the house in Pine Street during the day, and at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in the evening. As a result of these efforts to raise money the gratifying statement is made that in the course of three months New York City alone raised \$150,000,000 in aid of the Government. Boston had reduced her quota of the loan asked for from thirty per cent. to twenty per cent. New York fully met her own, and charged herself also to raise Boston's rejected ten per cent. At the close of the year the Secretary of the Treasury announced the astounding fact that of the \$260,000,000 borrowed by Government, New York had furnished no less than \$210,000,000.

Nothing so well illustrates the magic effect of unifying all men and parties at the North, produced by the guns fired on Fort Sumter, as the change that came over the Municipal Government of New York. Hardly was the ink dry upon the message of Mayor Wood, seriously proposing the secession of New York City, when the same Common Council who had hailed the proposition with fervid applause passed resolutions pledging sympathy and support to the Union cause. And these were drafted by General Daniel E. Sickles, who a few months



William D. Seward

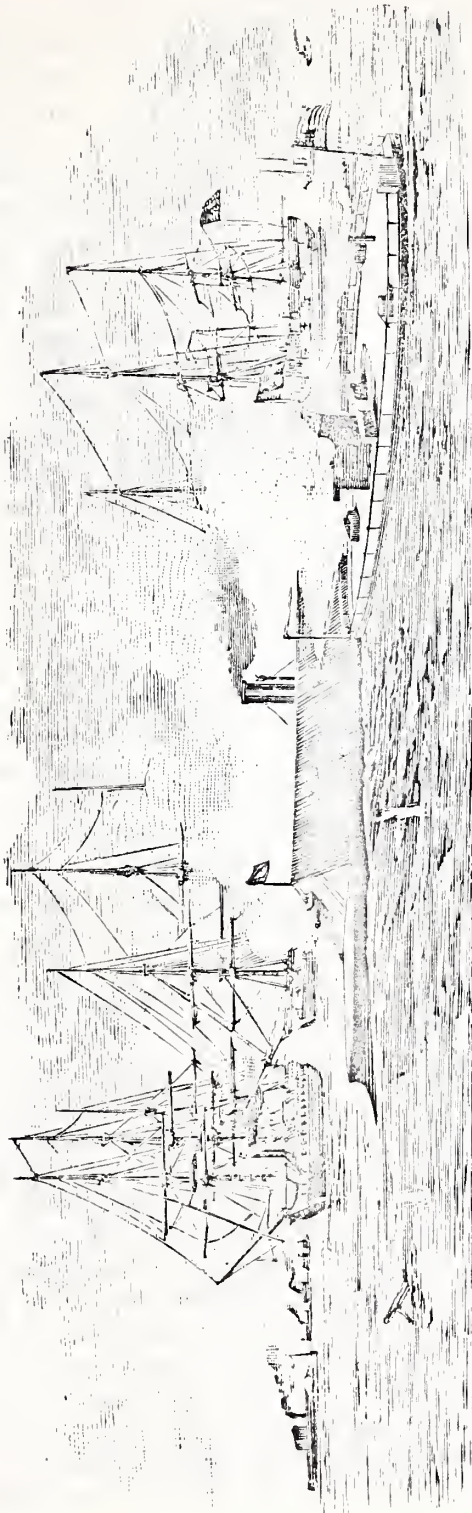
before had threatened in the House of Representatives that the secession of the Southern States would be followed by that of New York City. By these resolutions Mayor Wood and his Council invoked "the unselfish patriotism and the unfaltering loyalty which have been uniformly manifested in all periods of National peril by the population of the City of New York"; and they felt they were giving expression to the sentiments of their constituents by declaring "it to be their unalterable purpose, as it is their solemn duty, to do all in their power to uphold and defend the integrity of the Union, and to vindicate the honor of our flag, and to crush the power of those who are enemies in war, as in peace they were friends." At this same meeting on April 22, the Common Council, recommended thereto by the Mayor, authorized the loan of a million dollars for the defense

of the Union; later they authorized a loan of \$500,000, in aid of the families of volunteers, payable July 1, 1862. Nay, to swell the list of wonderful events at this period so fraught with them, and to do justice to the memory of one not hitherto mentioned with any too high respect, it must also be recorded that Mayor Fernando Wood had issued a proclamation to the people of New York, on April 15, 1861, when the reverberation of the last gun leveled at Major Anderson's devoted garrison had hardly ceased. In this he exhorted: "Let us ignore the past, rising superior to partisan considerations, and rally to the restoration of the Constitution and the Union as they existed in the days and in the spirit of our fathers." Certainly no fault could be found with such language, and if the blow of the South at the North could produce such results upon men of Wood's stamp, it would seem as if they never made so great a mistake as when they resorted to violence to procure their ends. And the very origin of these sentiments and resolutions was of such significance that they awakened particular comfort in the heart of those charged with the care of the Nation's affairs at this critical period. Mr. Lincoln said to Gen. Sickles regarding the action of the Common Council, on reading the resolutions: "I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when men broke through party lines and took this patriotic stand for the Government and the Union, all must come out well in the end. When you see them, tell them for me they made my heart glad, and I can only say, God bless them." It is a little unfortunate that historians who make a good deal of the act of disloyalty in January have not a word to say of the ample atonement therefor made in April. The actual descent of the thunderbolt of war revolutionized many a man's opinions on the issues of the times. The Common Council and Mayor should also have the benefit of the mantle of charity we are disposed to cast over former sentiments or acts, when the later attitude was such as we can approve.

All this time there had been no clash of arms since Fort Sumter. When it came, at fateful Bull Run, July 21, 1861, it plunged the North into the deepest gloom and mortification. We turn again to Motley's letters, valuable as those of a man eminent in letters and a profound student of human affairs past and present,—and we find one written to his wife two days after the battle from which we may gather how the people of the North received the news of it. Motley's language seems almost extravagant, yet without doubt he only reflects what was the feeling of all ardent supporters of the Northern cause. "I pity you and my children inexpressibly to be alone there," *i.e.*, in England. "Don't show this letter to any one. I hope you are not in London." It would seem as if a personal disgrace had fallen upon a member of the household. "We are for the moment overwhelmed with gloom. . . . The measure of our dishonor, which I thought last night so great as to make me hang my head forever, I cannot now

roughly estimate." But after all the defeat was not one to discourage all hope. Our soldiers had been left unaccountably unsupported, probably while some of those ineffable plans of Gen. Scott's were being cogitated. The men who finally ran had fought bravely for four or five hours under a burning Virginia sun, "till their tongues fairly hung out of their mouths" with thirst and exhaustion. They had gone up into the face of concealed batteries blazing death and destruction, and had taken one after another of them. When reinforcements came up for the enemy, a lot of camp followers and hangers on, teamsters, newspaper reporters, all too curious Members of Congress, and more such useless lumber, started a panic. This communicated itself to the troops, physically unable to endure any more strain, and disappointed by the non-arrival of the reserves. The rout was complete, the defeat stinging, but the men of the North had played the soldier nobly so long as nature could possibly hold out, and—"some one had blundered." It did not discourage the men of New York City or State from going to the front. It only hastened them on to scenes where their presence was so much needed. Lincoln had called for 75,000 men in April, of which New York's quota would have been 13,000. The Legislature authorized the enlistment of 30,000 men for two years instead of three months, according to the President's call. When July 1 came the State had 46,700 men in the field, of whom only 8,300 were three-months men. Before January 1, 1862, the number of our troops had reached 120,361, or one-sixth of the number of able-bodied men in the State.

Of all the conflicts of the war perhaps the most sensational was that in Hampton Roads, off Old Point Comfort and Fortress Monroe, and in that New York City had a direct interest. On March 8, 1862, a peculiar craft came out of Norfolk Harbor to make an attack upon the United States fleet lying in Hampton Roads. It was a vessel's hull covered by a triangular-shaped deckhouse, no masts or any other gear but a smokestack outside. The ships opened their broadsides upon her, but without the slightest effect, and she went about from one ship to another, ramming a steel prow into their wooden sides, and sinking two, the Cumberland and the Congress. Content with her work she went back to her shelter at Norfolk. The next day she came forth again, and proceeded to belabor and probably sink the U. S. ship Minnesota, when from behind the latter steamed a craft still more curious than the floating Confederate battering-ram. It was the Monitor, commanded by Lieut. Worden, constructed at New York from designs of John Ericsson. Its sides rose but eighteen inches above the water, and were almost impossible to hit: from the center rose a circular turret nine feet high and twenty feet in diameter, revolving at will, and presenting only two guns, but they were heavy ones. The Merrimac was fairly beaten at her own tactics. Firing on the Monitor had no effect, the deepest indentation made on



THE MERRIMAC AND MONITOR, 1862.

her at close range being about four inches. But the Merrimac experienced different results, and her ram, instead of disabling the little Monitor, got wrenched in the encounter, starting her timbers and springing a bad leak. Her smokestack and steampipe had been penetrated by shot, and her anchor and flagstaff shot away. All this was done at leisure by the gunners within the Monitor's turret, which had received one indentation of about an inch and a half; while she had no superfluous gearing to be shot away. The Merrimac therefore was fain to retire and postpone the destruction of more U. S. ships until such time as there were no Monitors about. As is well known, the construction of this vessel in the harbor of New York by the genius of one of her citizens, and the capital and enterprise of others, not only saved our fleet in the Virginia waters, but revolutionized naval warfare. And no sooner was it known what havoc the Merrimac had made among the U. S. shipping than another citizen of New York, Cornelius Vanderbilt, presented one of his largest and strongest steamers of the Panama and Pacific service, the Vanderbilt, to the Government, fitting her completely for defense against the new destroyer.

Ever since Florence Nightingale, in the wake of war follows compassion, and man's worst work of destruction and mutilation and death gives the opportunity for woman's best ministrations of mercy and tenderness. The women of New York were not behind in this labor of love. Let a woman tell the story. "On the 25th of April (1861) a number of ladies met at a private house and formed the plan of a Central Relief Association. A committee was appointed to call a meeting of the women of New York at Cooper Institute on the morning of the 29th to concert measures for the relief of the sick and wounded. The largest gathering of women ever seen in the city responded to the appeal." These patriotic women were addressed by eminent speakers, among them Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin and the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, Bryant's pastor. Out of this meeting grew a permanent organization, the Association for the Relief of Sick and Wounded in the Army. At Mr. Bellows's advice a committee went to Washington to hold a conference with the Secretary of War, to determine how the women of the country could best supplement the labors of the medical department of the army,—the committee comprising women of the Association for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded of the Army, members of the Board of Physicians and Surgeons of the New York hospitals, and of the New York Medical Association for furnishing hospital supplies for the army. The result of this conference was the organization of the "United States Sanitary Commission." Soon all over the city, "thousands of women and even children, devoted themselves to scraping lint, knitting socks, making garments, and preparing delicacies for the sick and wounded whom they saw in perspective; and scores of the most tenderly reared and delicate young ladies volunteered their services as hospital nurses, and went into training under the directions of the city physicians." It was characteristic of the women that they saw to it that the requisite amount of funds for their work should be acquired, and they resorted to the device of fairs held in all the large cities in the Northern States, at the beginning of the year 1864. These were held under the immediate auspices of the women of the United States Sanitary Commission. The one in New York was called the Metropolitan Fair. It was opened to the public on the morning of April 5, 1864. On the previous evening the main building in Fourteenth Street near Sixth Avenue was opened with exercises comprising a hymn written by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and an oration by Joseph H. Choate; while in the afternoon there had been a parade of troops, regular, militia, and volunteer, in its honor. Another building, on Seventeenth Street and Union Square was also utilized for the exhibit and sale of articles. The fair lasted three weeks. It brought a sum immensely in advance of those realized in other cities; for while Chicago's fair brought \$60,000; Boston's \$140,000; and Cincinnati's \$250,000; New York's yielded \$1,100,000. Her close neighbor, and

present borough, Brooklyn, also surpassed the other cities, raising \$500,000. The building on Seventeenth Street contained a Dutch kitchen, furnished in Colonial style by genuine relics of the days of New Amsterdam, loaned by descendants of Director Stuyvesant. A special and somewhat kindred feature of the division of the fair in the Fourteenth Street building was a Sunny Side pavilion, containing a choice collection of Washington Irving mementoes. Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland was a leading spirit in this great enterprise, and by her assiduous labors so overtaxed her strength that she died shortly afterward, a victim to her patriotic zeal. By the side of the United States Sanitary Commission rose up other organizations seeking the relief or welfare of the soldiers. Such was the "Loyal Publication Society of New York." At least eighty-eight pamphlets and books issued from this society for distribution among the men in the field. The United States Christian Commission was also initiated in New York, under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the



IRVING'S RESIDENCE, "SUNNYSIDE."

land, here assembled in convention, November 16, 1861; seeking not only the physical comfort but also the spiritual welfare of the soldiers. And in 1864 was organized under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of the Broadway Tabernacle, the United States Union Commission, intended to minister to the necessities of refugees from the South. A Soldiers' Rest was instituted by the benevolence of the Union League Club, on Fourth Avenue near the Harlem Railroad Depot, between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh streets (now occupied by Madison Square Garden). Here soldiers arriving or leaving the city could find a temporary home during their stay.

The guns fired on Fort Sumter, among other fine things they did for the North, sounded the knell of slavery. The logical effect of secession, as an act of legislation, might have been only separation. But the act of war begun by the South unified the North in the purpose to resist, and the logical effect of war was abolition. It became a war

measure, a strategic move on the enemy's works. The question of secession and its right or righteousness being out of the way,—being and all dispute accepted at the North as being wrong on the basis of war,—there rose only one other question on the horizon, on which all men at the North were united except when that of secession came in to obscure or complicate it. Upon the removal of slavery from the Union, should that Union ever be restored,—upon this the men who fought and bled and showered treasure, the women who suffered the anguish of bereavement day by day, so that the Union might be restored and preserved,—all insisted with a holy earnestness. This Lincoln saw, but would not act a moment before he had seen it, for he would move only just so far as he had the people with him. On January 1, 1863, he issued the proclamation of Emancipation. It had to be a war measure. It was an act not *un-Constitutional*, but *extra-Constitutional*, for which that document had made no provision, giving no right, withholding no right. It was indeed “justified by the Constitution,” but only “upon military necessity.” That military necessity the guns at Fort Sumter had kindly provided. And this proclamation,—the most important American State paper since the Declaration of Independence, giving at last unreserved effect to the words of the Declaration, and taking the ring of mockery out of it which both cynics and earnest friends of liberty had always been hearing,—this proclamation had results of the greatest importance both at home and abroad, as a strategic movement in the conduct of the war. It unified all parties at home, and simplified the issue that was joined. And in it lay the only hope of preventing interference on the part of the governments of Europe. Motley, now United States Minister to Austria, a close and penetrating observer, wrote: “Our great danger comes from foreign interference. What will prevent that? Our utterly defeating the Confederates in some great and conclusive battle, or our possession of the cotton ports and opening them to European trade, or a most unequivocal policy of slave emancipation. . . . The last measure is to my mind the most important.” When, therefore, Lincoln had issued his proclamation the enemies of the North abroad were nonplussed. Agents of the Confederacy had industriously spread the impression at European capitals that the North was as much in favor of slavery as the South. The question of Union, or no Union, Confederation or Federation, could hardly be expected to interest foreigners, or to appeal to their sympathies one way or the other. But in slavery or no slavery lay a principle of universal interest, which was certain to enlist the people of the various countries of Europe on the side of anti-slavery. Thus Motley was soon enabled to write with a sense of great relief: “The President’s proclamation was just in time. Had it been delayed it is possible England would have accepted the invitation of France, and that invitation was in reality to recognize the slaveholders’ confederacy, and to make with

it an alliance offensive and defensive. . . . Nothing has saved us from this disaster thus far except the anti-slavery feeling in England, which throughout the country, although not so much in high places, is the predominant popular instinct in England which no statesman dares confront." The proclamation also came in time to strengthen the hands of loyal men in New York City. The progress of the war, with frequent advantages on the part of the South, had served to dissipate that skin-deep loyalty of April, 1861, which had covered up the ridiculous outburst of disloyalty in January on the part of the city officials. Since success did not uniformly attend the Union armies, the righteousness of the Union cause did not seem so clear to Mayor Wood and his party. In June, 1862, a mass meeting had been held in New York attended by delegates from all over the State, at which resolutions were adopted strongly criticising the President and his administration, and demanding the proposition of compromises to secure the return of peace. In the election for Governor the party cherishing such notions was victorious at the polls, and Horatio Seymour, who was well known to be opposed to the war, was now at the head of the State. All this boded trouble, and a few months brought it around. Yet in the face of this state of things, perhaps nothing could have been so useful and helpful to the right cause as the direct challenge of men of all parties upon the matter of slavery. It defined the rock upon which the country had been driven to its destruction, and none but the actual enemies of the Republic could refuse to lend a hand in ridding the country of that fatal obstruction. It braced the friends of the Government to new efforts for rousing the citizens to patriotic sentiment and actions. War meetings were held, organizations in support of the administration were formed; the President, by an almost divine instinct, had done the thing which the popular heart and conscience wanted done, and the great popular heart of New York was not out of unison with that of the rest of the country. Politicians and partisans might confuse with their coarse clamor, but they could not silence the conscience of a whole community, and the response of the popular conscience to the righteousness of Emancipation put to flight the sophistries and seductions of the aliens. Hence there was a re-establishment of confidence, and a confirming of the people's purpose to maintain the conflict till the simple issue now raised before them was forever settled. And one of the results was the organization of the Union League Club, founded on "the broad basis of unqualified loyalty to the Government of the country, and unswerving support of its efforts for the suppression of the rebellion." It counted among its members every loyal citizen of any note in the town. As one enthusiastic chronicler observes: "The history of the Union League Club is the history of New York patriotism."

We are hastening on now to an episode in our city's history, belong-

ing to the year of the Proclamation (1863), which we shrink from recounting, yet which inevitably comes across the progress of our narrative. We may put off the agony by stopping to note a few miscellaneous details. A gratifying incident took place soon after the memorable first of January, 1863. One of the most active spirits in the support of the Administration was Thurlow Weed. He was editor of the *Albany Journal*, and had been one of those who had provoked the libel suits of the novelist Cooper. He was now a resident of New York City, and his name appears prominently in all the movements originating there in aid of the war. On February 18, 1863, the President summoned Mr. Weed to Washington on urgent business, not explained in the telegram that was sent to him. At the interview Mr. Lincoln told him that money was needed immediately for some important purpose, but that there was no appropriation from which it could be legitimately drawn. "How much is required?" asked Mr. Weed. "Fifteen thousand dollars," was the reply. "If you must have it, give me two lines to that effect," rejoined Mr. Weed. The President turned and wrote: "Mr. Weed, the matters I spoke to you about are important. I hope you will not neglect them. Truly yours, A. Lincoln." Thurlow Weed, armed with this laconic missive, took the next train for New York, and in an incredibly short time he had obtained from eleven individuals and four firms, one thousand dollars each.

Another gratifying circumstance is that three citizens of New York (including Brooklyn) played a conspicuous part in serving the country's cause abroad. The President was fully aware of the desperate efforts that were being made by the Government of the Southern States to put their case as favorably as possible before the courts of Europe, so as to neutralize the defense of slavery to which it was committed. There was unfortunately too much of an inclination among English and French statesmen to aid the South, if only to break up the hated Union. Therefore Mr. Lincoln requested certain men of note and influence to present our cause abroad, emphasizing that the real issue at bottom was the preservation or abolition of slavery, a system no government of Europe dared to uphold or foster in the slightest degree. One of these men was Archbishop John Hughes, of the Catholic Church of New York. Another was Bishop McIlvaine, of the Episcopal Church, of Ohio; a third was General Scott, who was now a private citizen of the metropolis, traveling in Europe. In November 1861, General Scott had resigned his commission, the weight of years fully justifying the step. He had at once come back to New York, and here a delegation from the Union Defense Committee called on him at the Brevoort House, on Fifth Avenue corner of Eighth Street, to present him with an address. Ex-Governor Hamilton Fish led the delegation, and Judge Edwards Pierrepont as spokesman gracefully alluded to his retirement in the words: "It will be

the crowning glory of your honored life that . . . you had the



ADMIRAL JOHN D. WORDEN.

wisdom from on high to retire at the fitting hour, and thus to make the glories of your setting sun ineffably more bright for the radiant luster which they shed upon the young and dawning hope of your beloved land." In 1862 he went to Europe and remained there for some years. He was eminently fitted to do the tactful, delicate work now asked of him by the President. For many years previous to the war, during Indian troubles, or in the Nullification muddle in South Carolina, "wherever there was imminent danger of war and a strong desire to keep the peace, all thoughts turned instinctively

to Scott as a fit instrument of an amicable settlement, and his success always justified the choice." His main faults (perhaps leaning to virtue's side) were an inclination to personal vanity and a somewhat pompous ceremoniousness of manner, much emphasized by his portly and massive form. This made his position at the outbreak of the war somewhat extravagant; but for the present purpose he was calculated to be of infinite service to his country. And there was another, whose work in England partook of the sublime and the heroic. In 1863 Henry Ward Beecher delivered five great speeches in as many cities of Great Britain, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Liverpool, and London. He was hissed, interrupted, insulted, but his imperturbable good humor, readiness of wit, matchless moral courage, power of argument, and eloquence of speech, carried everything before him, enabling him to place before the English public a fair view of the situation in America, which, rightly presented, was such as to insure the heartiest sympathy and support for the North. These speeches, it has been said, did more for the Union cause in Great Britain than all that had before been said or written. Perhaps had it not been for the presence in England of Bishops Hughes and McIlvaine and General Scott, at the time of the Trent affair, it would not have been possible to avert the war between England and the Northern States which then seemed so inevitable; it was hard enough to do so as it was.

New York, in its earlier history, stands preëminent among the cities of the country for the frequency and violence of her riots. Chicago, and other Western cities, may have borne away the palm from her in this respect lately. But up to the year 1863—with the Doctor's Mob of

1788, the riots of 1834, 1835, 1837, 1849, and the "Dead Rabbits" exploits of 1857, not to mention Mayor Wood's performances with his "own" police in the same year, all garnishing the record—New York is not easily excelled. In 1863 she added to that record the worst, bloodiest, most destructive and brutal riot of all. It goes by the name of the "Draft Riots." Call after call for volunteer troops had been necessary, but those who do not go forward at the first or second call of that kind are still more deaf to subsequent ones. Again, it had become easily noticeable that men raised in this volunteer fashion were not soon made into efficient troops. Their officers were elected by themselves, and therefore deferred to their subordinates rather than commanded them. These officers, too, were inexperienced, popular choice elevating them for popular points and *bonhomie* rather than for military qualities or experience. It was often a year or more before such troops could take the field, and a whole year's wages were wasted. Many men of influence accordingly urged the President to raise troops by the European method of conscription: that is, requiring all male citizens between defined ages to come forward to certain places thereto appointed, and draw lots, a certain proportion of the lots quitting of the obligation to serve, but those calling for enlistment to be enforced or to be redeemed by payment of a substitute. There were a good many thousands of persons throughout the country who did not wish to enter the army, but were willing to pay others for doing so, and they wanted a uniform regulation compelling those neither willing to go nor to pay to contribute equally with themselves. In December, 1862, the complaint was general that the eagerness to go to the front had vanished, and by the summer of 1863 the men who had enlisted for two years would be returning home. The sentiment about conscription being such as it was, and being known to the President, it was deemed expedient to put that system of raising an army into operation. Accordingly on March 3, 1863, Congress passed the "Enrollment and Conscription Act." By this the President was given authority to recruit the army, when a deficiency threatened, by ordering a drawing of lots by citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. The men drafted were allowed to pay \$300 for a substitute if they did not wish to go to the front themselves.

The draft needed to be applied to New York State and city sooner than anywhere else. The conditions of 1861 no longer prevailed, there being a deficiency of her men in the field, instead of more than her quota, as at first. At the close of the year 1862, it was reported to the department that since July, 1862, New York State was short 28,517 men in volunteers, of which 18,523 was to be charged to New York City. But for this very reason conscription was least likely to be welcomed here. The revulsion in sentiment had carried an anti-war Governor, Horatio Seymour, into office. He could not but obey an order to institute the draft, but his reflections upon it were such as to in-

flame the worst prejudices. He claimed that the report of his State's deficiency in volunteers was not correct; and boldly intimated that undue quotas were saddled upon districts known to be prevalently Democratic. Although the act of March 3 had called for an immediate enrollment in such States as were deficient in their contingent of troops, the examination of documents to refute these claims of Governor Seymour delayed the draft in New York until July. When the operation of the draft could no longer be averted, there were those who did not scruple to excite those dangerous elements of the New York populace which had so often made her streets fields of sanguinary battle. Since early in 1863 there had been at work in the city an organization calling itself by the innocent title of "The Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge." It disseminated books, pamphlets, papers, advocating disloyalty of the rankest kind. It was to counteract this that the "Loyal Publication Society" was formed. One of the newspapers of the city, too, scrupled not to act as the organ and mouthpiece of such hostility to the Administration as had taken shape in the mass meeting of June, 1862, already mentioned; and which had carried the election of Seymour in the autumn. The *Daily News* unblushingly charged that "the evident design of those who have the Conscription Act in hand in this State is to lessen the number of Democratic votes." This would be enough to arouse prejudice; it was only a shade less respectable, however, than the Governor's intimation of a similar character, that Democratic districts were discriminated against in the amount of the quota of men required. But a still more inflammatory statement was this: "One out of about two and a half of our citizens are destined to be brought over into Messrs. Lincoln and Company's charnel house." The secret emissaries of the South, always present, saw their opportunity in the hatred of the draft thus systematically fomented, and did not allow these incitements to resistance to lose any of their force. There were murmurings of the coming storm, but efforts to avert it were frustrated by those high in power. Mr. George Opdyke, a Republican, was Mayor, and he foresaw that there would be trouble when the drafts should begin. He remonstrated with Governor Seymour against the withdrawal of all the militia from the city, but the Governor blandly replied that he had to obey superior orders, and that the city would be safe enough under the protection of its own police force. The draft was appointed for July 11, 1863. The enrolling offices were located at two points: Third Avenue, corner of Forty-sixth Street; and No. 1190 Broadway, near Twenty-eighth Street. Ere the day arrived the news of the simultaneous victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg, on July 4, instead of discouraging the disaffected element, only served to inflame it to a fiercer hatred of the war and its cause,—the emancipation of the negro. July 11 finally came; it fell on a Saturday. Colonel Robert Nugent, of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, an Irishman and a

Democrat, qualified in every respect to carry out the measure in the most offensive manner, had been appointed Provost-Marshal. He took charge of the office in Broadway with Deputy-Provost-Marshal Maniere to assist him; while Deputy Vanderpoel was installed at the enrolling place on Third Avenue. Everything went quietly on this Saturday; although large crowds assembled in the vicinity of the offices, there was a manifestation of good humor rather than anger. The drafting wheel was set in motion, resembling those employed in lotteries for the drawing of numbers. It was watched with keen interest, by those who could get near enough, as a curious novelty. Sunday intervened, and now the schemers who intended mischief put in their fine work.

On Monday, July 13, the drafting was resumed at the two enrolling offices. The Sunday papers (for these had started upon their career) informed the people of the numbers who had been drafted on the day before. The groggeries in the Five Points and along the water front were filled with their usual occupants, and the liquor and the news together, with a judicious word thrown in by those who wished to make trouble, perhaps after all to detach New York from the North,—all contributed to make the populace ripe for action on Monday. Sixty policemen were placed at each drafting place, and until ten o'clock there was no trouble. At that hour Superintendent of Police Kennedy while on a tour of inspection in citizen's clothes, was recognized by a mob at Forty-sixth Street and Lexington Avenue, containing many criminals who had too good cause to know him. He was beaten into insensibility and left to drown in a puddle of water, when rescued by a friend. Meanwhile a crowd of roughs had been going up Third Avenue from Cooper Institute, to Forty-sixth Street entering every shop, and persuading or forcing employees to quit work and join the raid upon the enrolling offices. Before they reached Forty-sixth Street, the avenue was black with people following in their train. The mob who had just dealt with Kennedy, excited by the deed of blood, were now ready for any outrages. Joining the crowds on Third Avenue, the assault on the office began. A pistol shot was heard. This was the signal for attack. A volley of paving stones was fired into the office, knocking down the officials, upsetting inkstands, smashing chairs and tables. Thereupon the crowd surged in, destroying the drafting machine, and wrecking everything in the room. The house was then set on fire. Deputy-Provost Vanderpoel had been hit with a stone, and was carried out for dead. The whole block from Forty-fifth to Forty-sixth Street was soon in flames. When the fire department hurried to the spot the rioters cut the hose and forced the men away from the hydrants. The mob now entered upon a carnival of violence, firing and robbing houses, looting stores, defying the police, whose numbers were too small to control them. Superintendent Kennedy being disabled the command of the police fell to President

Acton of the Board of Commissioners. He established himself at the headquarters in Mulberry Street, put himself in telegraphic communication with all the police stations in the city, and ordered out all the reserves to report for instant service at their stations. He soon learned that a body of five thousand rioters were marching down Broadway intending to destroy Police Headquarters. Mr. Acton gave the command of the two hundred policemen stationed at the building to Sergeant Daniel Carpenter, a man of approved courage and skill. Carpenter resolved to meet the foe before they reached their destination. His plan of attack was simple and effective. He marched his men into Bleeker Street and so to Broadway, and while awaiting the onset of the mob with most of his men there he sent two detachments up the two parallel streets east and west of Broadway, to compass the block and fall upon the rioters on their flanks or rear. As he led his men to the fray he called out: "Hit for their heads, men; hit quick and hard. We don't want any prisoners." The few disciplined men thus brought advantageously to bear upon the unorganized mob soon carried the day. Broadway was cleared of rioters, except those who lay upon the pavement with cracked skulls. A few trophies were carried back to headquarters, among them banners rudely inscribed with: "Down with Lincoln," "No Draft." Nevertheless it would not do to risk defending the city against the increasing lawlessness with a mere handful of police however efficient. Before night Mayor Opdyke had telegraphed in all directions for military aid. General Wool, commanding the Department of the East, ordered Col. Brown, of the Fifth U. S. Artillery, to report with the men under his command garrisoning the harbor forts to General Sandford of the National Guard. After some little friction the former yielded to Sandford's supremacy, and established himself at Police Headquarters to facilitate co-operation with President Acton. The Mayor also telegraphed to Governor Seymour asking him to order out the militia of the neighboring counties; and to the Governors of neighboring States for all the troops they could send.

While the police had been dealing with the mob on Broadway, a futile attempt had been made to check the rioting on Third Avenue. An Invalid Corps of fifty men, under Lieutenant Reed, had been sent up on a horsecar to Forty-sixth Street. The mob learned of their approach, tore up the track and barricaded the avenue, so that the party got no further than Forty-third Street. Here the men left the car, and after a vain attempt to reason with the crowd, the fatal mistake was made by Lieut. Reed of ordering fire with blank cartridges. The mob hurled themselves upon the handful of men with derisive shouts, and wrenching the muskets from their hands, beat them with their own weapons so that many were killed and every one severely wounded.

Matters had not gone much better at the enrolling place on Broad-

day. A part of the mob marched from Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street down Fifth Avenue. On the corner of Thirty-fifth Street, from Judge White's residence, a United States flag was displayed. They ordered it taken down, and not being obeyed, stoned the house and were only kept from sacking it because of their hurry to get to the drafting office. This they raided like the other and set it on fire, so that here too the whole block, from Twenty-eighth to Twenty-ninth Street was soon in flames. The stores here were stocked with jewelry, costly articles of furniture, and wearing apparel, and many low ruffians and hags were seen adorning themselves with the finest garments and carrying off handsome furniture to their squalid hovels. Parties of rioters, who seemed to be innumerable, also proceeded to attack the various arsenals. The one in Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street was defended by General Sandford himself and the few



FORT LAFAYETTE IN TIMES OF PEACE.

militiamen still available. He succeeded in dispersing the mob whenever it sought to collect in the vicinity. The arsenal in Central Park was occupied by the Tenth New York Regiment of Volunteers.

The next day, July 14th, the mob resumed its work of firing and looting houses. It seemed to be under the direction of able leaders, who planned out the mischief to be done. The fury of the rioters on this day began to direct itself against the colored people. Their quarters were visited and their miserable hovels burned over their heads, the poor creatures being stoned or thrust into the flames as they sought to escape. Negroes were chased wherever seen, and hung on the nearest lampposts: if any were seen escaping to roofs of houses, the house was set on fire and the alternative left to them of perishing in the flames or of being murdered by their persecutors in the street.

But the most dastardly thing perpetrated by the mob,—showing that men thus banded together for lawless violence abdicate all sense of humanity and become mere wild beasts, mad with the scent of blood,—was the attack upon the Colored Orphan Asylum, on Fifth Avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets. By the heroism and coolness of the attendants the two hundred young inmates were fortunately conducted to a place of safety by a rear door as the raging fiends broke in the front door. The torch was applied in twenty places at once, and the building burned to the ground. From day to day the mob became bolder in their depredations. They went comparatively unresisted over the entire island. Downtown they wrecked the ground floor of the Tribune Building, and might have utterly destroyed it, having already started a fire, when the police succeeded in driving them off. In Harlem, as well as in the downtown residence district, one house after another was robbed and fired. The citizens were panic-stricken. It was rumored that the mob had seized the gas-works and the reservoirs, and were prepared to bring utter ruin upon the city.

But now the troops began to arrive and some effective checks were administered. Whenever they fired with blank cartridges, or over the heads of the people, no good results followed, but point blank firing and the fall of several of the mob usually had a sobering effect. The Secretary of War ordered all the New York regiments to repair to New York, and on the evening of the 15th the Tenth and Fifty-sixth had arrived. Soon after came the Seventh, Eighth, Seventy-fourth and One Hundred and Sixty-second, and the Twenty-sixth Michigan. They had come none too soon, for destruction raged up to the moment of their arrival. We mention only one more incident to illustrate the fierce inhuman vindictiveness of the mob, which makes it so much more perilous to encounter than a regular army in the field. On the morning of Tuesday a report came to Police Headquarters that a large mob were making ready to plunder the houses on Thirty-fourth Street, on Murray Hill. Sergeant Carpenter with three hundred men was dispatched to the spot. He succeeded in driving them off toward the east. At Second Avenue and Thirty-second Street they seemed to be getting ready to rally again, when Colonel O'Brien, of the Eleventh Volunteers, with a party of soldiers and two field-pieces, proceeded to attack them. In response to a volley of paving stones, Col. O'Brien leveled the pieces and fired unhesitatingly into the crowd, killing several and dispersing the mob effectually. A little later Col. O'Brien was imprudent enough to go into the neighborhood again unattended. While he was in a drug store a crowd collected on the sidewalk. Instead of trying to escape he boldly stepped out, thinking a few words of counsel would bring them to reason. He had miscalculated. There is no generosity in a mad mob. He was set upon by a score of brutes at once, felled to the ground, and

dragged through the filth of the streets with a rope for hours. A reward of five hundred dollars was offered for the detection of the perpetrators of this ghoulisn deed, but they were never found.

On the fourth day the Governor, who had arrived in the city, issued a proclamation commanding the people to abstain from violence. From the steps of the City Hall he addressed a crowd of the rioters, weakly informing them that he had urged the Government to suspend the draft. With equal pusillanimity the Common Council passed an ordinance appropriating two millions and a half dollars, or six hundred dollars per head, to be paid for substitutes for men who had been drafted and did not wish to serve. The Mayor very properly vetoed the measure, which was rightly regarded by the populace as a victory for them, vindicating the riot and all its horrors rather than condemning it. When the results were summed up it was found that between one thousand and twelve hundred persons had been killed, with an unascertainable number of wounded; and that two millions of dollars' worth of property had been destroyed. On Friday, July 17, it was announced by Mayor Opdyke that order once more reigned supreme. Yet it was found expedient to keep the military under arms. For some days cavalry patrolled the sections of the city where the dangerous elements resided, and at the arsenals and armories detachments of the militia were constantly on duty. Very few suffered for the awful crimes committed; some of the ringleaders were arrested and tried, but where so many acted in concert not much could be proved in a court of law against individuals, and no penalty at all adequate was inflicted on any one. While the final restoration of order was of course due to the presence of an overwhelming force of the military, it speaks well for the city officials and their police force that the worst of the battle had been well sustained by them almost alone. General Brown, in relinquishing the command intrusted to him, said in his report, that, having been in constant co-operation with the Police Department, he was prepared to declare that "never in civil or military life had he seen such untiring devotion and such efficient service."

The presidential election of 1864 was another critical period in the history of the war, and full of threats against the peace and safety of New York City. There were serious expectations of both fraud and violence at the polls. General Dix, upon reliable information, warned the officials that agents of the Confederacy in Canada were plotting to colonize in the city, as in other places, large companies of refugees, deserters, and malcontents, who were to vote against Lincoln on election day; and prepared even to go to the extreme of subsequently "shoot-ing down peaceable citizens and plundering private property"; a repetition thus of the work of 1863. Detectives were accordingly placed upon the watch. All arrivals in town were carefully scrutinized, and made to give an account of themselves. Rude confirmation

of these rumors was not lacking. When the day for the election approached the Mayor received a telegram from the Secretary of War that a conspiracy had been discovered to fire the principal northern cities on that day. Not waiting to learn whether the Mayor believed him or not, General Benjamin F. Butler was sent from Fortress Monroe to take command of the troops in the city, and seven thousand additional soldiers were sent with him and quartered at Fort Ham-



LINCOLN STATUE IN UNION SQUARE.

ilton and on Governor's Island. On Election Day these troops were placed on steamers and stationed off the Battery and other points along the North and East River fronts, ready to act at a moment's call. There was no occasion, however, to invoke their aid or interference. But a few weeks later, on the night of Evacuation Day (November 25), when the extra troops had all been withdrawn.

a number of fires occurred simultaneously in several of the hotels of the city, in Barnum's Museum, among some of the shipping in the harbor, and in a lumber yard on the North River. A party of eight men, headed by one Robert Kennedy,—who was afterward caught and hanged, and confessed the crime,—had come into the city for the express purpose of firing all these buildings, hoping to inflict still greater damage during the confusion and panic likely to arise. The incendiaries had followed a uniform, concerted plan. Carrying small traveling bags containing inflammable materials, they had engaged rooms at the various hotels. On retiring to the rooms they tore up the bedding, saturating it with camphene and turpentine. Then lighting a slow match they locked the door and went away. But their purpose was defeated in each case before much damage was done, for as the tightly closed rooms filled with smoke, the flames were extinguished.

The month of April, 1865, was again one of excitement, running from the extreme of joy to that of grief and consternation, for the whole country as well as for New York. The year from its beginning had been replete with glorious tidings. One brilliant exploit followed another in quick succession: Sherman's march to the sea; the capture of Columbia and Savannah; Sheridan's dashing raid into Virginia. To cap the climax came the reports of the consummation of General Grant's steadily pursued operations against Richmond. On April 3 arrived the news of its fall, received in New York with unbounded joy, and with a touch of personal pride when it was learned that Lieut. De Peyster, one of her own sons, a scion of a family prominent in Dutch Colonial days, had been the one to place the flag of the Union upon the summit of the Confederate Capitol. The surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House on April 9 only added to the previous joy and gratitude. And then came the blow that prostrated in sudden agony every loyal heart in the Union. The first gun on Fort Sumter had been the monumental mistake of the Confederacy. The assassination of President Lincoln was the very insanity of folly. No enemy of the South could have dealt her a more cruel stab. To the North it was a blow of affliction and bereavement; to the South it was a blow at life and prosperity, delaying reconciliations, keeping alive a festering hatred. At half-past seven o'clock on the morning of April 15, 1865, the news reached the people of New York that the President was dead. Almost in a moment the city was clothed in habiliments of mourning. No one had either heart or head for business, yet men crowded the streets downtown. All the kindly intentions to cherish again feelings of brotherliness toward the men of the South were turned into bitter and furious anger and indignation; all those who had remained irreconcilable in their feeling toward the rebels of the South pointed in triumph to this new evidence of her incorrigible barbarity and depravity. Throngs filled Wall Street and Broad. At

noon Simeon Draper, the Collector of the Port, came out upon the porch of the Custom House, now the Sub-Treasury, with a number of noted men, and organized on the spot a sort of mass meeting. The people became instantly hushed, and listened in solemn silence to one after another eloquent speaker. But the appearance of no one there has more dramatic interest to us of a later day than that of General James A. Garfield, who was destined to meet with a similar fate sixteen years afterward. He quoted with impressive effect the solemn words of Scripture: "Clouds and darkness are round about Him: righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne." And then he struck the keynote of the situation by adding among other things: "The spirit of rebellion, goaded to its last madness, has recklessly done itself a mortal injury, striking down with treacherous blow the kindest, gentlest, tenderest friend the people of the South could find among the rulers of the Nation." So profound was the grief everywhere felt that the police ordered (indeed the managers themselves had already so resolved) every place of amusement to be closed until after the funeral. On April 24 the body of the President arrived in New York on its way to its last resting-place in his old home at Springfield, Illinois. It lay in state in the rotunda of the City Hall, and for a full twenty-four hours a stream of people constantly passed by the coffin on either side to take a last view of the honored remains. On the afternoon of April 25, the body was escorted to the railroad depot by a civic and military procession in which sixty thousand persons took part, and a million of people were estimated to have lined the streets. On the same afternoon a large gathering in Union Square listened to a funeral oration by George Bancroft, and a eulogy in his characteristic manner by William Cullen Bryant. And thus ended the final episode of the great crisis of the Civil War; the last victim of the bullet's flight had fallen; the hate of war had done to death the most shining mark the last.

A word in closing belongs to the men of New York City who laid down their lives for the cause in which Lincoln also died. The first officer to fall was Colonel Ellsworth, commander of the First New York Regiment of Volunteers. Upon the walls of the College of the City of New York is a handsome tablet inscribed with the names of the gallant youths who went forth to die the hero's death. But who can enumerate the many who deserve mention? Hon. Ellis H. Roberts well summarizes the facts by saying: "The services of the officers and men furnished by New York adorn many of the chapters of the Civil War. If no single person attained to the first rank, a large number filled positions of great importance with eminent credit. In zeal and devotion and gallantry New York troops were not behind their fellows in any danger or trial. Wherever the sacrifices and triumphs of the National army or navy are told or sung, their deeds will be remembered and honored."



Washington Irving

CHAPTER XV.

HIDDEN BY RING RULE.



THE people of New York City were deeply interested in the question as to what should be done to rehabilitate the States which had gone out of the Union by acts of secession sustained by war. We cannot doubt what was the martyred Lincoln's desire and purpose. We know how General Grant's magnanimity stood guard over baneful propositions of revenge and punishment. It was perhaps fortunate for Lincoln's fame, and for his personal happiness, that the assassin's bullet removed him from the scene of politics subsequent to the war. President Johnson, in carrying out the policy of free and generous "Restoration" of the seceding States, which was well known to be Lincoln's own; in acting upon Grant's simple but immensely significant motto "Let us have peace,"—encountered the most bitter hostility. Measures which he considered harsh, tending needlessly to exasperate instead of conciliating the Southern people, were one by one vetoed by Mr. Johnson; till in their rage Congress actually brought in resolutions of impeachment against the President. In these famous proceedings, a son of New York, William M. Evarts, bore a conspicuous part, of which the city was justly proud, in a defense of the impeached



Wm M. Evarts

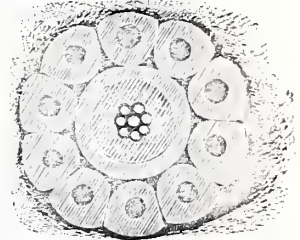
President, which resulted in his acquittal by the court that tried him. New York took special pleasure in this circumstance, because there was a prevalent sentiment here sustaining the President in his course in behalf of the South. On Washington's birthday, 1866, a mass-meeting was called at Cooper Union, to give public expression to the feelings of the citizens regarding the controversy between Johnson and Congress. An hour and a half before the doors were opened an immense concourse filled the wide square in front of the Institute. In less than fifteen minutes after they were

opened not a seat was left vacant, and every inch of standing room in the aisles or corridors was taken up. Even the platform was filled with a solid mass of people. The stage was decorated with flags and bunting, and upon the rear wall hung portraits of Grant and Sherman supporting that of President Johnson in the center. At the hour for the commencement of the exercises, ex-Mayor Opdyke stepped forward, calling the meeting to order, and nominating as chairman the Hon. F. Bayard Cutting. The principal speaker of the evening was Secretary of State and ex-Governor of New York, William H. Seward. There was a great eagerness to see and hear the man who had so narrowly escaped the fate of Lincoln. It was truly judged that one who was held to be so like him as an object of deadly hatred by the enemies of the Union, must also worthily and closely represent what would have been Mr. Lincoln's own position on the burning questions of the day. Among other things the Secretary said: "There never was and never can be any successful process for the restoration of Union and harmony among the States, except the one with which the President has avowed himself satisfied. . . . The States sooner or later must be organized by loyal men in accordance with the change in our fundamental law and . . . being so organized they should come by loyal representatives and resume the places in the family circle which, in a fit of caprice and passion, they rebelliously vacated. All the rebel States except Texas have done just that thing, and Texas is doing the same thing just now as fast as possible. . . . Men whose loyalty may be tried by any constitutional or legislative test, which will apply even to representatives of the States which have been loyal throughout, are now standing at the doors of Congress. . . . These representatives, after a lapse of three months, yet remain waiting outside the chamber, while Congress passes law after law, imposes burden after burden, and duty after duty upon the States which thus, against their earnestly expressed desire, are left without representation." Mr. Seward then sketched the plan that the politicians in Congress seemed desirous of forcing upon the President: "That Congress, with the President concurring, should create what are called Territorial Governments in the eleven States which were once in rebellion, and that the President should administer the Government there for an indefinite period by military force. . . . This proceeding was rejected by Mr. Lincoln, as it is rejected by the President." Now it was to give evidence of the general commendation of President Johnson in the positions thus clearly explained, on the part of New York's citizens, that the meeting was called. As the chairman of the evening said: "In the present unhappy differences between Congress and the President, the latter, in obedience to his sense of constitutional duty, declines the vast patronage and power, civil and military, which the former would give him. We honor him for this. . . . We express to Andrew Johnson our confidence in

his integrity." But apart from what was thus said in their behalf, and the resolutions heartily indorsing the President, adopted with enthusiasm and unanimity,—we look especially to the remarkable response to the call for the meeting. We have already described the immense crowds in the auditory. After the hall had been filled to its utmost capacity, a competent police force was stationed at the doors to prevent dangerous crowding upon the stairways. Thousands were thus turned away at the doors. But they lingered in the square outside. The Committee of Arrangements had not had the slightest idea of so general a response to the call for the meeting, else stands and speakers might have been provided. As it was, the temper of the people exhibited itself all the more strikingly. Patriotic men responded to the feeling of the hour indicated by the immense throngs, and here and there ascended elevations most convenient to address the crowds, speaking warm and strong words for the President. The speakers were altogether unknown to fame, that fact alone showing how near to the hearts of the loyal masses of the people of the city lay the welfare of the country, in the particular method of promoting it which President Johnson proposed to pursue in opposition to Congress. When the speaking was over, cheer after cheer arose from the multitudes for the President, the Union, the veto message, the Stars and Stripes. A large number of ladies was among the crowds, who, when disappointed in gaining entrance to Cooper Institute Hall, lingered outside, contributing with all their might to the fervor and enthusiasm of the occasion. In short, this mass-meeting of New York citizens, of all classes and conditions and ages and sexes, was the city's commentary upon the issues left to be settled by the war. It had accepted the war and sustained the war with men and treasure abundant. It now accepted peace, as Lincoln and Grant had accepted it, and therefore it stood with Johnson in the desire that differences might be healed, the crime or folly of secession be forgiven, and the Union be again as it was. By January 30, 1871, all the States of the Union were once more represented in both Houses of Congress, as they had been in 1860.

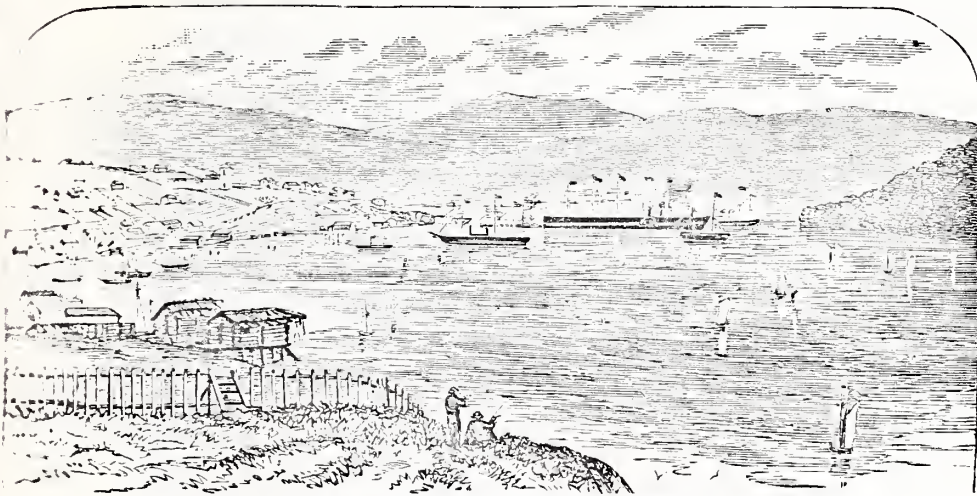
Scarcely had the din and smoke of war passed away, when certain stanch and indomitable citizens of New York addressed themselves once more to a herculean task, and achieved a triumph not again doomed to disappointment. We have followed the fitful fortunes of the Atlantic Cable in a previous chapter. We cannot forbear to emphasize how entirely the conception of that scheme and its initiatory movements belong to the credit of our city. Mr. Cyrus W. Field and Mr. Peter Cooper have already been mentioned. With these gentlemen were associated, as early as 1854, Messrs. Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, and Chandler White. Some of these men were natives of New York, all of them were prominent as citizens. One historian properly makes a note of the fact that "at six o'clock on the morning

of the 8th of May, 1854, these five New York gentlemen met at the house of Mr. Field's brother, David Dudley Field, in Gramercy Park, and in half an hour organized a company and subscribed a million and a half of dollars." It was an early hour, indeed, not usually affected by the New York merchants of this decade; but these men had need of being wide awake for the enterprise they had in view. And they were, as was proved by more things than this unheard-of hour for a business meeting. It would seem as if their failure, after that brief taste of success in 1858, were enough to discourage them permanently; or at least that it would have forever closed the pockets of investors against their persuasions. But their own courage and convictions of ultimate success were so abounding, that they infected others with the contagion of their hope. It had been charged that the messages purporting to have been exchanged between England and the United States were not bona fide. The message from the Queen did not follow the promise of its coming till after a lapse of time sufficient for the mail to bring it: and that looked suspicious. But after a few weeks, confirmation of the genuineness of the cable's work came from London. The *Times* of August 25, 1858, contained the news of the death of a prominent telegraph operator in this country which occurred on August 23. This somewhat abated the disgust and aversion which people had begun to feel toward the enterprise. But Civil War now also came in to set up its barrier against the undertaking. Yet these men kept on with their purpose, taking advantage of improvements in machinery, or of new devices that suggested themselves to a studious and persistent ingenuity in the construction of the materials for the cable and in the generation and transmission of the electric current. An unexpected ally appeared in the shape of that "eighth wonder," the monster ship *Great Eastern*, which, of little use for anything else, was supremely adapted for storing and paying out the electric cable. She was therefore engaged by the company, and specially prepared for this peculiar service. The second cable having been finished, it was placed on board the *Great Eastern*, and on July 23, 1865, the expedition started, as in former attempts, from Valentia Bay, on the Island of that name, close to the southwestern coast of Ireland. The huge vessel, moving majestically slow, was disturbed but little in her motion, as her extreme length enabled her to rest upon two waves at once. Ingenious machinery had been devised to render the paying out of the cable subject as little as possible to the accidents of wind and sea. But nevertheless disappointment was once more in store for the already greatly tried promoters of the splendid scheme. In spite of every precaution some hitch occurred when twelve hundred miles



SECTION OF ATLANTIC
CABLE.

had been accomplished. The cable suddenly snapped asunder, the end dropped to the bottom of the sea, and for another year those who decided the enterprise had the laugh to themselves. Even yet, however, the men charged with its accomplishment refused to believe success impossible; three millions of dollars were soon raised again, a new cable was made with greater care than ever, every improvement that suggested itself to increase its strength or elasticity or durability being adopted. The Great Eastern was again put into requisition. Thinking that the transition from a dry abode on board ship to a watery bath might have something to do with rendering the cable less able to endure the strain, or that the coil would be less liable to get tangled if kept under water, three immense iron tanks were built in the Great Eastern's hold, which, with the water in them, weighed a



ARRIVAL OF THE GREAT EASTERN AT HEART'S CONTENT.

thousand tons apiece. The cable itself, two thousand and four hundred miles long (beside the seven hundred and forty-eight miles of the previous cable left aboard the ship), weighed four thousand tons. The start was made on July 13, 1866, from the same place on the Irish coast, Valentia Bay. The shore end of the cable was four times the weight per mile of the other portion, so as to fortify it against the greater wear and tear incident to the shallower water and the breakers on the beach. This was carried and laid by a smaller vessel and its end spliced to that on board the Great Eastern. Her objective point on the American coast was not Placentia Bay, as in the expeditions of 1857 and 1858, but the little harbor of Heart's Content in Trinity Bay, Newfoundland. This obviated the necessity of going around the extremity of the island at Cape Race, and provided a more direct line of connection with Valentia. Heart's Content was a little fishing hamlet, and Trinity Bay safe and

capacious. Slowly did the great steamship proceed toward this then obscure haven with its precious burden. Mr. Cyrus W. Field was himself aboard, and a telegraphic station was erected so that constant communication could be kept up with the outside world, as the work watched with such intense interest progressed. Before the final success now so near, however, he and those sharing in the expedition were doomed to pass through some more moments of anxiety, threatening the oft-repeated issue of failure. On the night of July 18, with a thick rain falling, making the darkness more intense, and a rising wind whistling dismally through the rigging, of a sudden something went wrong in the aft tank; two or three coils of the cable stuck together, and rose from the bottom in their ascent to the paying-out machinery. A hopeless tangle resulted, necessitating the stopping of the ship by a quick and full speed reversion of the engines, and orders were already given to be ready to cast out a supporting buoy in apprehension of the cable's snapping. But matters did not go to this extremity. By patient labor the snarl was unwound and the cable successfully paid out to the end of the journey. Heart's Content was reached at nine o'clock on Friday morning, July 27. The distance covered was sixteen hundred and sixty-nine miles, and the length of cable laid eighteen hundred and four miles. Telegraphic communication having been kept up at every stage of the journey, the test was continued after the connection on land had been made, and proved to be entirely satisfactory. With a sense of joy and gratitude that may easily be imagined Mr. Field sent to his friends in New York the following dispatch: "Heart's Content, July 27. We arrived here at nine o'clock this morning. All well. Thank God the cable is laid, and is in perfect working order." To make the connection doubly sure, and less dependent upon any disasters that might happen to a single cable, the Great Eastern immediately retraced her course with the seven hundred and more miles of the cable of 1865, in order to make the attempt to recover the lost end and complete the circuit on a second line of wire. In 1865 she had caught the cable three times in her grapnels, but it had unhappily slipped from them. A fourth time she had secured it when the grapnel fouled with its own chain, and the cable was lost again. But these experiments had proved that the cable could be picked up from the bottom of the ocean, and that success depended only on some improvement in the methods or instruments employed. Hence the attempt was now made again, but not till after a cruise of two months was the submerged cable located. It was now caught and held with sufficient force to be brought up from its bed under two miles of water, and spliced to the cable on board. The trip to Heart's Content was successfully accomplished, and thus a double line of telegraphic communication connected the two hemispheres. This double connection, secured or suggested partly by accident, was made the regular practice in subsequent undertakings.

These followed at intervals of a few years. In 1875 the "Direct Cable Company" laid a cable between Ballinskellings Bay, a few miles south of Valentia, and Rye, New Hampshire. In 1884 the Commercial Company (Mackay-Bennett) laid a duplicate cable, connecting Havre, France, directly with New York City. Another cable, across channel to Waterville, south of Valentia, connected Havre with the original lines. In later years progress in electrical science has made it possible to detect the exact point in the cable where a break occurs,

so that steamers can be sent directly to the spot to repair it.

Telegraphic communication with Europe was now at last an accomplished fact, not again to be interrupted. The tantalizingly brief success of the project in 1858 had excited the people of the whole country to the greatest enthusiasm. There was cause now far beyond the former occasion for the Nation and its metropolis to congratulate themselves upon the



BROADWAY ABOVE THE POSTOFFICE.

final establishment of this miracle of communication. In November, 1866, a banquet was tendered Mr. Field and his fellow projectors at the Metropolitan Hotel by the New York Chamber of Commerce. Congress at its session in December voted him a gold medal with the thanks of the Nation, and European governments deeply felt the regret that they could not ennoble the plain citizen of the great Republic. America had now on three different occasions startled the world by the inventions of her sons. Nay, our good city of New York is entitled to claim all of these three—the steamboat, the telegraph, and the ocean cable,—as originated by men who thought and labored and succeeded here, under the influence of that spirit of enterprise ever encouraged where commerce wins her greatest tri-

umphs. The President and the Queen again exchanged messages of congratulation, breathing the hope of continued peace. But perhaps the most striking evidence of the rapidity of communication made possible by the cable was that furnished by a congratulatory dispatch received by Mr. Field on Monday, July 30, 1866, from M. de Lesseps, then busy with the great project of the Suez Canal. It was dated that same day, at Alexandria, Egypt, at half-past one in the afternoon: it reached Heart's Content three hours earlier by the clocks there, or at half-past ten A.M.! Thus it was vividly realized that the telegraph was swifter than the sun. A laudable desire to keep the Sabbath was frustrated by this circumstance. It had been the intention to close the cable for business on Sunday: but Sunday was not simultaneous over all the world. When it was Sunday in New York it was already Monday in Calcutta, or still Saturday in Japan; hence the observance of Sunday here would keep business dependent upon the telegraph at a standstill on Monday to the East of us and on Saturday to the West of us, thus necessitating an observance and consequent interference with business of three days instead of one. Hence the plan had to be abandoned. At first the charges for telegrams were enormous: \$100 for twenty words or less. In 1867 the price had been reduced one-half; in July, 1871, it had fallen to \$10 for ten words or less, and in May, 1875, to fifty cents per word. It is now twenty-five cents per word, counting everything, including address and signature, whence we have those curious combinations of firm names into one word of less than ten letters in order to cut down the expense. But comparison with what cabling cost those who first enjoyed the commercial advantages of it makes one feel that the present rates are ridiculously cheap. The first news message of any importance transmitted was unfortunately something quite out of harmony with the new achievement as a triumph of peace: namely, the speech of the King of Prussia just before the breaking out of the war between that country and Austria. Its transmission cost \$3,000.

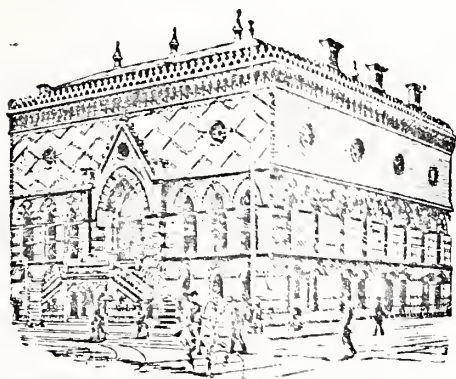
It was of course inevitable, in the progress of the establishment of rapid communication between every part of the world, that conquest should be made of that vast distance separating the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the United States. It would never do in this age of the world to keep on going around Cape Horn to get from New York to San Francisco, or even to break the journey into half by way of the Isthmus of Panama. There must be a transcontinental railroad. The length of track was indeed enough in itself to appall the boldest. As finally accomplished between New York and San Francisco, it measures 3,337 miles, via Chicago and Omaha and Ogden and Sacramento. But even the enormous distance was well matched as an appalling difficulty by the mountain ranges to be overcome in the far West and near California. Nevertheless, as early as 1859, engineers had studied and solved the problem with such effect that a bill was

prepared and passed by Congress authorizing the gigantic enterprise. The plan comprised three great lines, a northern, a central, and a southern, subsequently carried out. The first blow of the pickax was struck on December 2, and the first shovelful of dirt dislodged on December 3, 1863, both by distinguished hands, at Omaha, Nebraska. Added to all the engineering difficulties were those of construction itself, as the Indians showed the fiercest hostility, and several battalions of United States troops had their hands full in keeping the braves from killing the operatives and destroying the material for laying the road. Work was carried on in two sections, east and west, approaching each other, and on May 10, 1869, operations were completed and the long line made one at Promontory Point, Utah. The laying of the last rail and the driving of the last spike were naturally made the occasion of elaborate ceremonies. Arizona presented a spike composed of iron, silver, and gold to occupy this place of honor in the great construction. Two engines stood face to face at the two extremities of the road as thus far carried. Every stroke of the sledge upon the spike was telegraphed all over the Union, and men breathlessly awaited the signal that the work was done. When the news reached New York, the Mayor ordered one hundred guns to be fired, and sent across the intervening three thousand miles, to the Mayor of San Francisco, a dispatch of congratulation in which he said: "Our flags are now flying, our cannon are now booming, and in old Trinity a *Te Deum* imparts thankful harmonies to the busy hum about her church walls." A great congregation had gathered in the church, special prayers were read, besides the regular service, after the singing of the *Te Deum* the organ pealed forth strains of triumph, and as the audience was leaving the church the chimes took up the refrain with the "Ascension Carol," the National airs, and the Old Hundred. The New York Chamber of Commerce sent a message of congratulation to the Chamber of San Francisco, which rightly expressed the significance of the event, as one that would "develop the resources, extend the commerce, increase the power, exalt the dignity, and perpetuate the unity of our Republic." And looking to wider results, beyond the mere selfish consideration of National benefit, these enlightened merchants of the metropolis of the Republic also saw in the enterprise just finished something that "in its broader relations, as the segment of a world-embracing circle, directly connecting the nations of Europe with those of Asia, would materially facilitate the enlightened and advancing civilization of our age."

If the visits of princes are worthy of record in the annals of a republican metropolis, the period now under discussion may be noted as having seen two of these representatives of European royalties. As facilitating an exchange of courtesies between nations, as indicative of the desire of these countries or their monarchs to cultivate friend-

ship and promote relations of mutual profit with our land, these visits are of course of great importance. Evidently England and Russia must have placed a value upon such relations with the United States. In 1860 Victoria had sent her eldest son to see the Republic, and in 1869 she sent Arthur, later Duke of Connaught, her youngest. His reception was not as brilliant as that accorded to the Prince of Wales, but it was made clear that New York appreciated the friendliness of the visit, so important a circumstance after the agitations of war, and the misunderstandings between the two countries that had so often led them to the very verge of conflict. Even now there was left pending the painful question of reparation for the unfriendly action of England in regard to the Alabama and other Southern cruisers fitted out in her ports. The sending of a member of her own family to the United States was therefore regarded as the harbinger or token of a reconciling spirit on the part of the Queen, whatever the attitude

of her ministers might be. The other royal visitor was a son of the Russian autocrat, the Grand Duke Alexis. In 1867 the United States had bought Alaska from Russia for seven millions of dollars, and the relations then were and since have ever been of the most friendly character, an anomalous condition of affairs, as between the most despotic and the freest states of Christendom, fully as much so as that between Russia and the French Republic, to be explained only as the



ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

result of the consummate diplomatic skill of Russian statesmen. Alexis possessed personal qualities of an attractive nature, and for these as well as for the country he represented he was fêted with great éclat. He came to New York in November, 1871. On two successive nights balls were given in his honor at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and in the New York Academy of Music. He was entertained at the Brevoort House, at Eighth Street and Fifth Avenue, a grand review of troops was held in Tompkins Square, and a painting of Farragut at Mobile was presented to him at the Academy of Design.

New York knew what it was to be desolated by a great fire, although more than a generation had passed since the "great fire" of 1835, and not many of the younger business men of the town could even recollect that of 1845. These disasters had entailed frightful losses, running up into the tens of millions of dollars. In 1871 a Western city, that had hardly an existence in 1845, and was but a hamlet, or a military outpost in 1835, was swept by a fire which laid

washes five square miles of her choicest portion, and produced a loss in money valuation of two hundred millions of dollars; by that alone showing to what magnificent proportions she must have arrived in so short a period. On Sunday and Monday, October 8 and 9, 1871, this awful disaster visited Chicago, Illinois. The enormity of it cast a dash over life and activity in distant New York. On Monday business was almost at a standstill. But from this sympathetic paralysis the people woke to the most splendid munificence in the contribution of aid. Public meetings were held, at which appeals were presented for the relief of the distressed Western city, and inside of two weeks about three millions of dollars in money or articles of food and clothing were raised and forwarded to Chicago. Some New York men whose reputations had been blackened by the financial transactions to be described further on, redeemed themselves somewhat by the energy and generosity wherewith they hastened to supply the wants of the hundred thousand people reduced to beggary and threatened with starvation.

New York City had a special interest in the Presidential campaign of 1872, because one of her own denizens long identified with her best life, was the "standard bearer" of one of the parties as candidate for the occupancy of the Executive Chair. We have met Horace Greeley in the early days of newspaper enterprise, when he printed the "penny paper" for the young medical student who first hit upon the idea of a cheap journal and its sale by newsboys. Some years later the *Tribune* began its career, and Greeley and it together had risen to prominence and reputation throughout the Republic. Devotedly loyal to the Union, Greeley had always been independent and free in his criticisms of his own party-leaders. He had not hesitated to point out what he deemed faulty in Mr. Lincoln's policy during the war. At its close he had dismissed from his own heart and from the pages of his journal all sentiments of rancor against the South; and he had given practical evidence of the sincerity of his feelings by boldly coming forward as bondsman when Jefferson Davis was indicted for treason, and no one else would go bail for him. Grant as President had not by any means come up to the magnitude of Grant the soldier and general. Much was done during his first term for which the men he trusted too much were really responsible, but which gave occasion to serious criticisms of the President himself. Abuses there had been, and Greeley's paper exposed them in no gentle manner, rendered more pointed by the fact that the editor had no very great notion of the aptitude of military men for the presidential position. There had been enough in these exposures to arouse a good deal of feeling against the popular idol of four years before; and the opposing party imagined that by a fusion with disaffected men of the President's own party, they might carry the day against Grant, if nominated for a second term, as he was sure to be. To secure the adherence of these

malcontents the Democrats put Greeley at the head of their ticket, and during the summer and autumn of 1872 a curious and energetic campaign was carried on with Grant and Greeley opposed to each other. The latter threw himself heart and soul into the contest, and he paid for his efforts with his life. He was sixty-one years of age, and the physical exertions he made were in themselves carried to the extreme of imprudence. On the top of all came a crushing, heart-breaking disappointment. The chances of success had seemed fair enough, and therefore the final results must have been due largely to political treachery, which was keenly felt by Mr. Greeley. New York State gave Grant a majority of 53,456; and in the Electoral College, Greeley's vote with all other candidates combined made only 66, while Grant alone had 300. Even before the College met to announce that result officially Mr. Greeley, broken down in mind as well as in body, had been removed by death. It was so clearly and so closely connected with the circumstances of the campaign that its effect was exceedingly tragic. Two statues of a man so unique and interesting in all his career express the esteem in which he was held by his city. One appropriately adorns the entrance to the noble building which is now the home of the great newspaper he founded. The other, erected in 1894, stands at the junction of Broadway and Sixth Avenue, south of Thirty-fourth Street, and the Corporation of the City has named the space surrounding it Greeley Square as a tribute to the memory of so worthy a citizen.

A faithful record must relate the shame as well as the glory of our city; yet is it with a natural reluctance that we approach the episode belonging to this period which has justified the heading of this chapter, but which we have put off mentioning until now. It has been shown in previous chapters how a change came over the character of our municipal officers, when immigration began to assume formidable proportions, finally making possible the elevation of a Fernando Wood to the office of Mayor. Yet Wood was not himself a foreigner. The acme of corruption was reached after the war, and culminated in the shameless proceedings of the notorious Tweed Ring; yet, again, the man who has given a name to that blot upon our municipal history because he was the moving spirit of the stupendous thievery then committed, was a native of New York City, and not even of foreign parentage. His creatures and heelers, however, nearly all bore cognomens of unmistakable foreign connections. The plague spot of political corruption, which had already insinuated itself into the municipal life of New York before the war, had the opportunity to spread itself insidiously while men's minds were bent on outside events. Besides, the ravages of battle had eliminated the better element of the masses, artisans, laborers, and smaller tradespeople, leaving those who dared not or cared not to go to the front, and who thereby showed they had but little feeling for the country to which they had

come to better their condition. When they found that their votes could pave the way to fortune, or at least to easy jobs with little work and much pay, it was but natural that they should adopt politics as a profession, serving masters who manipulated their votes to mutual advantage. This state of affairs made possible the political boss, leading droves of heelers to the polls. By the simple device of universal and irresponsible suffrage, he could obtain what positions he wanted, and distributed the benefits thereof in place of emoluments as he pleased among the creatures whose votes had given him power. The funds that necessarily accrue for purposes of government are always a peril to the integrity of a free system like ours. Its enormous quantity tempts the unscrupulous, and methods of access to it and subsequent peculation are easily contrived when people of the lowest moral status with no responsibility whatever, nor any interest in the welfare of the State, can be herded together and by their combined and skillfully marshaled votes, neutralize the suffrages of people of weight in character or means, overwhelming them by greater numbers, and reducing them to a helpless minority.

William Marcy Tweed, "by merit raised to that bad eminence" which requires singling him out in this story of our city's shame, was born, as a recent chronicler relates with great particularity, at 24 Cherry Street. It was a more desirable neighborhood then than now. His parents were Americans and evidently admirers of William L. Marcy, who in 1833 became Governor of the State, since they called their child after him. Tweed's birthyear was 1823. He had a common school education, and began life as a respectable artisan, a manufacturer of chairs, the only honest thing he ever did. But very early he gave signs of an innate dishonesty; a gentleman who knew him in early days has often told the writer that no one would trust Tweed with a quarter around the next corner. He soon saw in the politics of the city a chance to pursue dishonest schemes with profit and with safety, for he had not the courage of the common thief or burglar. In 1850, when but twenty-seven years old he was already an Alderman. At this time street-railway franchises were freely sold by the Council, and the city fathers were familiarly called the "Forty Thieves." As he and his fellow members were arrested for these proceedings, Tweed, who escaped conviction, determined to try Congress for a while; his wish in that line only needed to be known to make nomination and election by the hordes that voted at his beck a mere matter of course. Congress afforded no chance for peculation and was therefore altogether too uninteresting. Meanwhile the qualm of reform had departed from the New York public and it needed only a little more careful manipulation to make stealing easier and to leave it undisturbed. In 1857 Tweed was made a School Commissioner, and his fingers began at once to rummage around for dollars in the public crib. It was not much that he could realize in this

"WHO IS INGERSOLL'S CO?" N.Y. TRIBUNE.

MR. INGERSOLL: "ALLOW ME TO INTRODUCE YOU TO M. CO."



TWO GREAT QUESTIONS.

Th. Nast



WHO STOLE THE PEOPLES MONEY? — DO TELL. N.Y. TIMES.

'T WAS HIM.

TWEED CARTOONS BY THOMAS NAST.

position. As member and later President (four times so elected) of the Board of Supervisors of the County, however, opportunities opened and multiplied, for by this body the State tax was to be apportioned and raised. But a finer chance yet for theft was afforded by the position of Street Commissioner. Contractors were told to make out their bills with fifteen per cent. overcharge. If they did not do that they would not get their bills paid at all. Still there was danger of being assailed by people inconsiderately and obstreperously honest; and to be perfectly undisturbed in these operations, the idea of the "Ring" suggested itself. That is, there must be a number of officials playing into each other's hands, and thereby keep off the hands of a meddlesome public. To secure this result the voting-machinery as well as the voting masses, must be under the control of the robbers. The Board of Supervisors appointed inspectors of election. On a certain day when this duty was to be performed Tweed and two of his six Democratic fellow members bribed one of the six Republican members to stay away. The inspectors therefore were all made of exactly the kind that was needed. Now the heelers were given careful instructions how to vote. They were to assume several names, and give as many different addresses, and vote as often as the number of their names, and in as many districts. Tweed's house in 1868 harbored six voters; a certain Coroner's was supposed to contain thirteen. One Alderman's residence furnished twenty citizens, another's twenty-five. A State Senator, as became his superior dignity, registered from his house no less than thirty citizens of the United States with the sovereign right of the ballot. But these citizens were also created by the thousand by the process of naturalization. It took no more than five minutes to make fifteen naturalized citizens; and these people were driven in droves like cattle from polling place to polling place and bidden vote as they were told. The Inspectors of Election being secured, and obedient roughs standing ready to beat any decent citizen into insensibility who should show a disposition to interfere, well might Tweed sneeringly ask of a helpless public, "What are you going to do about it?" As a result of this skillful maneuvering, Tweed as Street Commissioner was flanked on one side by a Comptroller, Richard D. Connolly, who paid the bills; on the other by a City Chamberlain, Peter B. Sweeney; while three judges were placed upon the bench to block the ways of justice when it sought to reach the robbers, viz., Barnard, Cardozo, and McCunn. The Mayor, A. Oakey Hall, afterward escaped all convictions as an accomplice, but he signed vouchers without closely examining them, or according to his own term, "*ministerially*," by which he meant that he was not obliged even to read them over.

Everything being thus complete, and the "Ring" in perfect shape for successful operation, there was no reason why the money should not be stolen by the hundred thousand and the million. In 1863 the

expenses of the Street Department reached the sum of \$650,000. In 1867 Tweed had made them \$2,600,000. Twenty-six dailies, and fifty-four weekly papers were pampered with great fees for official advertising; when the ring was smashed, twenty-seven of these purveyors of information went out of existence at once. The County Court House remains to-day a monument of the gigantic transactions of this ring of thieves, and illustrates well how they operated. It was stipulated in the bill authorizing its construction that it should not cost more than \$250,000. Before work upon it was begun, in 1868, one million had been appropriated; while in 1872, when it was not yet finished, \$8,000,000 had been expended, or four times the cost of the magnificent Parliament Buildings in London; and when it was finally done, the sum had grown to between twelve and fourteen millions of dol-

lars. The bill for carpets alone was \$4,829,426. Andrew H. Garvey, who died the other day in exile, put in a bill for plastering amounting to \$3,495,626; and the plumber's bill was \$1,508,410. The city's debt rose into the scores of millions. Tweed seemed to grow more greedy from the very satisfaction of his lust for money. He boasted that his for-



COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

tune was now \$20,000,000, and that it would soon approach Vanderbilt's in magnitude.

It was impossible, however, that such scoundrelism could go on with impunity for very long. The thieves, intoxicated by the very success of their inordinate rapacity, were bound to quarrel and fall out among themselves, and then honest men would be sure to come by their dues. Somebody would eventually be dissatisfied with his share of the spoils and then there would be a break-up. The Sheriff, James O'Brien, gained possession of some papers which minutely recorded certain pecuniary transactions of the ring. He had no intention of serving the public by an exposure of them, but Tweed had been somewhat slow to allow a claim of his to a part of the spoils, and he threatened to publish the papers unless his demands were met. Negotiations failed at first by reason of Tweed's overweening confidence; and when prudence prevailed and terms were about to be concluded other cir-

circumstances intervened. Thus on July 18, 1871, O'Brien went to the office of the *New York Times*, placed a copy of the damaging papers in the hands of the proprietor, telling him to do with them what he pleased, and left without even sitting down. On July 20 the *Times* began the publication, continuing until July 29, and all the city knew how much and in what ways the Tweed Ring had stolen their millions.

Now followed indignation meetings, and indictments, and trials too tedious to follow in detail. Suffice it to say that the Ring was smashed effectually though not easily even now, so carefully had the rascals intrenched themselves. It is to be noted with regret that all but one member of the ring escaped imprisonment, although many were obliged to sacrifice a good part of their ill-gotten wealth by sudden flight to foreign parts, and some had to live in exile the remainder of their days. Nevertheless, there is satisfaction in the fact that the one member of the Ring who was caught and punished was the head and center of it, or Tweed himself. On October 28, 1871, he was arrested, and being put under one million dollars bail, Judge Cardozo allowed Tweed's son to become his bondsman with property transferred to him by his father. He escaped serious inconvenience in this way several times. In January, 1873, however, he was brought to trial on two hundred counts before Judge Noah Davis, when a jury's disagreement again favored him. At last, in November, 1873, he was convicted and sentenced by Judge Davis to twelve years' imprisonment. He was sent to the Penitentiary, but was released in June, 1875, on a decision of the Court of Appeals that his sentence, being cumulative, was illegal. He was at once re-arrested on suits of a civil nature to recover \$6,000,000, and his bail was put at three millions. This he could not raise and he was consigned to Ludlow Street jail. He was aided in an escape thence by his old friend Sheriff O'Brien, in December, 1875. He fled to Cuba, and was arrested there while living under an assumed name as a supposed filibuster, but was released by the American Consul, who failed to recognize him until too late, so that he escaped and reached Vigo, Spain. There he was identified by his resemblance to Nast's cartoons, which had gone all over the world; and by an act of courtesy the Spanish Government delivered him up, as there was no extradition treaty requiring it to do so. In November, 1876, he became once more an inmate of Ludlow Street jail; on March 8, 1876, a verdict for over six millions of dollars was obtained against him; and as this sum was now utterly beyond his power to pay, a prison was the abode assigned to him for another number of years. In 1877 he offered to turn State's evidence, and testified to many of the frauds perpetrated by the Ring. He had hoped that this service would procure his release, and when he was disappointed he broke down in health, and died in prison, on April 12, 1878, at the comparatively early age of fifty-five. It was an impressive ending, quite in accord with the good story-books. The three



TWEED CARTOON—THE VICTORY OVER CORRUPTION.

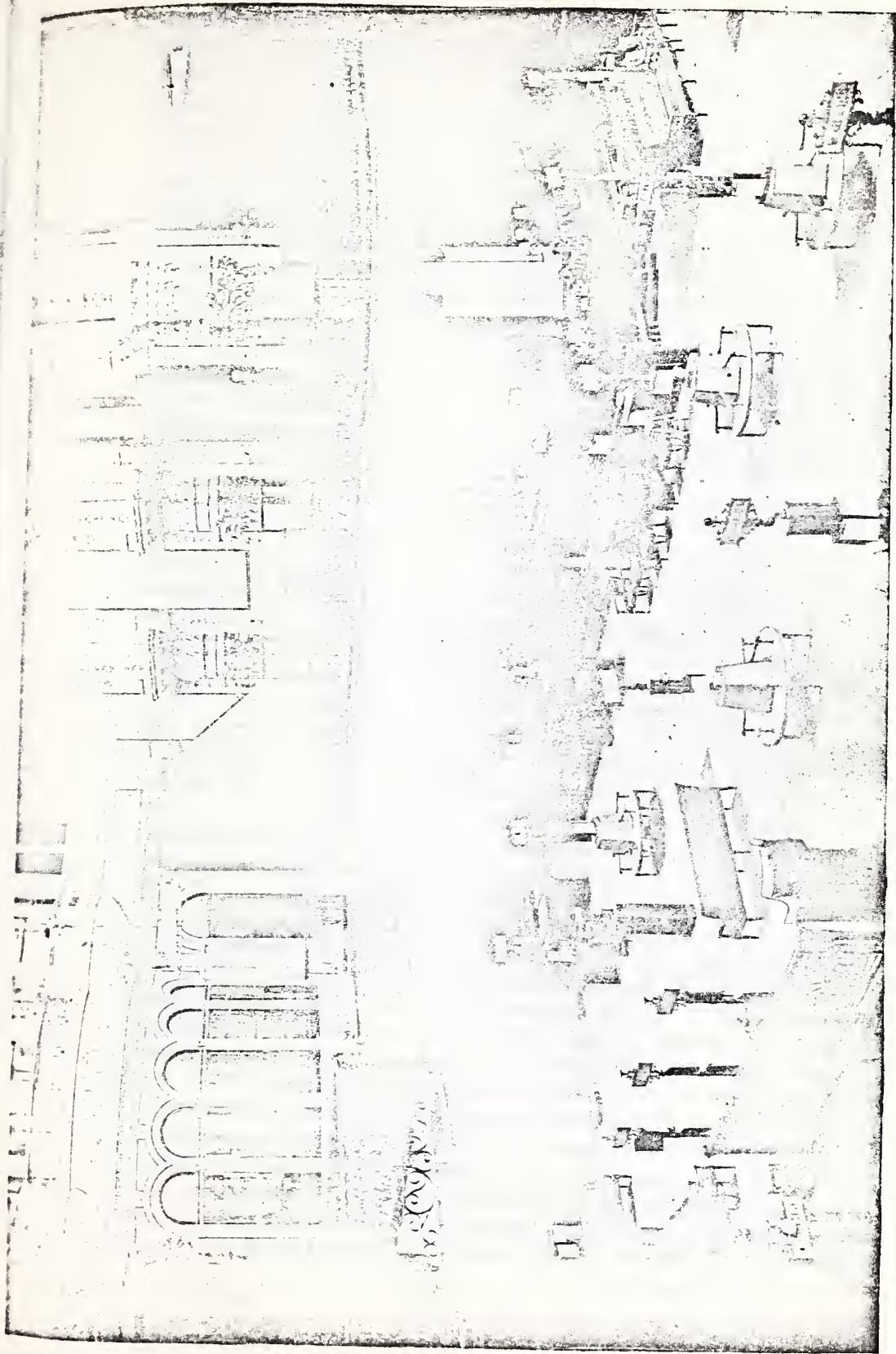
King judges suffered impeachment, Barnard and McCunn standing trial and being removed; while Cardozo resigned to escape trial. But while all this was satisfactory to a degree, and though the smashing of the Ring was a great triumph for the better element, reflecting credit on the press, the bar, and the citizens generally, we cannot but agree with the Hon. Mr. Roberts's reflections on the incidents. "The marvel is," he says, "that a great city should suffer such crimes to go on before its eyes; should allow its expenditures and its debt to run up by the scores of millions; should continue to accept such persons as its representatives and its rulers; should tolerate the display of their pleasures and expenditures, of their impudent dictation and audacious defiance of courts and statutes." The marvel is still with us.

Political corruption, affecting legislators and judges as well as city officials, was responsible also for the direst effects of financial speculation. There still stand vividly before the memory of middle aged men the two "Black Fridays," the September 24, of 1869, and the September 19, of 1873. The first was the result of speculation in gold. The war having made necessary the issue of large quantities of paper currency, to be redeemed later in coin or gold, there was a constant fluctuation in the value of this paper money as compared with gold. The less gold in circulation, the higher rose its price in paper. In this state of affairs men of the stamp of James Fisk saw their opportunity for money-making. Their scheme was to produce a "corner" in gold, buying up all they could get hold of. Its scarcity in market of course caused a rise in its price. With crass impudence Fisk announced his purpose to run gold up to 200 on the very day—Black Friday—when came the crash. Many brokers began to sell at the running prices when they saw that Fisk could not compel any higher. The Government also put four millions of gold upon the market, thus helping to break the "corner." Fisk would have been ruined, but he shamelessly refused to fulfill his contracts to sell on the orders for lower prices than those at which he had bought. When his victims sought redress from the courts they found themselves bound hand and foot by injunctions issued by corrupt judges previously "bought." Fisk had purchased a controlling share in Pike's Opera House, now the Grand Opera House, on the corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. The popular indignation against him was so great that he was obliged to take refuge in this building hiring toughs to guard him against attempts of the people to break in and drag him out.

The Black Friday of 1873 was due to a variety of causes. There was as yet no resumption of specie payment, and a man having a thousand or ten thousand greenback dollars in hand, was deceiving himself if he thought himself really worth that much. If he had bought a property with greenbacks, it was a mistake to suppose that

in solid money he could get the price he paid, and when he realized the fact it gave him a sense of loss, perhaps of ruin. The fires in Chicago and Boston had reduced immense sums of money to ashes; involving also the destruction or weakening of many financial institutions. Railroads had been constructed all over the country beyond the necessity for them, and bonds held in their name being supposed to represent the value of the money paid for them, were suddenly found to be worthless. The best of financiers were not proof against this delusion. Holding considerable of such bonds the firms of Jay Cooke & Co., and Fiske, Hatch & Co. were involved in ruin; and when it was learned that these eminent and upright bankers had been deceived by the values of railroad bonds, a panic seized upon every one. Even good bonds were thrown upon the market and sold for a pittance. Enormous losses were thus entailed in the fear of losing still more, for many found that what they held in hand was of no value to speak of on one day though it had been a good investment the day before. But these acts of folly and desperation were stayed by the hand of Mr. Jay Gould, who had been greatly blamed in connection with the former Black Friday. At a certain stage of the market although he might have let it go down still further and have thus realized still larger profits on subsequent sales, Mr. Gould bought several hundred thousand dollars' worth of shares of good railroads, such as those of the Vanderbilt system, thus arresting their decline and saving many brokers from utter ruin. On September 20, thirty-five firms were announced as having suspended. The Stock Exchange was closed on that day, and did not again open its doors till the 30th. The excitement in the streets near the Stock Exchange was intense. Wall Street, and Broad to Exchange Place, was one solid mass of men, and in the drizzling rain on Black Friday itself people stood on the stairs of the Treasury Building watching the actions of the agitated financiers, shouting and running hither and thither, or looking in silence their blank despair. When the Exchange was closed a sort of impromptu one was organized in the open air by brokers who were not members. The panic at the heart of the country's finances was felt all over the Union. Credits languished, prices of securities of all kinds fell, even Government bonds declined. Savings banks were subjected to ruinous runs, and many succumbed. Manufactured goods were lowered in price, factories shut down or ran on short time, and wage-earners were thrown out of employment. It was the beginning of a long siege of "hard times."

Municipal matters have, alas, already filled too many pages of this chapter. In 1866 the Mayor was John T. Hoffman, in many respects an interesting character, a man of good presence, and good abilities, as yet in the prime of manhood, being only thirty-seven years old. He was a graduate of Union College. Two years later he was elected Governor of the State, obtaining over twenty-seven thousand major-

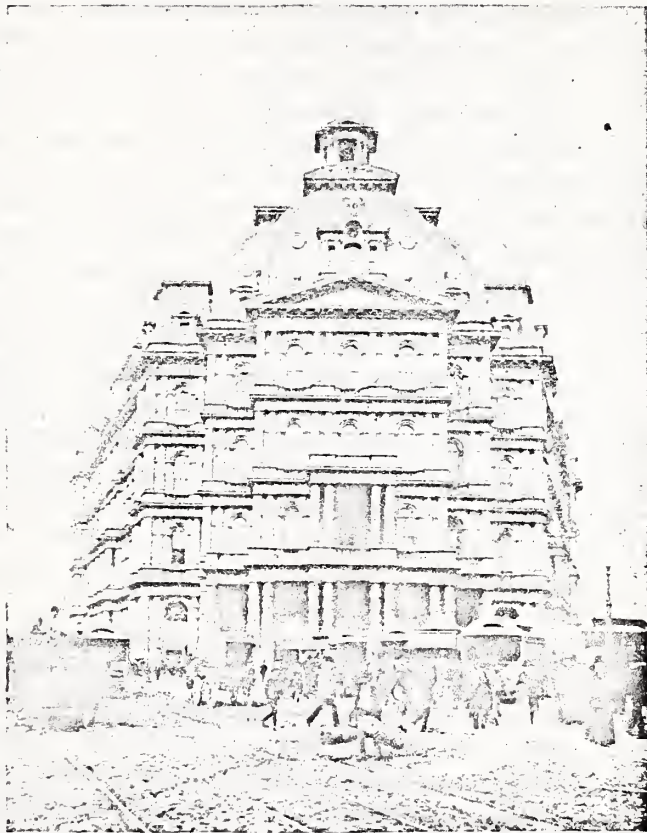


THE INTERIOR OF THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

ity while Horatio Seymour, the presidential candidate, received a majority over Grant in the State of only ten thousand. He bid fair to lead his party in a National contest at no very distant date, when, still young, death claimed him. He had to resign his Mayoralty to accept the Governorship. His successor was A. Oakey Hall, who has been mentioned on a previous page. He is still living and came before the public the other day as counsel for the leader of the Salvation Army in a suit brought by neighbors who were annoyed by the midnight noises made by these strange religionists. Hall was a man of many parts. He was a native of New York City, and figured in turn as a lawyer, a writer, a dramatist, a lecturer, an actor, and finally as a politician. He was indicted for complicity with the Ring, but was acquitted, first by reason of the death of a jurymen, then by a disagreement of the jury. The first edition of Prof. James Bryce's celebrated work, "The American Commonwealth," contained somewhat unsparing strictures on the ex-Mayor for his share in the doings of the Tweed Ring. Hence a suit was brought by Mr. Hall against the publishers, so that later editions of the book appear without that forceful illustrative chapter. During his term occurred the Orange Riots of 1870 and 1871. July 12 is the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne, which determined the struggle between James II., and his son-in-law William, Prince of Orange, who had been proclaimed King of England. The Protestant Irishmen celebrate the day as a great event in their civil and religious history. The Catholic Irishmen have their St. Patrick's Day on March 17, when they parade the streets of the city, playing national tunes, wearing the green, and in every way asserting both their nationality and religion. It would seem as if that right belonged equally to other nationalities or faiths. But on July 12, 1870, the Catholic Irishmen, feeling that they practically owned the city, undertook to mob the Orangemen on their march through the streets. On the approach of July 12, 1871, loud threats were made that the Orangemen would not be allowed to parade at all. In weak subservience to their henchmen and supporters at the polls, the Ring officials gave effect to these threats in an unexpected and disgraceful manner. Superintendent of Police James J. Kelso, probably at the instance of Mayor Hall, issued an order on the previous day forbidding the Orangemen to march. At once citizens of all classes and beliefs rose up in wrath against this manifest unfairness; a mass meeting was held at the Produce Exchange and the action of the city authorities vigorously denounced. Governor Hoffman was thereupon summoned to the city by telegraph, and on his arrival he immediately revoked the order of the Superintendent. A proclamation commanded all citizens to keep the peace, and at the same time the militia were called under arms to protect the Orangemen if they should be mobbed. But few of the latter were ready for the parade, as Kelso's order had changed the plans of most of the lodges.

and their members had arranged to spend the day in private picnics. When the parade presented the spectacle of some National rather than foreign and religious celebration, as it was made up of the Seventh, Twenty-second, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, and Eighty-fourth Regiments, and a body of only 100 Orangemen. No trouble occurred until the column reached the block on Eighth Avenue, between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Streets. Here some one fired a shot from a tenement house, which was probably a preconcerted signal, for at once a volley of bricks and stones followed, and fell among the soldiery and Orangemen. Chimneys were torn down and the bricks hurled from roofs upon the devoted heads of the militia. They stood this quite patiently until an officer of the Ninth Regiment was knocked senseless from his horse, either by a bullet or a stone. Without waiting for the order to fire the men of the Ninth poured a volley into the tenement whence the murderous missile had come, and the men of the Eighty-fourth followed their example. The deadly fire had a good effect in taking the fight out of the mob before they had fairly commenced.

Fifty-four persons were killed, including three members of the Ninth Regiment. As usual, quite a number of the victims were innocent spectators. No further trouble was experienced on the way down to the armory of the Seventh Regiment (then over Tompkins Market, on Third Avenue and Seventh Street) except that a slight disposition to repeat the attack was manifested on Fourth Avenue, opposite Cooper Institute. The mere order to the militia to halt and face about, however, sent the crowd there scattering in every



THE POSTOFFICE.

direction. About this time the notorious James Fisk had temporarily superseded Colonel William Seward as commander of the Ninth Regiment. He discreetly absented himself from the city, as his bravery consisted exclusively in spreading ruin among unwary and innocent investors in railroad stocks. It is possible that the hatred he had incurred by his Black Friday proceedings might have caused the bullet of private revenge to be leveled at him in the mêlée. Two years later that very fate met him from a rival aspirant to the sinful favors of an adventuress, in the corridor of a hotel on Broadway.

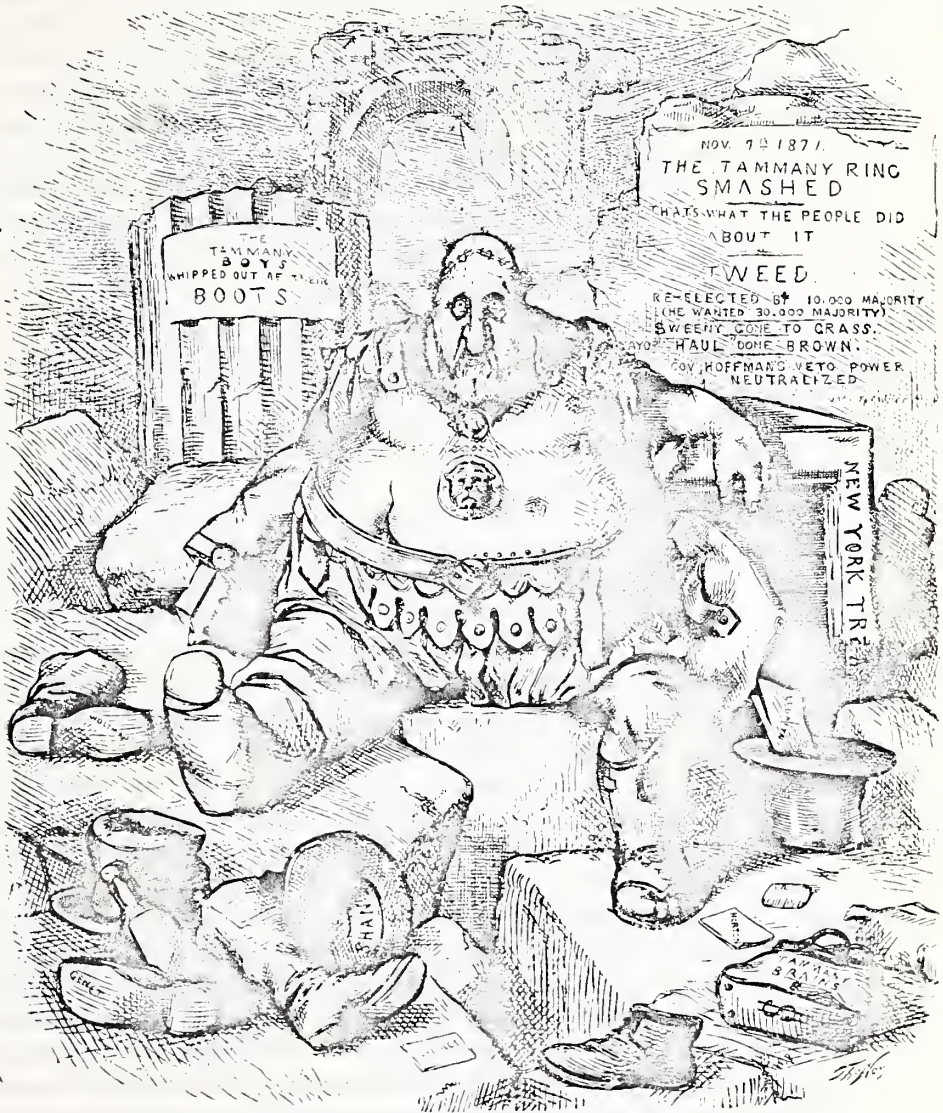
Early in the year 1865 there was effected a radical change in the New York Fire Department. The volunteer system was abolished. A Board of Fire Commissioners, consisting of four members, was appointed by the Governor, and the men employed were paid by the city. On May 2 this new order of affairs went into effect. The firemen were supplied with steam fire engines such as had been in use in London for some time, and the old and inadequate hand-engine drawn by the men themselves to the scene of fires, were laid aside permanently. Not long after the new organization had been put into working order, there was a first-class fire to test its efficiency. On July 13, 1865, Barnum's Museum on the site of the later Herald Building and the present St. Paul Building, corner of Ann Street and Broadway, was found to be on fire, and it soon required the whole force to save the neighborhood. It was impossible to arrest the flames in the building itself, belching forth fire and smoke from every story. But the old Knox building, and others in the vicinity were preserved from the destroying element. There were great crowds up and down Broadway and filling the side streets, watching the brilliant display and regarding with interest the operations of the trained firemen and of the novel engines, puffing away at a rate which seemed to threaten explosion.

Another municipal event of great importance was the appointment of a Board of Health by an act of the Legislature in February, 1866. It was to consist of four members. The first Board was composed of three physicians, Drs. Willard Parker, John O. Stone, and James Crane, and one layman Mr. Jackson S. Schultz, who was made chairman. This institution was all the more gladly hailed, and its great powers freely accorded to it, because in the preceding November there had been another cholera scare. The steamship *Atalanta*, sailing between London and New York, had brought over some passengers suffering from this plague. The contagion spread to a small extent in the vicinity where the patients were confined, but winter being at hand it was checked. In the spring another steamer brought over a number of sufferers from cholera, and now the disease broke out in various parts of the city, reaching its height during August. Yet by the care of the new Board of Health it was confined to only the most unhealthy districts of the city, and not more than four hundred and

many cases proved fatal within the city proper. In 1870 another Municipal Department, that of Docks, was created, but in all these years since the Board has accomplished but a very insignificant part of its original designs. It is somewhat surprising that the Mayor was permitted to appoint, or at least nominate these Dock Commissioners. The control of the city was all this time thoroughly localized at Albany. As we have seen before, it was hoped that this policy would stay the tide of corruption which had begun to rise as early as 1857. Prof. Fiske points out that this did not prevent the Tweed frauds. Indeed, the Ring made the control of the Legislature a plea for their peculations as a matter of necessity, and a proof of the innocence of their intentions. In order to get the "hayseed" legislators to do anything really of great use to the city, Tweed claimed that they had to be bought over, at good round figures; and it was to "reimburse" themselves for these outlays that the virtuous city politicians had put their hands into the municipal treasury and robbed it by the million. By the use of bribes Tweed actually secured the passage of a charter abolishing all control of the city from Albany: it proved a boomerang later. Another change of importance was the abolition of the Board of Assistant Aldermen. This was done by an act dated June 13, 1873, by which also the State and charter elections were again directed to take place on the same day. The Common Council was now to consist only of Aldermen, one from each ward, of which at this time there were twenty-one. The population of the city in 1870 had reached 942,292 souls, thus nearly approaching the million mark. Its sister, and near neighbor, Brooklyn, with its 396,099 souls stood third on the list of cities of the Union; Philadelphia being second with 674,022.

Within a remarkably short time of each other, there died during this period some of the most eminent New York journalists. We have related the death of Horace Greeley, on November 29, 1872. On June 18, 1869, his early coadjutor on the *Tribune*, but later editor of the *Times*, Henry J. Raymond, passed away. On June 1, 1872, the founder of the *Herald* died, the venerable James Gordon Bennett, who had reached the goodly age of seventy-seven, while Greeley was only sixty-one, and Raymond not more than fifty. Of still greater age, and more widely known as a literary man and poet, was the editor of the *Evening Post*, William Cullen Bryant. He was seventy-eight in the year that Greeley and Bennett died, and lived till 1878, attaining the high age of eighty-four. A most honorable part was played by such papers as we have just mentioned in the warfare against Tweed. We have related how Sheriff O'Brien brought documents exposing the Ring's financial operations to the proprietor of the *Times*, and how, from July 20 to 29, 1871, this journal gave the facts freely to the public. Connolly came to Mr. Jones, either before the publication of the papers or after the first had come out, and offered

him deliberately the enormous bribe of \$5,000,000 if he would suppress the damaging information. The bribe was indignantly spurned. Laying aside all journalistic rivalry, the *Tribune*, the *Post*, the *Staats-Zeitung*, and other respectable sheets, nobly supported the *Times* in its crusade. But *Harper's Weekly* deserves especial credit for the pub-



TWEED CARTOON—"TO THE VICTOR BELONGS THE SPOILS."

lication of Thomas Nast's irresistible cartoons. By means of these, as we saw, Tweed was identified even in Spain. The monumental robber feared these cartoons immensely more than he did the exposures and diatribes in the other journals. "I don't care what people write," he said, "for my people can't read. But they have eyes, and

they can see as well as other folks." Of course Nast was offered money and a host of other favors, houses, trips to Europe, *ad libitum*, but equally in vain.

The commerce of the city had greatly suffered from the war. The Southern privateers made sad havoc among her shipping until the Alabama was finally sunk. The merchant marine thus destroyed was not replaced after the war, because ships were being built of iron rather than wood, and we were not yet in a condition to compete with England in that kind of building. To remedy this defect, protection was tried. No vessel constructed abroad was allowed to obtain American registry. Whatever the excellence of this plan may be theoretically, the shipbuilding industry was certainly kept at a discount, while the carrying trade passed at the same time to other nations. Between 1850 and 1855 seventy-five per cent. of our ocean traffic of all our imports and exports, was carried in vessels of American make and ownership. In 1869 the percentage had fallen to just thirty, considerably less than half, with the commerce of the world greatly increased in those fourteen years.

Social life in the city in the period after the war was marked by a continuation in the establishment of societies for mutual improvement, or with benevolent designs. In April, 1866, was founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Its establishment was due to the compassion, energy, and single-heartedness of one man, Mr. Henry Bergh. He inherited a comfortable fortune from his father, the celebrated shipbuilder, Christian Bergh, mentioned more than once in previous chapters. He was at one time Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, and traveled extensively throughout Europe. The cruelties to animals he saw perpetrated there, were fully matched by what was daily witnessed in our own streets. But when he began to agitate for laws on the subject he found there was a public sentiment to be created from the very beginning. In the face of the indifference and ridicule of all, and of the hostility of those whose profit it was supposed to be to practice cruelties, he persisted in his efforts, founded his society, succeeded in educating sentiment in this city, and all over the country, and finally secured laws upon the statute books which seriously interfered with the practices that had hitherto been indulged in with impunity. The agents of the Society are now everywhere, and it will no more do to brave their interference than that of policemen themselves. Another society of excellent design was that for the Suppression of Vice, incorporated at the instance of Anthony Comstock in 1873. Its purpose was to check the dissemination of obscene literature, and the procuring of laws punishing those guilty of printing or circulating such degrading and ruinous reading. Mr. Comstock has also, even to this day, to bear the brunt of much ridicule and rancor, but the good accomplished by the Society is incalculable. A society of a quite different order, and then

unique in the social history of the Republic or city, was that of Sorosis, a club for women, organized with twelve members in March, 1868. It was founded by Mrs. J. C. Croly, and its object was stated to be "to promote pleasant and useful relations among women of thought and culture, and render them helpful to each other." These ladies engaged in discussions at regular fortnightly meetings, on such varied topics as Education, Art, Science, Music, Philanthropy, Drama, House and Home, Business, and Journalism. The Society has grown to goodly proportions since, and continues to be a force in the social life of the city.

There were some notable buildings erected during the years immediately succeeding the war, indicative of the growing interest of the citizens in matters of art. The various wanderings of the National Academy of Design from the Old Clinton Hall in Beekman



Henry Bergh

Street to its present elegant home, have already been briefly traced. It had no building of its own till the one now occupied was erected on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue, completed in 1866. Its style is peculiarly artistic, making it quite unique among the architectural features of the city. It is of the Venetian Gothic order, gray and white marble (or graywacke) and bluestone blending in various designs. The cost was \$237,000, raised by popular subscription. Two years later, October 31, 1868, the cornerstone was laid for the fine structure of the Young Men's Christian Association directly opposite the Academy; in the Autumn of 1869 it was ready for occupancy.

In 1867 Pike's Opera House, afterward purchased and run by James Fisk, and since known as the Grand Opera House, was erected on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Eighth Avenue. Early in 1869 Edwin Booth opened the theater built by him on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Sixth Avenue. It was to be devoted to Shakespearean and the highest kind of drama. But it is no more; a somewhat discouraging commentary on the theatrical tastes of the community. The venture proving a complete failure, entailing much loss on the eminent tragedian, the building was long since sold and torn down and stores now occupy the site. Opposite Booth's was erected the massive granite structure of the Masonic Temple. Its cornerstone was laid in June, 1870. As the Old Hall on Broadway, nearly opposite the New York Hospital, between Duane and Pearl, had been considered the finest building next to the Merchants' Exchange in earlier decades, so this edifice, when completed, took a foremost rank among the noblest and most imposing structures that

place the city in these later days. Among these now the United States Government began to place one worthy of itself and of the city. It was high time that the postoffice should have a fitting home. In 1873 it was still doing its work the best way it could in the old Nassau Street Church, with its colony of outbuildings. But for a year or two the splendid granite building occupying the southern end of the old City Hall Park had been in course of erection. In 1870 the work was begun, and in August, 1873, it was ready for use. It is doubtful if in a later decade the people would have allowed the historic Park to be so seriously curtailed even for so noble a purpose as this. Again, in 1869, the construction of the Grand Central depot was begun, opposite the northern end of the Fourth Avenue tunnel, which was such a marvel to an earlier generation. Opened to traffic October 9, 1871, it was at that time the largest railway station in the United States, with a length of 696 feet and a width of 240 feet, affording room for twelve tracks side by side. The old depot at Twenty-seventh Street became Barnum's Hippodrome, and later Madison Square Garden. In March, 1867, Tammany Society prepared to move to its new home on Fourteenth Street, selling its old hall on Park Row to the *Sun* newspaper.

In the way of church erection it would be impossible to trace the various and increasingly handsome edifices the numerous denominations were erecting in various parts of the city. St. George's was still located in Beekman Street at the beginning of this period; and until 1869 the North Collegiate stood in Fulton. But in 1872 the latter was gone, and its counterpart, as the northernmost of the Collegiate Reformed Churches, stood on Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street, an elegant brown stone structure of highly ornate Gothic style, dedicated in 1872. A notable event in the history of the religious life of the city was the meeting of the World's Evangelical Alliance in New York, in October 1873. This Alliance represents all the Protestant denominations in the world, and was organized in 1845. The first meeting was held in London in 1846; the second in Paris, in 1855; the third in Berlin, in 1857; the fourth in Geneva, in 1860; the fifth in Amsterdam, in 1867. At the latter session the New York delegates were authorized to invite the Council to meet in New York at its next world-session, providing thus for a quite natural transition from the Old Amsterdam to the New. Various political disturbances and the Franco-Prussian war interfered, so that not till October 1873, was the Alliance prepared to meet again. A social reception was given the foreign delegates at the Young Men's Christian Association Building on the evening of October 2. The business meetings began on Friday, October 3, and were continued until Saturday, October 11. On Sunday evening, October 12, a grand public farewell service was held at the Academy of Music, which was thronged to its fullest capacity.

This same period witnessed an advance in the educational system

of the city. In 1869 the election of members of the Board of Education by the people was abolished by the legislature, and power given to the Mayor to appoint twelve Commissioners. These new men found to their surprise that the law giving the Board authority to erect a college for young men, also permitted the establishment of a similar institution for girls. They straightway proceeded to do so, and as there was felt a great need of well-trained teachers, they determined to make the preparation of these the special object of the girls' college. Hence it received the name of the Normal College. Mr. Thomas Hunter, the Principal of Grammar School No. 35, who had distinguished himself by abolishing corporal punishment, was



THE NORMAL COLLEGE.

appointed President of the new institution. On February 14, 1870, it began work on the second floor of a long, two story building on Fourth Street, extending from Broadway nearly to Lafayette Place. These quarters soon proving too small, a noble building was erected up town. At first a part of Bryant Park was solicited from the city, but it was wisely refused. There was the old Hamilton Park.

however, at Fourth Avenue and Sixty-eighth Street, running back to Lexington Avenue, which had never been utilized. This ground was given for the Normal College, and upon this the present structure arises, occupied for the first time in the autumn of 1873.

During the war the city's progress had almost come to a standstill as regards the extension of streets and the spread of population. Whereas before the war some eight hundred houses had gone up yearly, not more than from sixty to eighty per year were built from 1861 to 1865. The population seems even to have somewhat decreased. During the Tweed régime, while much was stolen and much bad work was done, a few enterprises were put under way tending to beautify the city. The Boulevard was laid out from the corner

of Fifty-ninth Street and Eighth Avenue to Tubby Hook or Inwood, following the old Bloomingdale Road and making a drive of eighteen miles. St. Nicholas Avenue took the place of the old Harlem Lane, a dead level of nearly a mile, but carried beyond that up the rocks of Harlem Heights beyond One Hundred and Sixty-first Street till it crossed Tenth Avenue. Some avenues further down town now among the finest were then as yet in an inchoate state. Madison Avenue above Forty-second Street was a confusion of dirt and rocks. Lexington Avenue was not carried beyond Sixty-fifth Street. Transit was only by horse cars and stages. The horsecar is still with us to some extent, wherein we must appear slow to other cities. But the stage is no more, except in a totally different and deteriorated form on Fifth Avenue. The stages used to be things of interest, and their management a matter of skill, with their double teams of four horses on some lines. It may be interesting to recall the routes of the six principal lines. They were the Broadway and Fifth Avenue, turning into the latter at Fourteenth Street; the Broadway, Twenty-third Street, and Ninth Avenue, taking passengers to the old Hudson River Railway Depot at Thirtieth Street; the Broadway and Fourth Avenue, running to the Harlem Railway Depot; the Broadway and Eighth Street; the Broadway and Second Street; and the Madison Avenue; not one of them running further north than Forty-seventh Street. In 1873 squatters possessed the rocks still standing high and dry on Sixth Avenue between the horsecar depot at Forty-third Street and the Park. Then, too, the spot where now rise the palatial mansions of the Vanderbilts on Fifth Avenue was a bare rock just peeping above the surface. As another evidence of the little regard then paid to the preservation of the city parks, the elegant St. John's Park was sold in 1867 to the Hudson River Railroad Company, which soon occupied the entire area with a huge freight depot. Many of the nicest and oldest families of the city had made their abode there before this; and some of these, the celebrated engineer John Ericsson among them, refused to leave the neighborhood even after its desecration by a clamorous traffic.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CITY CROSSES THE HARLEM RIVER.



ARLEM VILLAGE is no more. Harlem as a separate district of the city, easily distinguished, isolated, apart, a refuge from the hubbub of business and traffic,—has also long ceased to be. It has been engulfed by the tide of population now spread all over the island, and the elevated roads have brought it as near the heart of business as Fourteenth Street, or Forty-second Street were in earlier decades of the century. Harlem



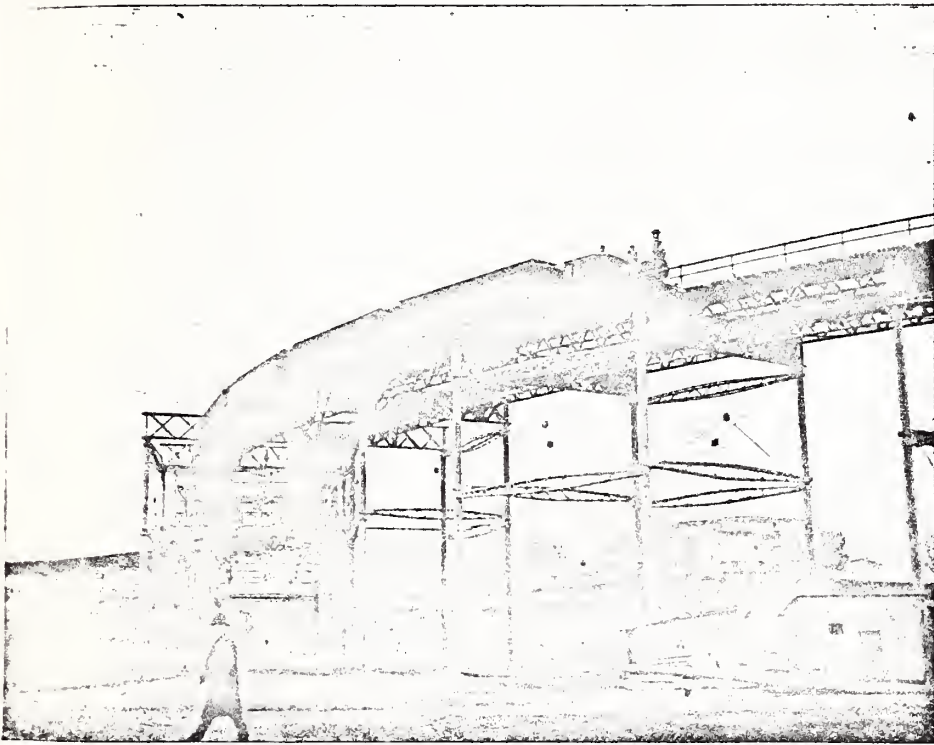
WATER TOWER, HIGH BRIDGE AND WASHINGTON BRIDGE.

is now only a name, hardly even a section; just as Greenwich, and Chelsea, and Yorkville, and Manhattanville, and Carmansville, are but names, their original limits only to be identified by the antiquarian. Before we allow our minds to contemplate the conditions which deprived Harlem of its distinctive features or separate existence, "a longing, lingering look behind" at the ancient state of things may not be out of place. We have seen how in the time of Kieft, Dr. de la Montagne, his sole councillor, occupied a tract of land covering part

of Harlem, between Fifth or Third Avenues and the East and Harlem Rivers; and that Joachem Pietersen Kuyter, his bold antagonist and accuser, held another large plantation further up along the Harlem River, which he named "*Zegendaet*," or, Bliss-vale. Walloons early settled in this vicinity and they used to go and hear Domine Michaelms preach in the mill-loft, and afterward Domine Bogardus down in Pearl Street, walking all the way from Harlem; those from New Rochelle, ferrying themselves across to the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. Van Twiller took possession of the Barents Islands (Randall and Ward); and one of his council secured a section of Harlem below One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street and along the East River. Still as people did not seem disposed to found a permanent or compact settlement there, and Stuyvesant's military mind was set on having a post at this extremity of the island as a defense against incursions from the mainland on the part of either Indians or Yankees, in March, 1658, the Director and Council of New Netherland passed a decree that a village be founded at this point. A name was readily found for it. Amsterdam in Holland was flanked by the city of Haarlem at a distance about equal to that of the proposed village from the fort; and what more natural than that New Amsterdam should have its New Haerlem, as the Dutch city's name was spelled in that day. A road was laid out in an east and west direction, touching the East River at One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, and a second road parallel to it some fifteen rods to the north. Between these were staked off the lots facing on either street, and about 93 feet deep; somewhat deeper as they tended westward, the two streets diverged toward the West. Cross streets here and there connected the two main ones, so that there might be about four lots to a block. Northward the land was laid out in farms or "gardens." On August 14, 1658, ground was first broken in the work of preparing these blocks and lots, and on September 10, the surveys and staking were finished. In this same summer of 1658, however, the laborers and such settlers as there were, were greatly afflicted by the "distempered atmosphere," so that a peculiar sickness, attended with great "debility," prevailed among them, and proved fatal to some. This, of course, was what we moderns call "malaria," a distemper which has been no stranger to Harlem in its later history. Indeed it was a common saying in the days which we have now reached in our narrative (about 1874) that malaria afflicted the very dogs there to such a degree that they were too weak to bark, or had to lean up against a fence to go through that exercise. It cannot be wondered at that people hesitated about settling there: but Stuyvesant's will was wont to override greater obstacles than this, and those who had accepted lots were ordered to go and occupy them on pain of losing them. So the Slots, and Cressons, and Tournours, and Demarests, and Montagnes went out to brave the malaria, and they succeeded in

surviving and leaving posterity. The spring and summer of 1659 saw these permanent settlers and earliest Harlemites arrive. A Court of Justice was established and Magistrates appointed on August 16, 1660. In this same year a church was founded. During the summer the devout villagers had walked to New Amsterdam and worshiped in the Fort Church. But that could not be kept up in winter time. So in November, 1660, we find a Rev. Mr. Michael Zyperus buying a home in Harlem, and services were held in a private house, or some barn. The first church-building was put up in 1664, close by the river and between One Hundred and Twenty-fifth and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Streets. It stood on the south side of the northerly one of the two main roads, which was called the Grooten Weg (Great or Main Road) or Kerk Laan (Church Lane). In 1686 the frame building was replaced by a substantial one of stone, its length and breadth about the same, with a steeple and gilt weathercock, of which the Haerlemmers were very proud. It was erected on the north side of the lane, and was not removed till 1825, the cemetery surrounding it remaining till 1868. In 1825 a large church was built on the corner of Third Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-first Street. The building still remains but when the elevated trains came thundering by and disturbed worship, it was turned around to face One Hundred and Twenty-first Street, and upon its ample front yard separating it from the Avenue, a tall business edifice was erected, producing a comfortable revenue, and deadening the irreverent noise of the trains. When the English came in 1664, Nichols tried to change the name of the village as he had that of the city, and called it Lancaster. But that name never "struck in," and Harlem has prevailed to this day. All through the eighteenth century Harlem was the objective point of lovers and pleasure parties for sleighrides in winter or chaiserides in summer. When in 1807 Gouverneur Morris and Simeon De Witt laid out their system of streets as far as One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, they apologized to an amazed public, by saying that it was quite reasonable to suppose that people would begin to put up dwellings on the plains of Harlem, before they would occupy the intervening hills to the South. And their foresight has been vindicated abundantly by the event. About the middle of this century, before the advent of the horse-car, and while stages still took infrequent journeys to Harlem, there were no houses whatever along Third Avenue between a tavern at Ninety-seventh Street, itself a distant outpost, and One Hundred and Second Street. From that point to One Hundred and Twentieth Street only a few scattering houses were to be seen, while north of that street the dwellings were quite compact, yet to no greater number than two hundred, and stretching no further than Fifth Avenue to the westward. Then was St. Nicholas Avenue but plain Harlem Lane, with its three-quarter mile dead level, and shady trees offering a splendid 'speed-way for testing horseflesh.

Mount Morris rejoiced in the plebeian title of Snake Hill, a curious rise of rock and hill in the midst of the plain, affording splendid views of rivers and islands, and bays, and woods and hills, in every direction. In 1865 the horse-cars had come into being, and more people and more houses followed, but a visitor who had been familiar with the village in 1846 still found it very little changed. The great transformation came when the elevated roads were built. Before this it had been more convenient to live in Brooklyn or even in New Jersey than in the upper part of Manhattan Island: but now there was no object in leaving the island, and people flocked to Harlem. In 1874 it was still



ELEVATED RAILROAD—CURVE AT 110TH STREET.

separated, on the side of Third Avenue, by a wide gap of open country extending from about Ninetieth Street to One Hundredth Street. It took the horse-cars fifty minutes to convey passengers from One Hundred and Twenty-ninth Street to Twenty-third Street, and nearly an hour and a half to the City Hall. All this was soon changed when the swift trains began to thunder over head, and reduced the time from utmost Harlem to the Battery to only three-quarters of an hour. The alternative to the horse-cars before that were the steamboats leaving Harlem at the foot of One Hundred and Thirtieth Street at frequent intervals throughout the day. There was a whole "Sylvan" family of them, the Sylvan Grove, and Glen, and Dell, and others, some of

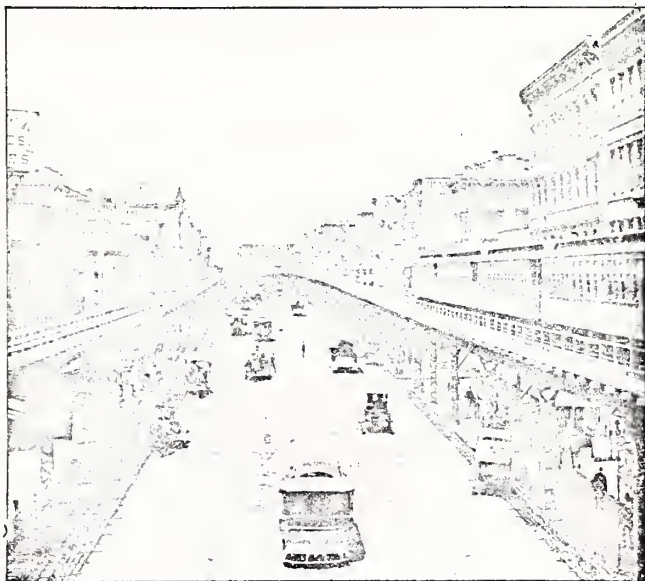
which were quite fast boats. A few of the trips were "express," when no stops were made between Harlem and Peck Slip. By this means business men could reach down-town offices in about half an hour's time, or more, according to their distance from Peck Slip. The trip was a grateful relief after the care and confinement of business in the evening, and a bracing preparation for the day's duties in the morning. But the "L" roads were a little more expeditious, and did not make it very essential as to the precise minute one should start from home; and so this pleasing and wholesome steamboat service fell into disuse and was abandoned.

The earliest attempt at an elevated railroad to run through the streets of New York, was the Greenwich Street Road, running on one side of Greenwich Street from the Battery to Thirtieth Street and Ninth Avenue. The section between the Battery and Cortlandt Street was opened to the public in July, 1867. The track was laid on solid beams of iron of the form used ordinarily in buildings, and evidently not as strong as the open-work that makes the trusses of the later structures. At any rate there was a break down at one of the street crossings where the spans were necessarily longer, and no more was heard of the Greenwich road or any other for some years. There was some hesitation too as to what mode of propulsion to adopt. At first a cable was used, and later small locomotives. But neither gave satisfaction. In 1875 the first Rapid Transit Commission was appointed as the result of an act of the Legislature, and after long deliberation, considering various proposed methods, the Commission decided in December that elevated roads were the most practicable. Of course the questions of noise and of the disfiguring of the streets were raised in objection. One plan proposed to build the structure between the blocks, through people's back-yards; but finally it was resolved to sacrifice the looks of the streets for the sake of the great benefit to be derived from rapid transit. Two companies were chartered, the Gilbert to construct railways on the West side, and the New York on the East side. The Gilbert Company became the Manhattan, and in 1879 the roads all came under one management. Cyrus W. Field purchased a controlling interest in the New York Company, and applying to this new enterprise that energy which had secured to the world the Atlantic Cable, the work was rapidly and efficiently pushed forward. Some years later, by one of those inevitable financial fluctuations attendant upon successful enterprises, the price of elevated railway stock went down to a ruinously low figure. At this juncture Mr. Jay Gould bought enough of Mr. Field's shares to save him from utter ruin. Since that time Mr. Gould, and after his death, his sons, have retained control of all the elevated railways in the city.

Work was carried on quite simultaneously on both sides of the city. On June 5, 1878, the Sixth Avenue road was opened from Rector Street to Central Park; on August 26, 1878, the Third Avenue road.

from the Battery to Forty-second Street. In the summer of 1879, one arriving in the city by one of the Jersey ferries, still had to walk all the way to Chatham Square, or cross Broadway to Fulton Street and Pearl, to get the East side elevated train; and at Eighty-ninth Street he would have to descend to the street and take a horse-car further to Harlem. In 1880 the roads were completed and trains ran to Harlem along all the avenues, Second, Third, Sixth, and Ninth. Thus the Rapid Transit problem seemed to be solved; Harlem was brought near; a city extending over Manhattan Island made compact as in the days of small distances. Hundreds of thousands of passengers were daily carried back and forth from home to business. But the problem thus working raised a still larger one for itself. In later years the cable-cars and electric trolley-cars have come to aid in the increasing need for rapid transportation. Still heads are bent in anxious study to determine what shall be done to keep the transit once rapid from becoming too slow; what new methods shall be applied to reduce the strain upon the older.

It was now that a change came over the appearance of Harlem. Some years before the "L" Roads, a new method of domestic existence had been introduced into the city. The Parisian flat had caught the fancy of the people and met at once the necessities created by the excessive rents of houses. In 1865 the system had already been put into operation down town, by dividing the older style of houses in an extempore and often inconvenient manner into "floors," for the separate occupancy of different families. But Harlem, where new houses could be put up adapted from the beginning to this new style of living, became very soon the paradise of "flats." When, therefore, the "L" Roads were making this section so convenient to business, these "flat" houses filled up the vacant spaces every where visible before, until soon they were no more. Traveling on the east side we perceive



ELEVATED ROAD—IN THE BOWERY.

now no break between New York proper and Yorkville, or between Yorkville and Harlem. One solid succession of cheap apartment-houses greets the eye on Third, and Second, and even First Avenues. And on the west side, from Fifty-ninth Street, along Columbus (or Ninth) Avenue, to One Hundred and Tenth Street and along Eighth Avenue nearly to One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, we see one series of the same inevitable, uninteresting apartment-houses. Two immense caravan-series usually occupy a whole block, on either side, with perhaps a little alleyway between. At the same time one gets glimpses of rows of dwellings in the side streets, intended for single families, and with some pretensions to elegance, but again monotonously alike, or with attempts at variety even more painful, sometimes effected by placing houses of dark and light stone by the side of each other in regular alternation, so that a rapid passage in the elevated trains gives one the impression that the fronts of the buildings are striped.

While Harlem still had a semblance of its earlier rural self, and was not yet closely articulated by bricks and blocks and elevated trains to the rest of the city, it is somewhat surprising that even then the city felt the confinement of its insular position and aspired to larger things. It was as early as 1873 that, by an act of the Legislature as usual, New York was permitted to cross the Harlem River, and plant its banners over a large slice of Westchester County. We cannot but regard this as an event worthy of special note. It is almost incredible that from the earliest days, even when New Amsterdam received incorporation as a city in 1653, the whole of Manhattan Island should have been regarded as embraced in it. We can never sufficiently appreciate the audacity of the Commission which, in 1807, coolly laid out a system of streets, covering nearly the entire surface of the island. But the dream that was not expected in 1807 to be realized for centuries, was already nearing that realization at the end of six and a half decades. Therefore room must be sought off the island, long before all the room upon it was fully occupied. And it is again deserving of remark that as much territory was added to the former area as had been from time immemorial considered the proper modicum for the expansion of the infant town. Manhattan Island was estimated to contain fourteen thousand acres of land; the part of Westchester now annexed amounted to thirteen thousand acres. This territory was now divided into the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Wards, which, like the Western States as compared with the Eastern, thus became, in comparison with the twenty-two down-town wards covering only a thousand more acres, the wards of "magnificent distances."

The city by its passage across the Harlem River embraced within its territory some choice bits of rural scenery not only, but many places with "a local habitation and a name" full of historic and other

forest. There was Kingsbridge with its Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and a lofty Spuyten Duyvil Bluff, looking far down the river, and making a half-successful attempt to rival the height of the Palisades. What stories of romantic adventure cluster about the settlement here! The trumpet of Anthony van Corlaer is heard with despairing blast sounding above the roar of the rushing tide, as the devil he was bound to spite got hold of him amid the seething waters. Here Governor Clinton held post with his brigade, to keep English and cow-boys from crossing to Manhattan. Here a bold dash was made against the British defenders about the same time that Light Horse Harry Lee surprised Paulus Hook. Through Kingsbridge clattered the little cavalcade of six, in 1756, when Washington rode forth from New York to Boston. Here Adams was met when he came to the city as Vice-President, and to Kingsbridge was Lafayette escorted and here cordial adieus spoken by him to the dignitaries of the city who had so handsomely entertained him in 1824. Next to Kingsbridge lay the village or manor of Fordham, where the Huguenots settled and founded a church even before 1700. And up and down its steep and winding roads poor Poe was wont to wander, perhaps not always with steady feet, at his wits' end how to provide the necessaries of life for his sick wife, lying up there in that miserable little cottage by the side of the Kingsbridge Road, where it stood until lately. There it stands yet, a little distance removed from its original position, preserved for the sake of the weird genius that wrote the "Raven." Was it as early as this, or some years later, that the horse-cars of the "huckleberry road" pursued their devious and deliberate way to Fordham from the old wooden Harlem toll-bridge? But this brings us to Morrisania, named after the famous Morris family, which gave a Chief Justice to New York Province, and a Mayor to New York City, and to the whole country in the days when patriotism cost something, the many-sided Gouverneur Morris, statesman, orator, financier, diplomat, engineer, and finally a dignified and retired country gentleman. A delicious story is told of him by "Felix Oldboy" in connection with the founding of Mott Haven, now also become a part of the growing city. When the elder Jordan L. Mott had purchased the ground for his great foundry plant, as he received the deeds from the hands of the venerable Gouverneur Morris, he asked whether he might call that portion of the "Patroonship" after himself, "Mott Haven." Morris was blunt in his older days as he was outspoken and fearless in his younger, and replied, "Yes, and for aught I care you may change the name of the Harlem River to the Jordan, and dip into it as often as you want to." As Mott was not afflicted with the Syrian chieftain's leprosy he did not follow the latter part of this recommendation, nor change the name of the Harlem. But he dug a canal which has become a sad nuisance since, extending a good way up beyond One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street. The same authority

informs us that Morris even at his great age was vigorous at handling a scythe or sickle, and gave his men a hard tussle to keep up with him at harvesting, in which bucolic occupation the retired statesman would regularly engage in spite of the remonstrances of aristocratic relatives. The noble old mansion of the Morrises stood near the water's edge, about where the Harlem and East Rivers joined their waters. The first house erected in what was the village of Morrisania proper, was that of a Mr. Cauldwell, in 1848, and a "Union" Church was organized the next year. Mott Haven was soon populated by Mr. Mott's prosperous operatives who built scores of cosy little homes in



HARLEM RIVER IMPROVEMENTS—LOOKING WEST FROM KINGSBRIDGE ROAD.

the vicinity of the "works"; and to be sure that the name might stick to his manorial and industrial possessions Mr. Mott put up a sign-board that could be seen across the river with the legend "Mott Haven" inscribed thereon, and secured for it also Government recognition as a postoffice station. It will make the denizens of Morrisania weep or smile according to their predilections to be reminded of the fact that the place was intended to be a strictly temperance village; not only gin and whisky and all that ilk to be banished therefrom, but also the milder intoxicants, beer and ale. The towering and multitudinous breweries of the district at the present time are a sad

an amusing commentary upon these laudable designs. Man proposes, and some other power disposes: what the power in this case may have been, we leave to the decision of the reader. Port Morris at the extreme boundary line toward the Sound or East River, then had a foundry, as to-day it has that and several other imposing industrial lives, to be seen far and wide along the shores of the broad waters whereon it abuts. Little was it thought in 1873, that the villages of College Point, and Flushing, and Astoria, all within view at Port Morris, with Riker's, and Berrian, and North and South Brother Islands, would all one day be embraced within the sweep of these city limits which had just brought this then remote territory into New York. But further than Port Morris lay the village of West Farms, and that too with all its memories of the past became a legitimate part of New York City and its history. Here the De Lancey's had their country seat; and hot were the controversies on election day in Westchester County between the Morrisises and the De Lanceys, made irreconcilable antagonists and rivals by the arbitrary favors or disfavours of Governor Cosby, who put down one (Lewis Morris from the bench of the Chief Justice) and lifted up another (James De Lancey) without consulting anybody but his own will and his own pocket, as by this means he hoped to get away a few thousand pounds of back salary from stanch old Councillor Rip Van Dam, who had been Acting-Governor for over a year. Here at West Farms too a deed was done reflecting honor upon a name that needs the mention of all the honorable acts ever performed by its bearer to counterbalance the one dark deed that ruined him. Aaron Burr led a daring assault on a block-house—built here by Oliver De Lancey, the brother of the Chief Justice and a rabid Tory; the very audacity and rapidity of the maneuver causing the garrison to surrender without a shot in its own defense. After 1873, and in the process of making this rustic historic retreat a part of the city, sad havoc was made of roads and houses, great or small. The horse-car, soon after the annexation, and the trolley now, have brought it into communication with Harlem Bridge, and the elevated road thunders past at no great distance. Ten years ago hills half cut away, houses left absurdly high and dry that were once even with the road, or placed on piles with the very ground gone from under, gave evidence of the transition still incomplete. But even then, or even now, nooks may be found where pristine nature still revels in her unsullied beauty, and human beings dwell in rustic retirement, all unconscious of the fact that they are part of a rumbling, rattling, thunderous mart of industry and commerce. Thus did New York take part of Westchester; and will she let die these names that are dear to the antiquarian, and to the original villagers? The railroads have partly taken care that she will not. For Mott Haven and Melrose, and Fordham and Morrisania, and Kingsbridge and Spuyten Duyvil and all, look kindly down upon us at every

stage, and it is not likely that these will soon depart from their timetables or their stations.

The city having crossed the Harlem River, was bound to keep bridges in its rear. It was not doing anything like crossing the Rubicon, but on the other hand was greatly interested in keeping up the means of crossing back and forth to the fullest measure. The oldest bridge by far of course is Kingsbridge, which superseded the ferry there in the days of the earliest Van Cortlandts. For a long time this remained the only means of crossing to the mainland, and Washington in 1756, as well as Lafayette in 1824, on their way to Boston, had to make their journey around to this extremity of the island. Before the middle of the century, however, a toll bridge had been built across to Morrisania or Mott Haven from the end of Third Avenue. It was a wooden affair, none of the strongest or safest. It could not have been very old in 1846, yet even then people shivered a little in going across, and eyewitnesses describe it as something of "a ruin, moss-grown and shaky." Some years before the annexation this bridge was replaced by a fine iron drawbridge, turned by a steam engine, and presenting three great arches to the view as one came up or down the river, one on either side supporting the approach, and the larger central one revolving on a pier to allow the passage of ships. But this has had a shorter life than its wooden predecessor, for at the present day it is no more and for a year or two a splendid structure has been under way, allowing a greater distance between its bottom and tide water. For the same reason the Fourth Avenue Railroad Bridge has been greatly raised. At Second Avenue a lofty bridge carries the trains of the elevated roads across the river. At Madison Avenue foot passengers and horse-cars cross over by a bridge which has curved approaches, and leads directly from the avenue running south and north into One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street running east and west. For many years Macomb's Dam Bridge has been a familiar object. It was erected in 1861, high above the river, with wooden trestle-work, and wooden supports for the approaches. Often has its name led the innocent into dangerous semblance to profanity; but the designation arose simply enough. General Macomb once undertook to throw a dam across the Harlem at this point; but the dwellers along the lower shores of the river could not endure this desecration, which made a mere mud creek of the stream by their doors. So they came up in a body and smashed the dam, but could not break the name away from the locality. In deference to delicate ears, however, the city fathers have tried (largely in vain) to christen the bridge with the name "Central." Struck with the fever for improvement, the wooden structure was replaced only recently by a splendid bridge of iron, graceful and strong, having a length of 1,920 feet and width of 50 feet. It was begun in 1892 and opened to the public on May 1, 1895. Its cost was two millions of dol-

It serves to connect Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Avenues, at their termini, with the annexed district; while from Amsterdam (Tenth) and St. Nicholas Avenues comes down a tremendous viaduct the full width of One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, directly to the bridge, high over the tracks of the Eighth Avenue Elevated Railway. A bridge conveys trains from the latter structure over the river, running there on the surface to various points in the annexed parts, and up to Yonkers and beyond Tarrytown. Next in the series comes the noble old aqueduct long known as High Bridge, erected at the first construction of the Croton Water system in 1842. And still above, at but



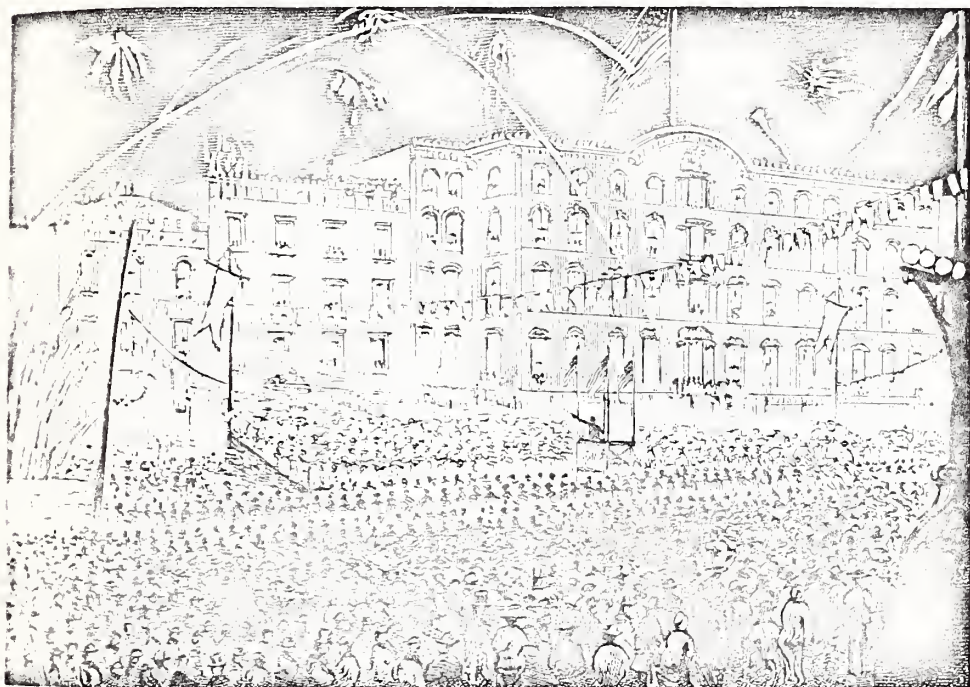
THE CANAL THROUGH DYCKMAN MEADOWS AND THE ROCKS.

a short distance, is seen the last and noblest structure of all, the wonderful Washington Bridge. Its lofty roadway, 150 feet above tide water, leads from One Hundred and Eighty-first Street and Amsterdam (Tenth) Avenue straight across to Fordham Heights. It is 2,400 feet long and 80 feet wide, and built of iron, steel, and stone. It rests mainly upon two immense arches of steel, each with a span of 510 feet, and rising 135 feet above high water mark at their center. The approach on the west side rests on four arches of granite faced with dressed stone, and that on the Fordham side on three similar arches. It was completed in 1889, but not formally opened to the public till the next year.

The Harlem having thus become a stream passing through the heart of New York, it was but natural that something more should be made of it than it was in its previous condition. It is of course called a river only by courtesy, the tides rising and falling in it like an arm of the sea. It is simply a depression separating, with Spuyten Duyvil Creek, Manhattan Island from the mainland, and into this depression the waters of the Hudson River and of the Long Island Sound (here also called by courtesy East River) were bound to flow. A channel of good depth ran through the center, but at low tide a considerable portion of the "River" was converted into mud flats. This must now all be touched and altered into better shape by the hand of improvement. The shores were not to be allowed to remain in their pristine condition, with the waters alternately within reach and inaccessible with the changes of the tide. Docks and wharves were built out upon the mud foundations so that deep water might always be at hand for traffic. The rustic stream principally used for pleasure boating was dignified with the character of a waterway of commerce, and therefore the bridges that were obstructing navigation must be reared upon loftier piers, cost what it may. There has even been some talk of removing the fine High Bridge, if its solid piers should interfere too much with shipping. Thus the deepening and the docking of the Harlem River and its shores has been going on for some time. But to complete its service as a highway to commerce, other work needed to be done. In 1876 the Legislature of the State prepared the way for the improvements by passing an act giving permission to the United States Government to acquire the right of way necessary to enable it to carry out the plan of making a ship canal of the River, reaching from Long Island Sound to the Hudson. The course of this canal is from the East, through the Harlem River, to a point near Two Hundred and Twentieth Street. Here are the Dyckman Meadows, a depression of the land immediately north of the lofty heights which make necessary and possible the exalted roadway of Washington Bridge. Striking into this at first easy pathway, the canal was to be cut subsequently through a barrier of white rock in a curved line until it reached Spuyten Duyvil Creek. The whole canal is seven miles long, and from eight to nine feet deep throughout its entire extent. A year or two ago the connection between the Harlem and Spuyten Duyvil was completed, and the opening celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, but the entire work of "the Harlem River Improvements," will yet require some years for its accomplishment.

July 4, 1876, the Centennial Fourth, was a day not to be lightly passed over by the citizens of New York. The celebration was among the most notable of all those that took place in the various cities of the land. On the evening of the 3d the city was made brilliant with illuminations, repeated on the next evening with the addition of fireworks. Union Square was made the center of attraction. Broadway was a sea

fire from the Square all the way down to Dey Street. An electric apparatus on one of the great telegraph buildings was made to pour a flood of light over the whole length of the thoroughfare, while hotels, stores, banks, and such private residences as were then still upon it, vied with each other in the splendor of decorations and illuminations. The City Hall, the newspaper offices in its vicinity, the banks and other business concerns, were ablaze with devices in lights and colors. All through the day church bells rang, chimes played National airs, and Castle William fired a hundred guns. A monster procession marched through the streets, and gathered upon the plaza at Union



UNION SQUARE ON THE EVENING OF JULY 4, 1876.

Square. Festoons of bright lamps were strung all around the great space, making the scene one of unparalleled beauty and brilliancy. A platform had been erected whereupon were placed one thousand singers, members of German Saenger Bunds. The bands that had marched with the procession assembled, and took up a position between the grand stand and the singers' stand. An incalculable multitude surrounded in irregular mass these more regular preparations, while thousands of lights and flashing fireworks constantly illuminated the whole immense and inspiring group. Enthusiasm was raised repeatedly to the highest pitch by the splendid effect of such a great chorus of voices, rendering patriotic National airs, or stirring

passages from the great operas. At the same time the unprecedented number of pieces playing together, made the music of the bands vastly more exciting than usual. Above the crowds could be seen the director of the bands and of the singers swinging his baton from a small inclosure adorned with flags, and putting life and spirit into the extraordinary performance. Before and after the musical exercises the sky was made lurid with bombs and rockets, and set pieces of wonderful design and still more startling operation.

During that same summer New York was interested in the presidential canvass, because one of the candidates was Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of the State, and recently identified with the successful assault upon the Tweed Ring. The result of the election in the autumn was long doubtful. At first the *Tribune* came out conceding the election of Tilden over Hayes. Of all the papers the *Times* alone contended that Tilden was not elected, and gradually figures began to confirm its rather unique position. By its publications and figures posted in front of the old building on Printing House Square, it gathered from night to night an excited crowd. In the next Presidential campaign, in 1880, there was again a personal interest for the city, since the nominee for Vice-President on the Republican side, was Chester A. Arthur, one of her residents. Mr. Arthur had received the nomination not so much as a reward of merit, although he proved his merit to be of the highest quality in the time of trial soon to come. It was rather as an act of vengeance against President Hayes, and as a sort of compensation to a disappointed politician of New York. In 1880 Senator Conkling was the champion of Grant for a third term. He could not carry the Convention with him, however, and James A. Garfield was taken as a "dark horse" from among a number of more prominent candidates neither of whom could unite the Convention, as had happened in the case of Mr. Hayes four years before. Senator Conkling's wrath was then appeased by making Arthur of New York the nominee for Vice-President, which was the more calculated to gratify Conkling, because in the face of his remonstrances Mr. Hayes had removed Mr. Arthur from the position of Collector of the Port of New York, in 1877. Garfield when President also had occasion to antagonize the exacting and overbearing Senator from New York, and sad quarrels were rending asunder the Republican party, when, on July 2, 1881, the assassin's pistol struck down the President. Every thought was now bent on but one hope and desire, that his life might be spared, burying all feelings of political or party antagonism. On September 19 the country knew that its prayers could not be granted, and that the bullet fired on July 2 had finally accomplished its fatal errand. Garfield breathed his last late in the day, and in the small hours of September 20, 1881, a committee of gentlemen were at a house in Lexington Avenue, administering the oath as President of the United States to Chester A. Arthur. His

position had been a delicate one all through that trying summer, but he had borne himself with tact and prudence and a noble self-restraint. And now he entered upon a career as Chief Magistrate of the nation which has reflected the greatest credit upon himself, and may rightly be regarded as a source of honest pride to the city that owned him as one of her sons.

Centennial celebrations of events occurring during the Revolution had become pretty nearly exhausted; but there was a last one which it became New York particularly and alone to remember and signalize. November 25, 1883, would be the one hundredth anniversary of the evacuation of the city by the British. From year to year Evacuation Day had been honored as a holiday, when the militia marched through the streets, to the unfailing delight of the schoolboys, who were not required on that day to pursue the thorny road to learning. Patriotic societies had their banquets, and orators set forth the lessons of the memorial. It was not to be supposed that the centennial of such a day would be passed by without special celebration. The 25th of November falling on a Sunday, Monday, the 26th, was set apart for the great event. President Arthur came from Washington, and Governor Cleveland from Albany, and the Governors of the thirteen original States were also invited, many of whom accepted. A feature of the occasion was a parade of steamers on the surrounding waters, which was a success as to miles of length, but not as to regularity or beauty of movements, the tug-boats especially acting like young, unbroken colts, continually escaping from the bounds. Trinity chimes rang out patriotic tunes at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset. The *New York Tribune* published a rude, but clear, map of New York as it was in 1783, and all the morning papers contained long and careful accounts of the event commemorated. At ten o'clock the land parade began the march at Fifty-seventh Street, down Fifth Avenue to Fourteenth Street, to Broadway, and so down to Bowling Green, where it was disbanded. Forty thousand men were in line, detachments of troops from other States having accompanied the Governors on their visit to the city to participate in the parade. About the time the march began the rain commenced to pour down and kept up the process until midnight, discouraging many of the spectators and dimming the glory of the soldiery to a serious extent. In the

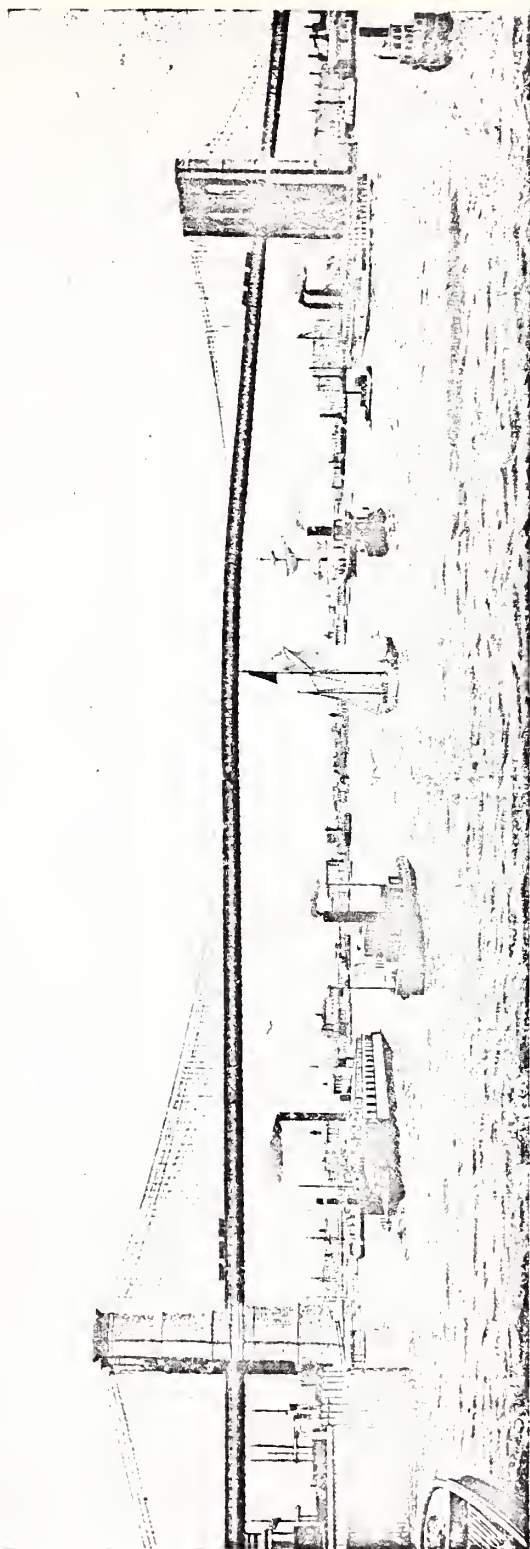


Roscoe Conkling

evening banquets and illuminations continued the celebration. The Chamber of Commerce gave a banquet in honor of the day and of the President, who made a speech, as did also Henry Ward Beecher and Joseph H. Choate. At the Seventh Regiment armory a reception was given to the visiting military. A permanent memorial of the occasion was the colossal bronze statue of Washington erected on the grand stone staircase in front of the sub-treasury in Wall Street. As early as 1880 the Chamber of Commerce made arrangements to place such a statue there, and J. Q. A. Ward was engaged to cast it. It cost \$35,000, and represented Washington in the act of taking the oath as President, his right hand extended as if touching the Bible, his left resting upon his sword hilt, just as he stood at that crucial moment in 1789. The position selected for the statue was as near as possible to the actual spot where the first President then stood, and a slab of the pavement of the balcony of the old Federal Hall was happily secured, and supports the bronze figure. In the pouring rain a goodly company assembled in the vicinity of the sub-treasury in the afternoon of that same centennial celebration. The statue was unveiled by Governor Cleveland, and accepted on behalf of the United States by President Arthur, the oration being delivered by George William Curtis.

The great event of the year 1883 was the completion and opening of the Brooklyn Bridge, on May 24. A ridiculous fanaticism raised the objection, and some timid spirits were inclined to heed it and change the date, because this happened to be Queen Victoria's birthday, the thought of which had not come to the remotest degree into the minds of those who selected the day for the formalities. It was a source of immense satisfaction and pride to the citizens of both cities that this great piece of engineering was at last done, and that its utility would now have an opportunity of vindicating the enormous expense, rising to \$15,000,000. In 1867 the first legislative steps were taken looking to its construction, and in March, 1870, the first caisson to serve as a foundation for the Brooklyn tower was sunk into place. John A. Roebling, the constructor of the famous suspension bridge across the Niagara River, was selected as engineer, but he soon lost his life by an accident, and his son, Washington A. Roebling, was appointed to carry out the plans. Steadily the work went on, the people eagerly watching as the towers rose to their height of over two hundred feet above the water, and as the first wire was strung across, upon which the five thousand or more for each of the four cables were passed over. For a long time a footbridge hung from tower to tower daring the venturous to test the strength of their heads. Then the supporting beams and trusses of the bridgeway proper began to appear. At last it hung complete, a span of 1,595 feet directly over the river, the arch being 135 feet above high water; spans of 930 feet hanging between each tower and the solid approaches; the latter

measuring a straight 1,526 feet on the New York side, and at first curving a distance of 971 feet on the Brooklyn side, but recently made considerably longer. Thus a length of over a mile, or 5,989 feet, is covered by this gigantic structure, a marvel and a triumph of engineering skill in a hundred branches. Worthy was the occasion of its opening of the most enthusiastic and elaborate celebration. The Brooklyn people gave up the day to it, as peculiarly their own, for high festivity. President Arthur and Governor Cleveland were taken in carriages from the Fifth Avenue Hotel to the bridge, preceded by a large force of police on foot and on horseback, and escorted by the Seventh Regiment, which formed in front of the hotel at half past eleven o'clock. Arrived at the bridge the gallant Seventh took position on the south roadway, facing north, the right wing resting on the New York tower. East of this tower the United States troops and Brooklyn's Twenty-third Regiment received the dis-



THE BROOKLYN AND NEW YORK BRIDGE.

tinguished guests in military fashion. At noon all business was suspended in New York. Public buildings were hid in bright bunting. The main exercises, literary and otherwise, were held in the Brooklyn terminal, and therefore belong to the history of Brooklyn, to be related subsequently. They were worthily presided over by the then youthful Mayor of that city, Seth Low, and the celebrated Brooklyn divine, Dr. Richard S. Storrs, was the orator of the day, delivering one of his most splendid and scholarly addresses. At night both cities poured forth their multitudes upon streets and roofs to see the display of fireworks from the center of the bridge. It lasted exactly one hour. At eight o'clock a splendid bouquet of rockets was sent up from the center, and at the same time fountains of gold and silver rain began to play from the tops of the towers. Then came volleys of shells, stars, meteors, fiery serpents, and rockets galore. Set pieces of an allegorical nature were also set off.

A curious reminiscence of the controversy started by some small minds as to the date of the opening may be preserved. It is a humorous protest sent to one of the daily papers on May 24 by an "Alarmed Protestant": "Have the trustees of the Brooklyn Bridge," he wrote, "offended the Irish by designating the Queen's birthday for the opening exercises? Have they offended the Grand Army of the Republic by not opening it on Decoration Day? Yes. But have they not much more offended all Protestants by putting it on Corpus Christi Day, which this year falls on May 24, the Thursday of Trinity Week? Yes. This is the true secret of the matter. Of all the days in the year to have selected that day, the feast of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass; this is the crowning offense. Suppose some of them say they didn't know it was Corpus Christi Day? Tell that to the marines. Do the Irish say the trustees are sycophants of the throne? Does the Grand Army say they are rebels at heart? Let us rather say they are minions of the papacy, emissaries of Rome. Jesuits in disguise! Now we know why they imposed a tax on foot passengers. It is for Peter's pence. Now we know what those gloomy crypts are for under the arches of the approaches. They are for dungeons of the Inquisition." Decoration Day on the bridge was signalized in a rather sad manner. This holiday gave a good opportunity for people from far and near to take their first look at the bridge and to pass over it for the first time, and vast crowds went back and forth over the promenade all day. Late in the afternoon a woman stumbled in going down the steps leading from the elevated promenade on the New York side, and a few others were carried down as she fell. Some excitable or foolish or reckless person cried out that the bridge was giving way, and at once a panic was created and a wild rush was made toward the New York approach. People tumbled pell mell down the steps, twelve persons being crushed or suffocated to death, and thirty-five

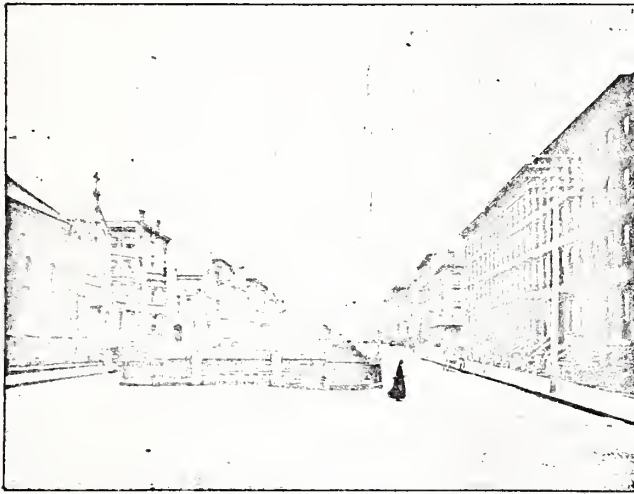
badly hurt. On September 24, 1883, the railroad was put in operation, and the average number of persons crossing the bridge per cars or on foot, is now 115,000 per day. In 1891 the promenade was made free to foot passengers, and the fare charged on the cars is now only five cents for two tickets. A special bridge police force was organized, consisting at present of a captain, two sergeants, and ninety-three policemen. They have acquired great skill in handling the immense crowds, and their quickness and promptness have stopped many a runaway on the carriage ways from making havoc in the streets at either terminus. From the first the bridge was lighted by electric arc lamps, set at frequent intervals, and one of the finest sights in all the vicinity of New York is to behold at night this crown of sparkling lights, visible for miles around, hung over the dark waters beneath. Utility, science, art, strength, elegance, and beauty, combine to render this great bridge the pride and glory of two cities. It bound them into one by strands of steel, and has led logically to the result realized in a later decade, which makes them one in corporate existence.

When the Grand Central depot arose in 1870, it was meant to concentrate there all the roads of the Vanderbilt system running into New York. The Harlem and New Haven trains had always come into the city along Fourth Avenue; but the Hudson River trains followed the shore and Eleventh Avenue down to its depot on Thirtieth Street, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues. The latter road was now deflected under the bluff at Spnyten Duyvil, carried through deep cuts in the rocks there and near Mott Haven, and along the creek and the Harlem River bank till it joined the Harlem and New Haven tracks a little distance before they crossed the Harlem River into Fourth Avenue. Accidents had been plentiful enough when two busy roads ran their trains to a great extent along the level of the streets in Harlem; it would not do to add a still busier road to the number. Hence an engineering enterprise of great magnitude was undertaken and finished in 1875. Four tracks started out from the Grand Central depot, and were conducted in their full width partly through a sunken viaduct, open to the sky between street crossings, partly through a tunnel piercing the solid rocks for over half a mile, until suddenly they emerged upon the lowlands of Harlem plain where, from about Ninety-fifth Street to about One Hundred and Fourteenth Street, they lay on the top of a lofty viaduct, pierced by arches at street crossings. Just below One Hundred and Sixteenth Street they entered once more a sunken viaduct open to the sky, growing deeper and deeper as it approached the river, and with walls of brick. In the tunnel there were three passages: a wide one in the center with two tracks for express trains, and one on either side with one track each for local trains. The entire viaduct, thus variously constructed, cost six millions of dollars, shared half and half by the city and the company. Some eight or more years ago the sunken viaduct was con-

tinued through the annexed district, with walls of granite instead of brick. But within a few years the requirements of the Harlem ship canal have compelled very serious alterations in these originally costly arrangements. Instead of the low bridge over the Harlem, one far above tide water had to be constructed, and to meet the elevation of the bridge, the sunken viaduct from One Hundred and Sixteenth Street to the river has had to be converted into an elevated one, resting on heavy iron supports. The handsome brick station at Mott Haven, on the other side of the river, had to be removed bodily from its site. With hundreds of trains passing up and down all through the twenty-four hours, this great change has been effected without the least interference with traffic, and before the present year closes the last vestiges of the temporary tracks will be gone, and the altered

road be in operation as if it never had run in any different manner through Harlem.

In the centennial year, 1876, the French Government presented New York with a statue of Lafayette by Bartholdi, whose name has been connected since with a still more famous contribution. This was done in grate-



PARK AVENUE—TUNNEL BENEATH.

ful consideration of the sympathy expressed in America with the movements which resulted in the establishment of the latest French Republic. The French patriot is represented clasping his sword with foot advanced and resting upon the prow of a boat, about to leap ashore upon the soil he came to liberate. It stands in Union Square, facing directly down Broadway, about half way between the statues of Washington and Lincoln. At the unveiling exercises, Frederick R. Conder, the orator of the day, referring to this position, said: "If we could say to Lafayette, 'Where do you wish your image to rest for ages, in order that our descendants may look upon it and love you?' would he not have chosen just the spot we have, and have said: 'I wish to be near the man who called me son, and whom I loved as a father?'" The statue of Lincoln had been set up in the year 1870; it was by the same sculptor, H. K. Browne, who had designed the equestrian statue of Washington on the other side of the Square.

On July 21, 1880, the public of New York was startled by the occurrence of an accident involving severe loss of life, and calling attention to a piece of engineering peculiarly hazardous, yet which but few knew was going on. In 1877 a company with a capital of ten millions of dollars began the construction of a tunnel under the Hudson River, intended to convey trains from Jersey City to New York, to emerge somewhere near Washington Square. It was to be twelve thousand feet long, and its extent under the river bed just one mile. Two parallel shafts were sunk, each twenty-five feet in diameter and thirty feet deep, these to be connected by an airlock with a horizontal iron tube or shaft, to be pushed into the silt and mud, the materials being blown out by the force of compressed air. As fast as the iron tube made a way for the workmen, a brick wall secured the space cleared. Several hundred feet had already been gained on the Jersey side, and work had just begun on the New York bank, when a portion of the Jersey section caved in, shortly after the men had commenced work on the morning of the fatal day, engulfing twenty laborers, whom it was impossible to rescue. It took several weeks to recover the bodies and to remove the debris. Work may still be going on, but not much of it has come to public notice.

A remarkable advance in street lighting was made possible during this period by the perfection of the arc electric lamp. In the early seventies lighting by electricity was still only a dream or a prophecy, indulged in by sanguine scientists alone. In 1876, during the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, arc lights were still shown as curiosities. But we have seen that the Brooklyn bridge was lighted by electricity as a matter of course, and at that time streets and parks were made as bright as noonday. The wise policy was pursued of placing the electric lights, first of all, and most abundantly, in the downtown streets of the worst reputation for crime and vice. They served as a material aid to the police in tracking criminals, as well as preventives of evil doing. At first many public halls and libraries or reading-rooms took advantage of the brilliant illumination. But the inevitable flickering made the light intolerable for such uses. Electricity, as an indoor illuminating agent, was only made possible when Edison, after incredible labor and patient experiment with all kinds of material, hit at last upon the vacuum bulb with its delicate incandescent thread, in 1878. It need not be told what delightful results have since been realized by this great invention.

In the matter of the city's church life during this period, three notable occurrences deserve special record. He who has an eye for the beautiful in architecture, and cherishes a loyal desire that New York may be on a par with other great cities in the world in this respect, cannot look with indifference upon the chaste, beautiful, and imposing Cathedral that adorns Fifth Avenue at Fiftieth Street. We have noticed that the cornerstone of St. Patrick's Cathedral was laid on

August 15, 1858. It was consecrated on May 25, 1879. The church is a pure specimen of the noblest Gothic style of the decorated order, in the form of the Latin cross, nave rising high above aisles, and two lofty steeples with delicate marble tracery at the front, facing to the West. It is of the 13th century style of architecture, the cathedrals of Rheims and Cologne being of the same class. The length of the interior is 306 feet, that of Cologne Dom being 511 feet; the spires attain a height of 330 feet; those at Cologne being 511 feet, or equal to the ground length. It shares with the Cologne Cathedral the rare feature of complete towers and spires, those of Antwerp and Strasburg having only one completed, while St. Gudule at Brussels and Notre Dame at Paris have the towers without the spires.

In 1876 there was an echo of the "Great Awakening" of 1740, and of the revival of 1857. At that time Moody and Sankey were names already famous, and they had made the tour of England and Scotland with astonishing results. In October, 1875, they began evangelistic labors in Brooklyn, and after visiting Philadelphia during December and January, they commenced a series of meetings in New York on February, 1876, at the Hippodrome, the site of the present Madison Square Garden, covering the entire block between Fourth and Madison Avenues and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets. The Hippodrome was divided into two auditoriums, one capable of accommodating seven thousand persons, the other four thousand. Both were filled at every meeting, and thousands more stood outside. Distinguished clergymen assisted Mr. Moody, and a choir of twelve hundred voices led the singing under Mr. Sankey's direction. But the simple preaching of the one and the impressive singing of the other were the great attractions, and won the great bulk of the results. Mr. Moody constantly insisted: "I want no false excitement," and his discretion and prudence in managing such vast audiences were a marvel. Apart from all statistics as to the number of conversions, perhaps no better evidence can be given of the excellent impression these men made upon the community than the following testimonies from entirely unexpected quarters. The *Tablet*, the organ of the Roman Catholic Church, published in New York, referred to Mr. Moody as furnishing "in the midst of an age of mocking and unbelieving, a kind of earnest testimony to Jesus, and we can not find it in our heart to say it is not of God." Again, the *Jewish Messenger*, also published here, expressed hearty approval of services, ministering to no spasmodic, emotional religion, and bound to produce substantial good. Equally appreciative were the utterances from Unitarian and "liberal" pulpits of all sorts. In 1890 Messrs. Moody and Sankey paid another brief visit to New York City, and again in the winter of 1896 to 1897. But nothing in these later years approached in the remotest degree the immense enthusiasm they awakened in the year 1876.

Just before the centennial of Evacuation Day, or on November 13.

1883, was celebrated the quadri-centennial of the Birthday of Luther, born at Eisleben, Germany, November 10, 1483. The tenth fell on a Saturday, and hence the following Tuesday was deemed a better day for the anniversary. On Sunday, the 11th, at the request of the Evangelical Alliance, the birthday of the great Reformer was made the theme of countless sermons all over the country and the world. Under the auspices of the American branch, popular meetings were held in various cities of the land. In New York one was called at the Academy of Music on Fourteenth Street, on Tuesday evening, November 13. Four hundred singers, under the leadership of Leopold Damrosch, furnished the music. As early as six o'clock the street in front of the Academy was crowded with people waiting for the doors to be opened. The colors of the United States and Germany were blended in the decorations, and across the stage was strung in huge ornamented lettering Luther's famous utterance at the Diet of Worms, where Protestantism joined issue deliberately with the Ancient Church: "Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders. So hilf mir Gott. Amen." A marble bust of the Reformer adorned the speakers' desk. The Hon. John Jay, President of the American Branch of the Alliance, presided over the meeting. In his opening address he said: "The four

centuries passed afford ample and convenient opportunity of comparing the effects of reformed and unreformed Christianity, upon the intelligence, the morality, the liberty, the prosperity of nations." He introduced as the first speaker the Rev. Dr. William M. Taylor of the Broadway Tabernacle. After an address of characteristic power and eloquence, Luther's stirring hymn "Ein Feste Burg," was sung with splendid effect by the immense choir under the leadership of Damrosch; whereupon an address was made by the Rev. Phillips Brooks of Boston, later Bishop of Massachusetts. The occasion was one long to be remembered by those present.



ST. PATRICK CATHEDRAL.

Complaints were still in order in the year 1882 that the carrying trade in the world's commerce was steadily departing from the United States. A more extensive record than the one cited in the preceding chapter painfully shows how the percentages decreased. In 1856 American ships bore of all the goods we imported and exported, 75 per cent. In 1878 this item had dwindled to 25 per cent.; in 1882, to 15 per cent. In 1856 the foreign vessels entering our ports registered an aggregate tonnage of 3,117,034. In 1881 this foreign tonnage had increased 308 per cent. During the same interval American tonnage had grown only 54 per cent. Trade and commerce were very nearly paralyzed in 1877 by the great railway strike organized simultaneously all over the country. The employees of the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and the New York Central with their Western connections, were reduced 10 per cent. in their wages, a hardship that seemed especially unnecessary after the heavy earnings of these roads during the centennial year. At one and the same time prominent railway centers were seized, and the movement of trains blocked, so that freight traffic was entirely suspended, and passenger and mail service were badly interfered with. Acts of violence soon began to occur. Pittsburg especially was afflicted with sanguinary riots and serious injury to property, and President Hayes had to send United States troops into Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia to aid the militia. Near New York the worst that occurred were partially successful attempts to burn the Erie Railway bridges on the Hackensack Meadows. In 1876 an experiment was tried by the United States Government to furnish the fastest possible mail service between New York and Chicago; and on the Pennsylvania and New York Central were seen flying the handsome white mail cars, with their lettering and other devices in glittering gilt. But the service proved too costly and was abandoned. Business of all kinds was very much affected, and in the end uniformly for the better, by the resumption of specie payment on January 1, 1879, of which warning had been given four years before by the Resumption Act passed by Congress on January 14, 1875. For several years in succession exceedingly abundant harvests had blessed the country, sending a stream of gold on its way from Europe to our shores, and this made resumption of payments on a gold basis much easier than had been anticipated, greenbacks rising to par several days before the date set for resuming. It was for news from New York that the authorities at Washington waited, for unquestionably this city was recognized as the financial center and capital of the Nation. When the message arrived at the Treasury in Washington: "A large proportion of gold checks paid in U. S. notes at request of holders,"—resumption was known to be a success. The financial transactions at New York were assuming proportions of the most gigantic sort. The year 1881 was especially phenomenal. The transactions at the Stock Exchange that year amount-

ed to over eight thousand millions, and in 1882 considerably over one hundred and sixteen millions of shares were sold there. The Clearing House also furnishes abundant evidence of what enormous monetary transactions the metropolis was the constant scene. It is recorded that in 1886 the operations there reached the astounding figure of \$3,676,830,000, or more than eleven times the highest amount of the National debt after the war. It was noted that when the Clearing House was founded in 1853, London had been before us with its own some sixty years. The operations of 1886 exceeded those of the older English house, and were two and one-fifth times greater than the clearings of all the other cities of the Republic combined. And yet the wonderful year 1881 realized an amount operated by the Clearing House far in excess of that of 1886—it then reached the really fabulous and inconceivable sum of \$50,341,836,373.89! The daily average for the year ending October 1, 1881, was \$165,055,201.22; the largest amount cleared for any one day was that on February 28, 1881, namely, \$295,821,422.37. Surely the genius that presided over the birth of this city, issuing from a town which had established one of the earliest and most famous banks of the world—the Bank of Amsterdam, founded in January, 1609, the year of Hudson's discovery—must have been slightly bewildered by the tremendous and incalculable results that followed his work in the course of two and a half centuries. For the year ending October 1, 1895, the exchanges reckoned up considerably less or about twenty-eight thousand millions. Subsequent to 1881 the times seem to have been steadily less prosperous, or capital less confident and more secretive. In manufactures also New York occupied a leading place. "It stands first in the country in the value of its annual production and probably first in the world," declares one who knows. The same authority (speaking of 1880) asserts that the "city manufactures annually more men's clothing than anything else, exceeding \$60,000,000 worth. Its second industry is slaughtering and meat-packing, not including the retail butchers, at \$29,297,527. Third in value are malt and malt-liquors, \$25,000,000. Then follow tobacco and cigars, exceeding \$22,000,000. The vast work of its printers and publishers is only fourth in rank, at \$21,696,354, and women's clothing is reported at \$18,930,553. . . . Other branches in the order of their annual values are . . . foundries and machine work, lard, sugar and molasses, furniture and upholstering, . . . boots and shoes, silks, musical instruments, grease and tallow, flour and grist, shirts, coffee and spices, and jewelry." Commerce and finance so overshadow these homely yet useful industries, that one would hardly have suspected this tremendous manufacturing activity of the metropolis, even so long ago as 1880. Commerce and industry received another efficient handmaid for the swifter transaction of its business in the shape of the telephone. In 1876 Mr. Bell ex-

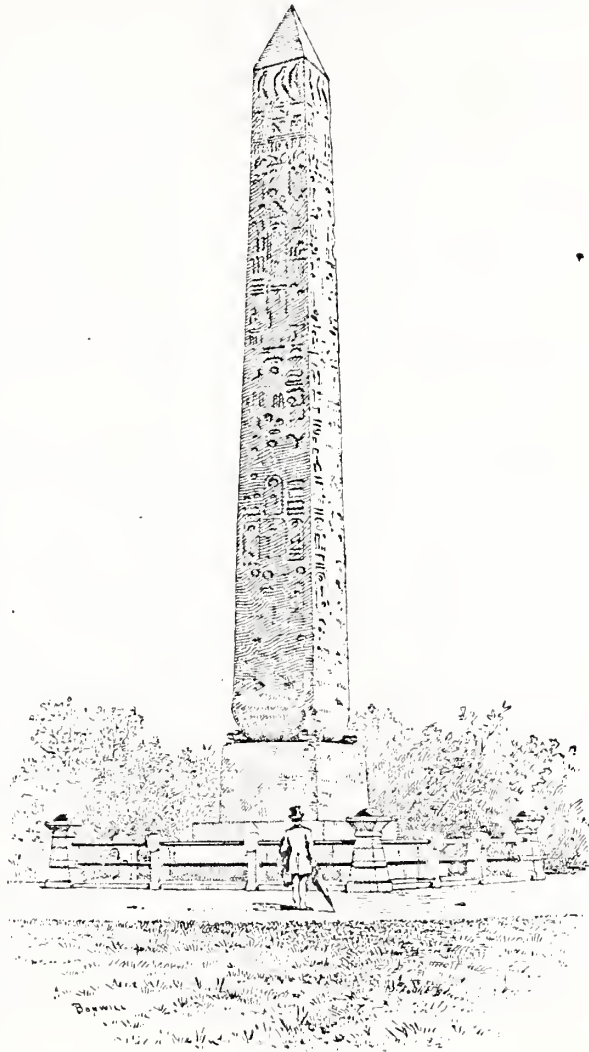
hibited the instrument as a curiosity at Philadelphia, and before the year was out Edison added a carbon transmitter, which has placed it among the necessities of business and intercourse by the side of the mail and the telegraph. In the spring of 1877 it began this career of practical usefulness, and by June 1, two hundred telephones were in use over the whole United States. Now the number reaches more than 650,000. The calls and connections in New York City alone daily average fifty thousand. Telephone communication is now an established fact between New York and Boston and Chicago.

During this period two important societies were organized. One, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, was incorporated in 1875. Mr. Bergh, of the society for saving animals from inhuman treatment, was appealed to on one occasion to rescue a child from the tortures of a drunken mother. His experience in the case led to the formation of the society in question, now supported by statutes in its work, otherwise hopeless of accomplishment because of the natural and legal rights of parents and guardians, even the most unworthy. The Society for the Prevention of Crime was formed in 1876. It was long under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, and, after his death, of the Rev. Dr. Parkhurst. It became the determined foe of the excessive saloon, and especially of the liquor business illegally carried on under the protection of the police. The Howard Mission, an organization very similar to the Children's Aid Society, was founded in 1861 by the Rev. W. C. Van Meter, at 35 New Bowery, where was established a "home for little wanderers," gathered from off the streets, or from homes where they were rapidly being heathenized.

A beginning had been made of a Metropolitan Museum of Art early in the seventies, in the Cruger Mansion on Fourteenth Street near Sixth Avenue, where Gen. Di Cesnola's Cypriote collection was the nucleus of greater things. The organization was effected by a committee of one hundred and sixteen gentlemen, appointed at a public meeting held on November 23, 1869. On April 13, 1870, the Legislature granted incorporation. Its first acquisition was a number of paintings by old Flemish and Dutch masters, placed on exhibition at 681 Fifth Avenue. In 1872 the Di Cesnola collection was purchased. The Cruger Mansion proving quite inadequate to the purposes of the Museum, permission was obtained to erect the handsome gallery in Central Park. On March 30, 1880, the edifice as it then was, was completed and opened to the public. It has been considerably enlarged since. In keeping with its purposes, a fine relic of antiquity stands in its immediate vicinity. In 1877 the Khedive of Egypt offered to the city one of the famous Obelisks, or Cleopatra's Needles, placed near the Temple of On by Thothmes III. Lieutenant Goringe devised a safe method of shipping it, and the entire expense of conveying it from Egypt and placing it in Central Park was borne by Mr. Vanderbilt.

the cost of the undertaking reaching about \$100,000. The Museum of Natural History in the annex of the Park west of Eighth Avenue between Seventy-seventh and Eighty-first Streets, was formally opened to the public, as then completed, by President Hayes in December, 1877. On the opposite side of the Park, meanwhile, on Fifth Avenue, between Seventieth and Seventy-first Streets, private wealth had erected another noble edifice, devoted to high educational purposes—the Library founded by Mr. James Lenox. Mr. Lenox had used his immense wealth to gratify a highly cultivated taste, and for years he had been an indefatigable collector of literary and art treasures. These he placed in a magnificent stone building, erected for the purpose of placing the rare books and manuscripts and the valuable paintings, within the reach of the public. It was opened in January, 1877. The building cost \$1,000,000, and was presented by him to the Lenox Library Association, with a large sum in addition for its permanent endowment.

Three men of note passed from the busy stage of New York life, to which they had contributed much that was remarkable and impressive. Alexander T. Stewart, for many years the richest man in America, died in 1876. In 1848 he had bought the old Washington Hall on Broadway between Chambers and Reade Streets, and opened there a large drygoods business. He had come from Ireland a young Protestant schoolmaster, but in New York he took to trade, opened a small store,



THE OBELISK IN CENTRAL PARK.

was prosperous, and startled the community by the scale upon which he set up business on the site of the old Hall. He gradually added to the territory and building he possessed there till a store of astonishing size for that day covered the entire block from Chambers to Reade Streets and two hundred feet back from Broadway. Not content with that, after the war Mr. Stewart secured the whole square bounded by Broadway and Fourth Avenue, and Ninth and Tenth Streets, and again startled a later generation by erecting upon that vast area a building of iron. Here he opened a retail store, devoting the down-town building to wholesale transactions exclusively. Not many years before his death he erected the most palatial mansion that had yet arisen to adorn the streets of New York, at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street. Here he died April 10, 1876. Two years later the city was thrown into a state of great agitation when it was learned that the vault in St. Mark's churchyard had been rifled of Mr. Stewart's body, by ruffians who hoped thus to compel the payment of a large sum for its recovery. A splendid mausoleum was built for the final deposit of the remains in Garden City, Long Island, and there still is some mystery about the question whether his body rests there or not.

On April 4, 1883, death removed the familiar and beloved figure of the venerable Peter Cooper, the founder of Cooper Institute. He was born in a house on Coenties Slip on February 12, 1791, so that he had been permitted to survive by a few weeks his ninety-second birthday. How many New Yorkers remember his benevolent face and active figure, flitting about the platform of the Cooper Union Hall when lectures or other public exercises took place there. He began life very humbly, doing good honest work at a variety of trades, coach-making, cloth-making, keeping a grocery store, manufacturing glue. Finally he became an ironmonger. This brought him to Canton, Md., where he built the first locomotive ever made in this country, for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In 1845 he removed his works to Trenton, N. J. Large fortune came into his possession, which we have seen he used largely for the purpose of aiding youth as lowly as he once was, to gain an education and training for various professions. His connection with the Atlantic Cable has also been related. He bequeathed the Institute as a gift to the city, and upon the square in front of it a handsome memorial has been recently erected in his honor.

On February 9, 1883, another prominent New York merchant, equally a "self-made man," William E. Dodge, died at the age of 78. He began life sweeping and doing errands for a drygoods store on Pearl Street. Later he went into the metal business, and was a leading member of the great firm of Phelps, Dodge & Co. Mr. Dodge was identified with the Young Men's Christian Association, was President of the American Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, and in many

other ways made himself a force in the religious life of the city. His strict views on the observance of the Sabbath caused him to resign his place as one of the Directors of the Erie Railroad, when it was determined to run trains on Sunday. He was one of the earliest promoters of the system of Sunday-schools when these were still a novelty in the city, and ever remained an active worker in them himself. While New York can number among her citizens a Lenox, a Cooper, a Dodge, she need not want for inspiring examples to her youth, nor fear that the pursuit of great wealth necessarily deadens the sensibilities to the finer needs of the human spirit.

CHAPTER XVII.

A CENTURY OF UNION.



THE Presidential campaign of 1884 had in it again an element of personal interest for New York. Once before one of her citizens, Horace Greeley, had been selected as a standard bearer to break up the solid ranks of the dominant political party. But the man on the other side had too strong a hold upon the people's hearts and the country's gratitude, and Greeley's defeat was inevitable. Now again a man from New York State, and her Governor, Mr. Grover Cleveland, was fixed upon to accomplish that seemingly impossible design. The dominant party had made the mistake



George W. Curtis

of nominating a man who could not rally all his party behind him. So serious was the defection that a meeting of Independent Republicans was held in New York on June 16, 1884, which was presided over by George William Curtis. They protested against the nominee at the head of the ticket, and deliberately threw out the hint that if the other party would nominate "the proper men," support would be given to them. In 1872, in just such an emergency the Democrats had been induced to go outside their party and nominate Greeley, who had often seriously opposed them in some of their most cherished principles and in which he was still out of

harmony with them. At the present juncture they did not exactly go outside their party, but they nominated one who could not be wholly claimed as a party man, who they instinctively felt was something more than they could manage, and whom therefore they chose with reluctance. It was actually threatened by the Tammany Hall stripe of party men that they would not vote for him, and that faction at two subsequent nominating conventions made desperate efforts to prevent the naming of him for the Chief Magistracy. However no success at either time was possible to

party without him, and when he was nominated in 1884, the dependents were satisfied. These received the name of Mugwump, given in derision and accepted as a badge of honor, like that of Christian, and Beggars, and Yankee, and so many others. More than one New York Republican paper of eminent standing, such as the *Times* and *Evening Post*, frankly abandoned the old affiliations and gloried in becoming Mugwump organs in the endorsement of Cleveland. New York City by a curious incident supposed to have become the turning point in the decision of the final result. Late in October, 1884, when Mr. Blaine was in New York, a delegation of nearly a hundred clergymen of various Protestant denominations, waited upon him at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, to express their cordial sympathy with the principles he represented, as well as their heart-felt admiration for him as a man. The Rev. Dr. Burchard, their spokesman, in the utterance of these sentiments became somewhat reckless in speech, allowing himself to say that the Democrats were the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." It was a beautiful alliteration, the effect of which Blaine unfortunately failed to spoil, therefore making it appear as if he endorsed the sentiment. The Roman Catholics had before this been declared by a Tammany stump-speaker to be disaffected toward Cleveland. When Blaine did not object to their being put into the same category of contempt and denunciation with Rum and Rebellion, accepting Romanism as synonymous with these, a reaction set in which many consider to have cost him the election. The result depended upon the Electoral votes of New York State, and in New York State there was a plurality of only about one thousand for Cleveland.

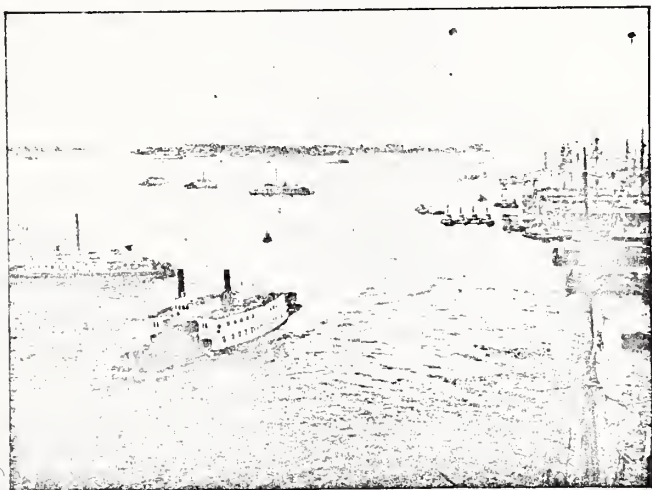
Early in the year of this Presidential campaign New York received ocular evidence of the dangers that attend the pursuit of Arctic explorations,—a subject that had engaged its attention and enlisted its earnest sympathies before the war. In 1879 there had been a revival of interest in Polar Regions. At a meeting of naturalists in Germany, a plan of co-operation was suggested whereby ten different stations were to be occupied by expeditions from as many countries, whence, as a basis of supplies, the work could be simultaneously pushed further north. Two of these stations were assigned to and accepted by the United States, one at Point Barrow, on the Coast of Alaska, and the other at Lady Franklin Bay. Lieutenant De Long, in the *Jeannette*, was sent to the former point, and Lieutenant Greeley in the *Proteus* to the latter. De Long and party got as far as the Lena Delta on the northern coast of Siberia, and there perished. On February 21, 1884, the bodies of the Commander and nine of his men arrived at New York in the Hamburg-American Steamship *Frisia*. In April and May, 1884, two steamers were sent out from our harbor to attempt the rescue of Greeley, who had not been heard from for a long time. The relief expedition came just in time to save the com-

mander and five of his men: a few hours later and they might not have been found alive.

Through many months of the year 1885 the Nation was anxiously watching for reports from a sick chamber in New York. General Grant, after retiring from the Presidency, and after his extended tour of the world, determined to make New York his home, a decision to which so many men eminent in our country's history have come, no matter where their homes may have been before. A serious misfortune in the way of his business relations came to him in 1884, as we shall have occasion to notice a few pages later, and the anxiety and strain seem to have broken his health. Early in 1885 it was announced that he was suffering from a cancer in the mouth or throat, and that he could not long survive. It was hardly expected that he could pass his birthday, April 27, yet strangely enough he rallied just about that time, and the fears of the Nation were much allayed. But the dread disease could not be permanently cheated of its ravages. A relapse occurred, and the suffering General was removed to Mount MacGregor in the Adirondacks. Here he lingered until July 23, when death put an end to his agonies. After much discussion as to what city might claim the honor of receiving the deposit of the honored remains, the known wish of the dead hero himself and the choice of his family decided the question in favor of New York, which he had chosen as his home, and where any memorial raised in his honor would be more certain to receive the attention of the world. Saturday, August 8, was fixed for the funeral, the spot for the interment being the one familiar to New Yorkers during the last twelve years, by the side of the Hudson River at the highest point in Riverside Park. For several days the body lay in state in the rotunda of the City Hall, where that of his friend Lincoln had lain twenty years before, and countless multitudes passed by and gazed in silence upon the restful countenance of the General, now silent forever. The U. S. Grant Post of the Grand Army had immediate charge of the remains, and comrades of that Post bore the coffin from the rotunda to the catafalque that was to convey it to its resting place up-town, and which was drawn by twenty-four horses heavily draped and led by grooms. At 9 o'clock, precisely, General Winfield S. Hancock took position with his staff in Broadway opposite the City Hall; and at the signal given he began the march at the head of the first division, composed of United States troops and sailors. All the way to Thirty-fifth Street the military and others to take part in the procession stood in the successive streets awaiting their turn to fall into line; and it took five hours to pass any given point. The city was crowded with people to an extent then unprecedented. Three hours before the procession was advertised to start, the streets along the line of march began to fill up, points of vantage for viewing the parade being held with eager tenac-

ly, no matter how uncomfortable the situation. Unfortunately there was some hitch in the arrangements so that sometimes there was so long a break in the procession that the last man had disappeared far up the street before the next rank came into sight from below. The catafalque reached the Fifth Avenue Hotel at about 1 o'clock, and not till 4.25 did it reach the lowly brick structure that was to receive the coffin until a more fitting monument could be reared. As the splendid car bearing the remains came in sight, a sailor stationed for that purpose on Riverside Drive waved a flag, and at once salutes of guns boomed from several war vessels lying at anchor in the river opposite the tomb.

The catafalque was drawn close to the tomb, and as it halted, the clergymen and physicians who had occupied the two or three leading carriages immediately behind it, descended to the ground and took up a position between the car and tomb, standing with uncovered heads. The clergymen invited to participate in the exercises were Grant's pastor, the Rev. Dr. Newman, Bishop Harris of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Rev. Robert



EAST RIVER FROM THE BRIDGE.

Collyer, Assistant Bishop of New York Potter, the Rev. Drs. T. W. Chambers, H. M. Field, and C. D'W. Bridgman. The physicians were those who had attended Grant in his last sickness, Drs. Douglas, Sands, and Shrady. Next to this group was one composed of President Cleveland and the members of his cabinet, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, Governors of States and Mayors of cities, Generals, Statesmen, and others. The members of General Grant's family also gathered close to the coffin, which was lowered to the ground by members of the U. S. Grant Post. Before it was carried into the recess a wreath made of oak-leaves gathered in the woods of Mount MacGregor by the General's little granddaughter, was laid upon it. The ritual of the Grand Army was read, after which Bishop Harris read the burial form of the Methodist Church, and Dr. Newman closed the exercises by reading selections from Scripture and leading in the recital of the Lord's Prayer. When

the committal services were finished an artilleryman sounded the tattoo on the bugle at Colonel Grant's request, and then strong men lifted the coffin, now incased in a heavier outside casket, and carried it into the vault. The groups near the gate drew back to let the children have a last look at their father's resting-place (Mrs. Grant was not present), the iron gate was closed and the mortal remains of the General were left to rest in their humble abode until the present year. The services at the tomb had lasted nearly an hour. As the mourners and visitors were departing the members of the Fifth Artillery from Governor's Island took up their position as guards, a duty that was performed for many a year by detachments of United States troops, who formed here a regular camp for the purpose. Then the Seventh Regiment faced the river and fired three parting volleys of musketry; the Twenty-second followed with three volleys more; which in turn were succeeded by three salvos from the artillery and a Presidential salute of twenty-one guns by the warships in the river. It was estimated that for the three days ending on this memorable Saturday the total number of strangers carried into New York City by railroads, ferries, and across the Brooklyn Bridge, amounted to over 440,000. The fact that so many came to do honor to the remains of Grant was in itself fortunate. "The greater the number of those who shared the unique and wondrous spectacle the better was it for American patriotism"; and the press of New York rightly argued that thereby was vindicated the wisdom of the decision to bury the departed General in the metropolis. The weather also was favorable to the gathering of so great a throng. Rain had prevailed on Friday, but Saturday was fair and measurably cool so that but few who exposed themselves for hours to the direct rays of the sun were prostrated by the heat. And not among the least of the lessons of the spectacle, was the practical ocular demonstration it furnished that the war carried to success for the North by the dead hero's genius, had forever ceased. It would have done his heart good to know that behind his remains, equally plunged into grief at his early demise, and equally eager to do him honor, rode Generals Sherman and Johnston together in one carriage, and Generals Sheridan and Buckner in another; and that to their hands together were assigned honorable duty as pall bearers. It was a vivid evidence that the Nation had heeded the strong and simple exhortation so often upon Grant's lips: "Let us have peace."

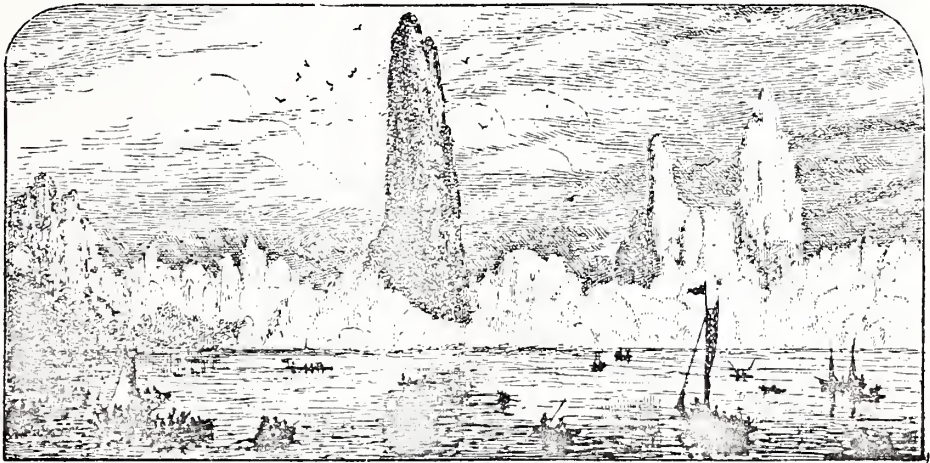
Favored by nature with convenient waterways affording miles of wharfage for shipping, and capable of bearing the deepest bottoms laden with the commerce of the world,—there was one point in the remarkable system where navigation was attended with extreme peril. It seems incredible, but the statement is soberly made by reliable authority, that about two thousand vessels were more or less completely wrecked, causing over two millions and a half dollars' worth of damage, every year, in the turbulent and treacherous pass-

age of Hell Gate. Some writers feel squeamish about the name, and have informed a less knowing public that "hell" in Dutch means beautiful, and "gate" means a pass, so that this really should be understood as rather a celestial designation than one applying to the opposite place. But Dutch sailors had not much of an eye for beauties of landscape, and the ugly rocks and dangerous eddies which could cause ruin to thousands of vessels in later days would be likely to get from them a very blunt appellation. "*Hell*" is the German word for clear and bright; but in Dutch the word means exactly what it does in English, and "gat" means a hole. So that if we are thrown back upon what the Dutch word "*Hellegat*" really signifies, we shall come out worse than ever, and must resign ourselves to the harsh term "*Hell-hole*."

Although the mad rush and whirl of waters here had caused dismay to sailors of all sorts and nationalities, from the days of doughty Oloff the Dreamer and his crew, until far into the present century, no attempts were made to deal with the problem of improving the channel by removing the obstructions until 1851. A French engineer, M. Maillefert, proposed to destroy the rocks by a process of surface blasting, and the New York Chamber of Commerce were impressed with the feasibility of his plan. He estimated the cost at \$15,000, of which Henry Grinnell furnished one-third; and permission was granted by the Federal Government to do the work. Charges of gunpowder of one hundred and twenty-five pounds each were incased in tin canisters and placed on the top of the rocks under water. They were connected by wires with batteries on the shore and exploded by electricity, the weight of the superincumbent water helping to increase the destructive effects upon the rocks. But after all not much was gained by these explosions; jagged points were removed, and several feet of depth gained over many of the smaller reefs, but the great solid rock beneath was not disturbed, and no greater depth whatever secured on such reefs as Hallett's Point and Flood Rock. But a fine feature of the undertaking was that the expenses were kept within the estimate, only \$13,681 having been spent. In 1866 the United States Government took hold of the work in earnest, placing it under the engineering care of General John Newton. In attacking the smaller rocks his method was to drill them from a scow anchored over them; in this way powerful explosives were introduced into their center and they were successfully shattered so that a depth of twenty-six feet was attained. In July 1869 Hallett's reef was attacked. The plan here was to advance from the land side with a cofferdam to keep back the water. A shaft was then sunk and galleries excavated, radiating thence in every direction, whose pillars and roofs were stocked with explosives. Flood Rock was assailed in the same manner, only, being much larger, two shafts and a double set of galleries were mined. The detailed account of these delicate and skillful operations belongs to

another chapter, and will there be fully given. On September 24, 1876, the mines under Hallett's reef were exploded, furnishing a splendid display as the columns of water rose up into the air, but causing no damage by the shock on land. Immediately hereafter work was begun on Flood Rock, which was blown up on October 10, 1885. The total cost of the Hallett's Point work was \$81,092; and that of Flood Rock, although a five times larger blast, was \$106,509.

While this useful work had been going on beneath the waters at one end of the harbor of New York, a splendid, ornamental structure had been in preparation for the entrance at the other. Soon after the establishment of the French Republic in 1870, a design was conceived at the suggestion of M. Laboulaye, to give some substantial expression to the cordiality of feeling between itself and the American Republic. It should be a memorial also to the relations of friendship between the two nations dating from the beginning of American In-



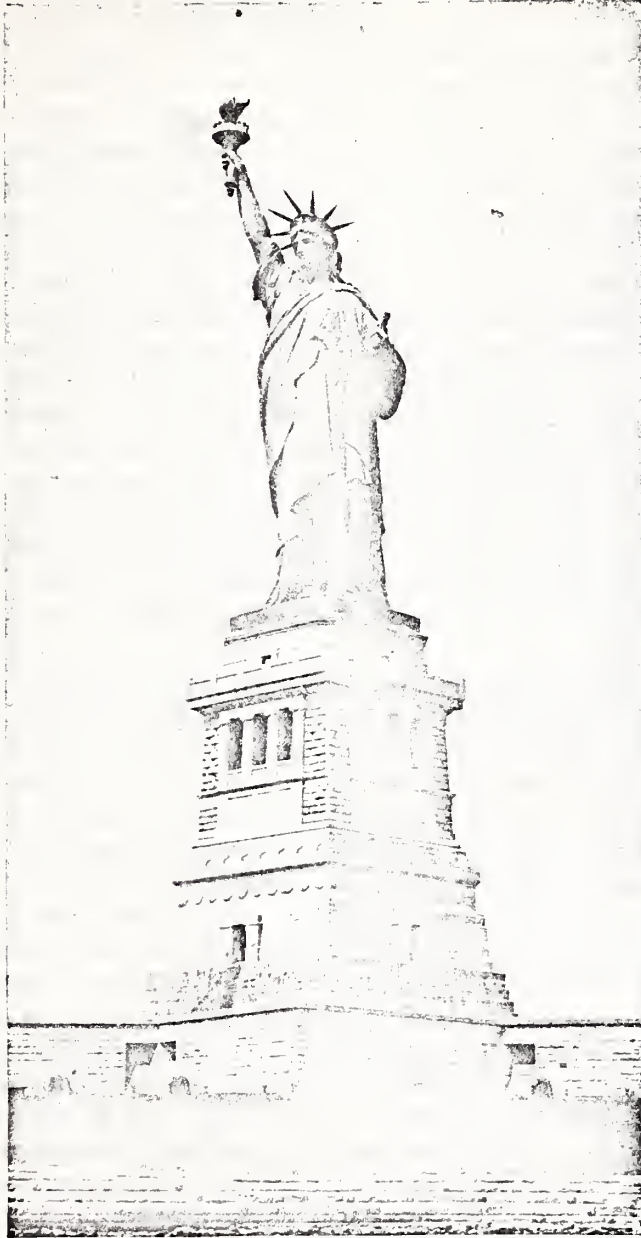
HELL GATE EXPLOSION.

dependence. A French-American Union was formed in France and a million francs (\$200,000) raised by one hundred thousand subscribers. The monument selected was a colossal figure typical of Liberty enlightening the world, to be placed in the harbor of New York, conspicuous by day and by night to entering mariners and voyagers. The great statue was necessarily slow in building. The sculptor selected was Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, the author of the Lafayette statue in Union Square. On his visit to New York in connection with its unveiling in 1876, as he sailed up the bay his eye fell on Bedlow's Island, which he at once selected as the proper site for the Statue of Liberty. It then became the object of the American people to prepare a pedestal worthy of the figure to be presented, and under the leadership of a committee of which William M. Evarts was chairman, \$300,000 was raised for that purpose. The hand holding the torch, with the

forearm, were sent to America in 1876, exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, and afterward placed in Madison Square, opposite the Worth monument, where Farragut's statue stands now. On July 4, 1880, the noble work of art was formally made over to the American Minister. The statue was temporarily set up in Paris, and the unveiling and presentation were made the occasion of brilliant exercises. In April, 1883, work was begun on Bedlow's Island upon the foundation of the pedestal, the designs accepted being those of the celebrated architect Richard M. Hunt. Lack of funds occasionally interrupted the construction, but the people were aroused to the necessity of the work by powerful appeals through the press and by influential individuals, and early in 1886 the committee were enabled to announce that they were ready to place the statue on its base. It had been in the country for nearly a year. In May, 1885, the figure, reduced again to its several plates, was stored aboard the *Isère*, a transport steamer furnished by the French Government, and on June 17, it arrived in New York harbor. Several American war vessels met the *Isère* at the Narrows and escorted her up the Bay, while hundreds of other vessels followed in their wake. The American committee, with guests, among whom was Secretary of the Navy William C. Whitney, and the French representatives, landed on Bedlow's Island, where French choral societies furnished a choir of three hundred voices for the singing. Next the party crossed over to the Battery and a military procession escorted them to the City Hall where a luncheon was served in the Governor's room. But all this enthusiasm and festivity were greatly eclipsed on October 28, 1886, when the colossus had been placed in its position, the work upon it completed, and all was ready for the final and formal unveiling. It was another "Eighth Wonder" of the world, there being now several in the vicinity of New York, beginning with the Fourth Avenue Tunnel, including the Brooklyn Bridge, and ending with this last addition. The torch blazed away more than 306 feet above the waters of the harbor, the pedestal being 155 feet from foundation to the top, and the figure of Liberty measuring 151 feet from the hem of her garments sweeping the pedestal to the top of the torch. As some one remarks, the Colossus of Rhodes, with his somewhat ungraceful straddle, was a small boy compared to this maiden with her graceful pose. Forty people can stand in her head, even if forty tales can not proceed from it as they did from the head of Sir Walter Scott. The gigantic torch lifted up with such apparent ease, can comfortably accommodate twelve persons without crowding. The plates completing the exterior are riveted together, and the whole is braced powerfully by ribs of steel within, calculated to withstand the force of a gale blowing at the rate of one hundred miles an hour.

On the day set for the unveiling ceremonies, October 28, 1886, twenty thousand people marched past a reviewing stand on Madison

Square, where President Cleveland sat to see them pass. It was unhappily a dreary day, a drizzling rain in the air and endless mud



"LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD."

under foot. The parade marched down Broadway to the Battery. Later in the day the President was taken to Bedlow's, now Liberty, Island. Distinguished Frenchmen had come over to honor the occasion; the Prime Minister, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, and also the Vice-President of the Municipal Council of Paris. Comte De Lesseps, the hero of the Suez canal, once more presented the statue in the name of France, and William M. Evarts spoke for the American people, and presented the pedestal. President Cleveland accepted the gift from both in a few well-chosen words. Then M. Bartholdi removed the veil from the

head, and cannons and steamship whistles made the moment hideously hilarious, rendering the prayer by Dr. Richard S. Storrs as the literary exercises commenced, perfectly inaudible to those even nearest to him. M. Lefèvre delivered an oration in French, and Channey

M. Depew another in English, and this completed the ceremonies. The rain prevented the fine pyrotechnic displays intended to have made the night brilliant, but all the shipping in the harbor was bright with lights on masts and rigging.

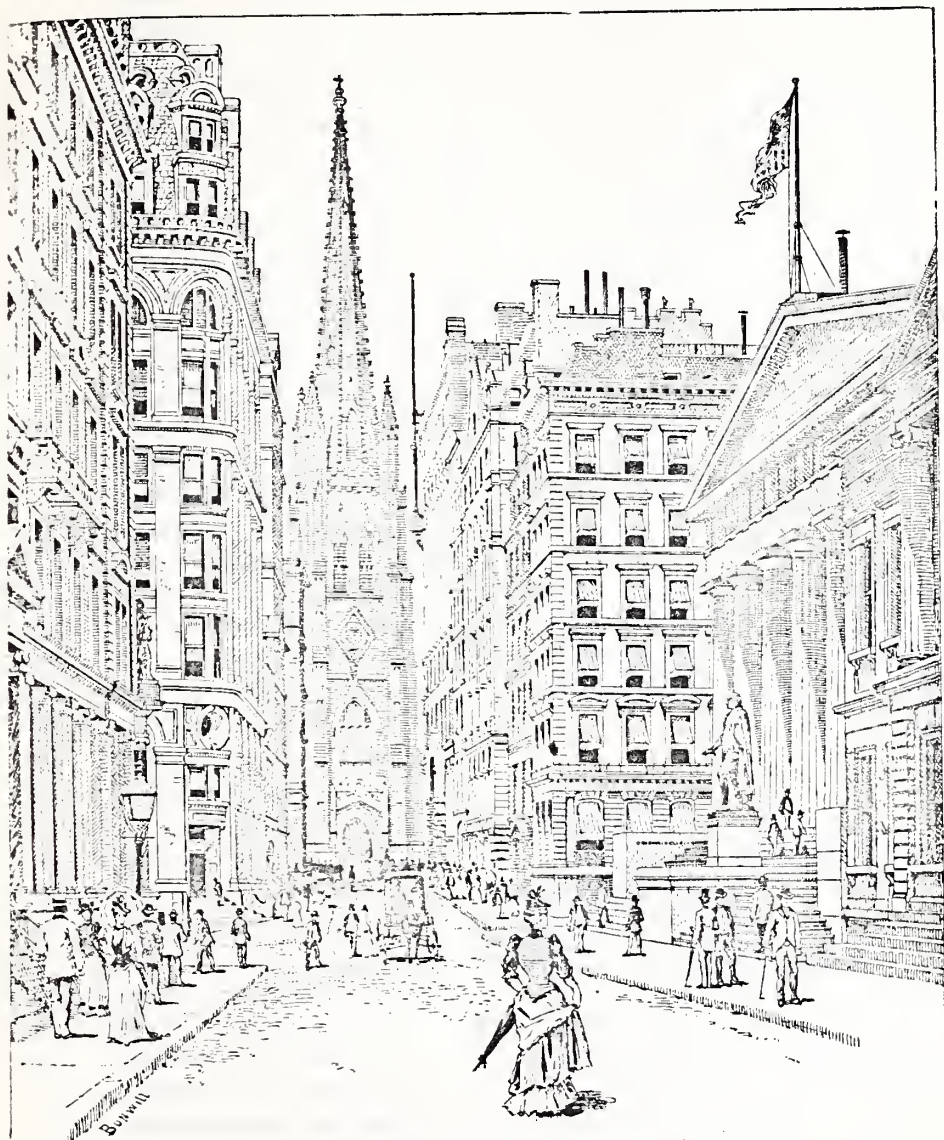
On February 4, of this same year (1886), a strike of horsecar drivers and conductors took the public and the directors of several companies by surprise. At four o'clock in the morning the gangs of men who were to begin the day's runs, failed to put in an appearance, and when the hours for going to downtown offices arrived, many thousands of citizens were astonished to find no cars running. There were of course the elevated roads, but plenty of people still utilized the horsecars, especially the Broadway line, and this, as well as the University Place, the Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Avenue lines, were all "tied up." The demand was for a day of twelve hours, instead of the excessively long time of fourteen or even seventeen hours. The strike was so quietly and wisely organized, and the demand was so reasonable, that the companies all acceded to the men's demands, and therefore there was no violence whatever on the part of the men, and no attempt to place other employees on the part of the directors. At two o'clock in the afternoon an agreement was come to, and by four o'clock, or twelve hours after its commencement, the strike was off and cars began to run again, amid the cheers of the men and of a sympathetic public.

The mention of the Broadway line recalls another episode in municipal affairs that bids the citizen of New York hide his head in shame. Stages were still running in bewildering multitudes over the busy thoroughfare as late as 1884. Then a horsecar line was talked of; but it awoke a horror in many minds that Broadway should be blocked up and hampered with cars running on rails, which could not dodge with the marvelous skill that the stage drivers had acquired, but must keep rigidly on their undeviating course. Nevertheless, somebody saw big profits in the enterprise, which indeed were subsequently realized, as the cars on Broadway are constantly crowded, no matter how rapidly one is sent after the other. To the surprise of all, a railroad company operating another line received from the Aldermen a franchise to build a railway on Broadway. All went well for a year or so. But a lady, prominent in social and literary circles, was robbed by burglars, and pawn tickets traced some of the articles to the pawnshop kept by one of the Aldermen. She pushed the case and it was discovered that the Alderman's relations to the articles were not altogether innocent. One discovery led to another, and finally the secret came out why so generous a donation had been made to the Broadway railroad, for which some companies had offered to pay a large sum to the city. A sum of \$300,000 had been expended by the successful company in bribes, about \$20,000 apiece being the "price" of the city fathers. Henry M. Jaehne, the pawnbroker, was

indicted in December, 1885, and in May, 1886, he was convicted and sentenced to serve nine years in State's prison. The sentence was appealed from, but confirmed in October, and the Alderman was sent to Sing Sing. The trial of Alderman Arthur J. McQuade took place in December, 1886. The difficulty of proving the actual circumstances of a bribe, made the results in punishment thus barren, but the exposure and disgrace broke down the president of the Broadway road, and he died not long after.

As the time approached when the nation would be privileged to celebrate the accomplishment of a full century of Federal Union, the people of New York City made up their minds to celebrate it in a manner worthy of that great occasion, and of the magnificent metropolis which owed its marvelous growth and prosperity to the success of the Government established in 1789. It was not forgotten that in its "day of small things," when Chambers Street was its utmost limit of habitations, New York was the Federal Capital, and that here the glorious experiment was put feebly, but hopefully, into operation. In New York, therefore, should occur the most splendid and elaborate celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States on April 30, 1789. Preparations for the festivity were made years in advance. The idea originated with the New York Historical Society at a meeting held in March, 1884. It was seconded in an effective manner at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in 1886. A general committee of two hundred gentlemen was appointed, with Hamilton Fish as chairman, and this committee divided itself into ten sub-committees, charged with as many different main details of the celebration. These committees were appointed and began their work in 1887. It was resolved to devote three days to the celebration, April 29, 30, and May 1. The people were requested to decorate their dwellings and places of business with flags and bunting, and appropriate devices, and there was a universal response. Never before had the city presented such an appearance. Every business street was one mass of colors. A feature never seen before was the strips of bunting a foot or two wide, divided into three equal stripes of red, white, and blue, each field strewn with stars innumerable; it made very effective material for decorating the fronts of houses. The stars and stripes of course prevailed, but many houses displayed flags with three broad bands of the tricolor, thereby unconsciously reproducing the first flag (of the Dutch Republic) that waved over the city. A terrible downpour of rain on Saturday, April 27, unfortunately spoiled many of the cheaper materials used in the decorations, as it made the colors run into each other. But, nevertheless, the array maintained itself in pretty good shape everywhere. No section of the city formed an exception. Mr. Roosevelt rightly dwells on the significance of this fact. "In all the poorer quarters of the city," he remarks, "where the population

was overwhelmingly of foreign birth or origin, the national flag, the stars and stripes, hung from every window, and the picture of Washington was displayed wherever there was room. Flag and portrait alike were tokens that . . . they already chal-



WALL STREET—SCENE OF EXERCISES IN 1889.

lenged as their own. American nationality and American life, glorying in the nation's past and confident in its future." An impressive evidence came to the writer on Sunday, April 28, the day before the celebrations began. that in its century of existence, with all its vast strides in power, wealth, influence, territory, such as not the

maddest fancy had dared conceive at the beginning in 1789—the Republic had not yet exceeded the span of life sometimes accorded to a human being: for on that day he was introduced to a lady who celebrated her one hundredth birthday! Remembering that four years before, at Grant's funeral, the country stood amazed at the 440,000 visitors accommodated by the metropolis with comparative ease, vindicating the wisdom of selecting New York for his tomb, it may here be said as a last preliminary observation, that no less than one million of people visited the city during the Washington centennial.

The aim was to reproduce, in as many particulars as possible, the series of events that attended the inauguration of Washington in 1789. President Harrison, representing his earliest predecessor in the office, took train at Washington soon after midnight for Elizabeth on Monday, April 29. Thence he and his party were driven in carriages along the old road to Elizabethport. The committee of reception here met him and he was taken on board the United States dispatch boat, the *Despatch*, while the rest of the distinguished company followed on the steamers *Monmouth* and *Sirius*. These boats passed through two lines of warships anchored between Robbins' Reef and Liberty Island, the yards being manned and all the colors displayed. The *Despatch* came to anchor in mid-stream opposite Wall Street. Washington had been conveyed all the way from Elizabethport to the foot of Wall Street in a barge rowed by twelve pilots, and steered by Captain Randall. This would have been too slow a proceeding in these days; so it was only imitated to the extent of conveying President Harrison from the *Despatch* to the Wall Street ferry slip in a barge rowed by twelve pilots, commanded by Captain Ambrose Snow. As Governor Clinton and Mayor Varick had received Washington here in 1789, so Governor Hill received Harrison, attended by Mayor Grant and other officials of State and city. A luncheon was served at the Lawyers' Club in the Equitable Life Insurance building, after which the President was driven to the City Hall. As he passed up the steps a multitude of little girls strewed his path with flowers, and at the top he listened to an address, spoken by a member of the Senior Class of the Normal College; this part of the exercises being in imitation of the reception given to Washington as he passed through Trenton, N. J. The afternoon was spent in a reception to the people by the President in the Governor's Room, where he is said to have shaken hands or bowed to five thousand people. In the evening there was a ball at the Metropolitan Opera House, where a notable feature was a "quadrille of honor," participated in exclusively by descendants of families who were present at Washington's inaugural ball. The second day, Tuesday, April 30, the centennial anniversary day proper, was ushered in at sunrise by salvos of artillery. In the forenoon religious services were held in St. Paul's chapel, as they were held in the identical building in 1789. Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, rector of

Trinity, and Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island, read special prayers and the regular service, while Bishop Potter, of New York, occupied the place of the first Bishop of New York, Samuel Provoost, of a century before, and preached the sermon. On the preceding Sunday, services commemorative of the occasion had been held in the churches of all denominations. The literary exercises of the day were held at the sub-treasury building, the site of the Federal Hall of old, a platform having been built over the broad stone stairs, and the participants and guests grouping themselves about the statue of Washington in the front and center. The President sat in the chair Washington had occupied in the Senate Chamber a hundred years before, and the Bible upon which he had taken the oath of office was also placed prominently on exhibition. After a prayer by the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, a poem was read, written for the occasion by John G. Whittier, entitled "The Vow of Washington," after which the oration was delivered by Chauncey M. Depew. A short address was then made by President Harrison, and Archbishop Corrigan, of the Catholic Church, pronounced the benediction. Then the President and party, and the State and city officials, were driven to a stand on Madison Square to review the parade of troops. The march was up Broadway, to Waverly Place, to Fifth Avenue, to Fourteenth Street, around Union Square to Fifteenth Street, to Fifth Avenue, to Fifty-seventh Street. The first division was composed of the West Point and Naval Cadets, and United States infantry, cavalry, and artillery. The second division consisted of the militia of the several states, twenty-three of them being represented, each detachment being headed by Governor and staff, and following in alphabetical order. New York State had 13,223 men in line, led by the gallant Seventh. The third division presented an impressive appearance, being made up exclusively of posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, no less than ten thousand men being in line; the State having appropriated \$20,000 for the transportation of posts from a distance. The evening was made brilliant with pyrotechnic displays in all the city parks, from the Battery to Mount Morris at One Hundred and Twenty-fourth Street and Madison Avenue. In Madison Square an open air concert was given by German singing societies, assisted by a band of seventy-five pieces. Two thousand voices sang under the direction of Theodore Thomas. The concert was opened with the rendering of a selection from Wagner's *Tannhäuser*; the Hallelujah Chorus from Handel's Oratorio of the Messiah was given by the chorus and band together. At the close the band and choir struck up the hymn *America*, but no sooner had the first strains sounded forth when the whole immense throng that crowded the Square and its adjoining streets joined in the familiar tune with an effect that was indescribable. There was also a banquet in the Metropolitan Opera House that evening, attended by the President and ex-President Cleveland, at

which eight hundred guests sat down at twenty-six tables, under the eyes of five thousand spectators. The third and last day, Wednesday, May 1, opened again with the booming of artillery. The feature of this day was a civic parade, in which seventy-five thousand people participated. The President reviewed it from the stand at Madison Square, and the line of march was along the same streets, but in the opposite direction, from Fifty-seventh Street down as far as Canal Street and Broadway. The first division was educational, led by stu-



THE WASHINGTON MEMORIAL ARCH.

dents from the City College, Columbia University, and the University of New York. There were several floats, the historical ones representing John Smith, Henry Hudson and his crew, William Penn and the Quakers, Washington crossing the Delaware, and the Inauguration of 1789. The press, kindergarten schools, trades, and allegorical tableaux, also were represented upon floats. In the afternoon President Harrison and party returned to Washington, while the day was closed by a banquet in Brooklyn and a reception by the Bar Association to

the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. The parades on these two days passed under three Triumphal Arches on Fifth Avenue. It was resolved as a permanent memorial of the occasion to replace the one at the foot of the Avenue in Washington Square with a marble arch. The people generously responded, and the cornerstone was laid on Decoration Day, 1890, by the Grand Master of the State of New York, John W. Vrooman. It was completed in 1892, but not formally received by the city until May 4, 1895, in order to await the completion of the sculptures. The arch is 70 feet high, adorned with several groups of sculpture and bas-reliefs, and is constructed of the finest dolomite marble. Its cost was \$128,000. It bears two inscriptions, one indicating the purpose of the arch or the occasion it commemorates; the other records in imperishable characters that noble sentence of Washington which rallied and raised to the highest pitch of unselfish devotion the patriotism of the Constitutional Convention of 1788, resulting in the instrument which honestly meant to secure the good of the whole country. The words are: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God." And so New York City, with all the rest of the country, entered upon the second century of Federal Government, with homage to the past and gratitude for the present, as read in large characters in all the details of those three days of unparalleled, dignified, appropriate, in every way satisfying and inspiring, celebration. The city richly deserves the commentary of one who knows its virtues and its foibles as well as any man alive, and whom we have already cited: "For all its motley population, there is a most wholesome underlying spirit of patriotism in the city, if it can only be aroused. Few will question this who saw the great processions on land and water, and the other ceremonies attendant upon the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of Federal Government."

After the overthrow of the Tweed Ring, there was for many years a succession of Mayors, selected from among the very best citizens. William F. Havemeyer, who had already served in that capacity in 1845 and in 1848, and who took a prominent part in breaking up the infamous Ring, was nominated for Mayor in the autumn of 1872, and elected by an overwhelming vote. He did not live to complete his term, being stricken with apoplexy on November 30, 1874, within a month of its termination, when his successor, Mr. William H. Wickham, was already elected. Mr. Wickham was of an old Long Island family, and had also come prominently before the people in the effort to down Tweed and his fellow thieves. It is still remembered how he filled the city offices with men of the highest order of ability and character, such as the whole nation have since delighted to honor, including William C. Whitney, General Fitz-John Porter, and Dr. E. G. Janeway. An extraordinary event marked the close of his adminis-

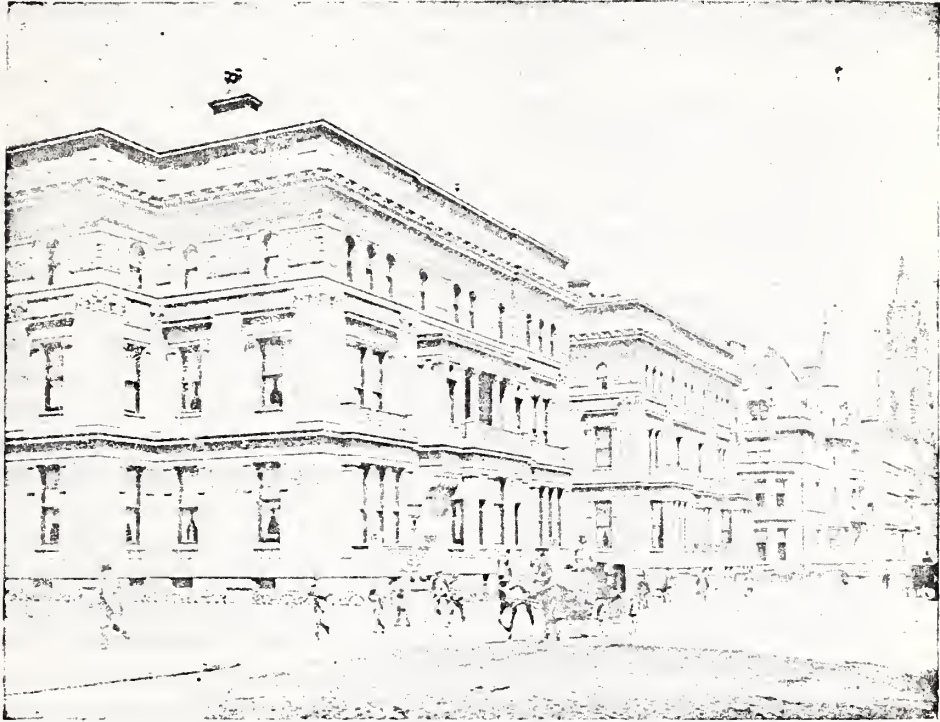
tration, a banquet tendered him by leading citizens of every party as a mark of their approbation of his conduct of affairs. Mr. Smith Ely, Jr., who assumed the Mayoralty on January 1, 1877, was prominent as a leather merchant. Antagonism to Tweed was still the badge of merit. As County Supervisor, Mr. Ely had fiercely opposed the County Court House job, the chief mine of the robbers' wealth. He had been State Senator twenty years before, and at the time of his election as Mayor was a member of Congress, resigning his seat to accept the municipal office. In the years 1879 and 1880, Mr. Edward Cooper, son of the philanthropist and merchant, served as Mayor, his father still living at the time to enjoy the distinction put upon him. He, too, had been a member of the Committee of Seventy, who humbled the Tweed Ring. No name stands higher among Mayors or citizens for high-toned character, integrity and ability of administration in business or official position, than that of Mr. William R. Grace, born in Ireland and a distinguished member of the Church prevalent in his country. He was twice elected Mayor, serving in 1881 and 1882, and again in the years 1885 and 1886. Since that time, although immersed in the immense interests of a great shipping business, having connections mainly with South America, his voice has often been heard in support of clean and upright government, whatever party was most likely to provide it for the people, entirely regardless of his own party affiliations, which are perfectly well known. Mr. Franklin Edson, Mayor in the interval between Mr. Grace's terms, or during the years 1883 and 1884, was a native of Vermont, started in business at Albany in 1852, but came to New York after the war. He became prominent in commercial circles, being three times made President of the Produce Exchange. During his term, in 1884, the charter which Tweed had bribed through the Legislature in order to get a control still more absolute of the funds of a helpless public, received the final touches which made it a very excellent measure, being based upon a reasonable recognition of the right of the people to home rule. For purposes entirely sinister, Tweed had so framed its provisions that all control of the city from Albany was to be abolished by it, the heads of departments to be appointed by the Mayor and to hold office longer than he; the Comptroller and Corporation Counsel were also to be the Mayor's appointees, and all salaries altogether dependent on his will. "After being changed and amended for ten years, it finally, in 1884, was restored on substantially the old basis, namely, the placing of responsibility for the government of the city in the hands of only one set of officials, instead of so distributing it that it could easily be shifted, by bestowing great executive power on the Mayor, and by making the heads of departments responsible to him alone." Toward the close of Mr. Grace's second term, the Mayoralty contest presented a curious three-cornered fight, in which an element, little suspected to have such power, developed an uncommonly large vote. The labor

agitations, awakening hostility to capitalists and the existing parties, both equally under their control, had given rise to a Labor Party, and it made Mr. Henry George the candidate for Mayor. It was desired that regardless of party the friends of stable government should present a united front against the anarchistic tendencies of the new party, but the Republicans refused to heed the suggestion, and nominated Mr. Theodore Roosevelt on a strictly-drawn partisan platform. Tammany was thereby driven to make an unexceptionable selection for their candidate, on whom wiser Republicans could unite with them for the good of the city. They, therefore, made Mr. Abraham S. Hewitt their standard bearer, who had never had any kind of association with the Hall before, nor has had since, and who actually served on the Committee of Seventy of 1894, having for its aim Tammany's overthrow. The election proved a surprise, Mr. Hewitt having 90,512 votes; Mr. George, 68,110, and Mr. Roosevelt, 60,435. Mr. Hewitt's candidacy, no doubt, alone saved the day for the Democratic party. He was the son-in-law of Peter Cooper, and with the latter, and his brother-in-law, the ex-Mayor, formed the great iron firm of Cooper, Hewitt & Company. At the next Mayoralty election, however, one of Tammany's own, Hugh J. Grant, got firmly into the Mayor's seat, keeping it a second term, and preparing for the succession of another Tammany man, until by excess of revelry in the power enjoyed things came to a pass, soon to be related, which again overthrew Tammany, as it had been in 1872. Grant had been Tammany's candidate in 1884, when the better element in the party rallied around William R. Grace. He was defeated. In 1888 Tammany had no special use for Hewitt any longer, and the Republicans must have their own man again, the result being that Grant received 114,111 votes; Erhardt, the Republican candidate, 73,037, and Hewitt 71,979.

Many people in New York are yet accustomed to date events in their personal history or in the larger sphere of the general history of city, state, country, or the world, by reference to the "blizzard" of 1888. And it certainly was a unique occurrence, full of startling lessons. It fell on Monday, March 12, but covered parts of days before and after. On Sunday afternoon and evening there was a heavy downpour of rain, so that the streets were submerged under an inch or two of water. Suddenly into this descended a heavy fall of snow, so thick and so persistent that it made with the rain water a complete covering of slush. Again, as suddenly, there came a severe frost, which froze the slush into one solid cake of ice, and the snow continuing and the gale increasing, citizens, when they awoke upon Monday morning, found mountainous drifts filling the streets. Not a horsecar could move, and even the elevated railways were paralyzed. Snow plows were utterly impotent to clear the tracks. They might remove the hills of snow, but the firm cake of frozen slush beneath was perfectly unyielding. Pretty soon it began to appear that other traffic had been

paralyzed. No milkmen or grocers or butchers came to the doors with their supplies. In fact, people learned all at once what it meant to supply a million of souls with the common necessities of life, what a small matter could reduce a city full to inconvenience, and even to some degree of suffering. And it was equally impressive to observe how all modern appliances for locomotion and communication, which had become men's boast, were momentarily helpless before a slightly peculiar combination of such common phenomena of the weather, as rain, snow, and frost, following in quick succession. A great city was taught in a few hours its human limitations.

Fatal results, not always recorded, followed the distressing con-



THE VANDERBILT RESIDENCES.

ditions under which the city found itself. The blizzard, among its list of victims, claimed one mark especially shining. Roscoe Conkling, once Senator from New York, the able lawyer, domineering politician, and brilliant orator, had made New York City his home, after his unhappy controversy with President Garfield had consigned him to private life, attended thither by his satellite, who was then wont to be irreverently referred to as "Me too" Platt. Previously Conkling's home had been in Rochester, but he obeyed the impulse of so many men after they have once moved in a large sphere in this country. As Grant and Sherman came to live in New York; as Mr. Cleveland

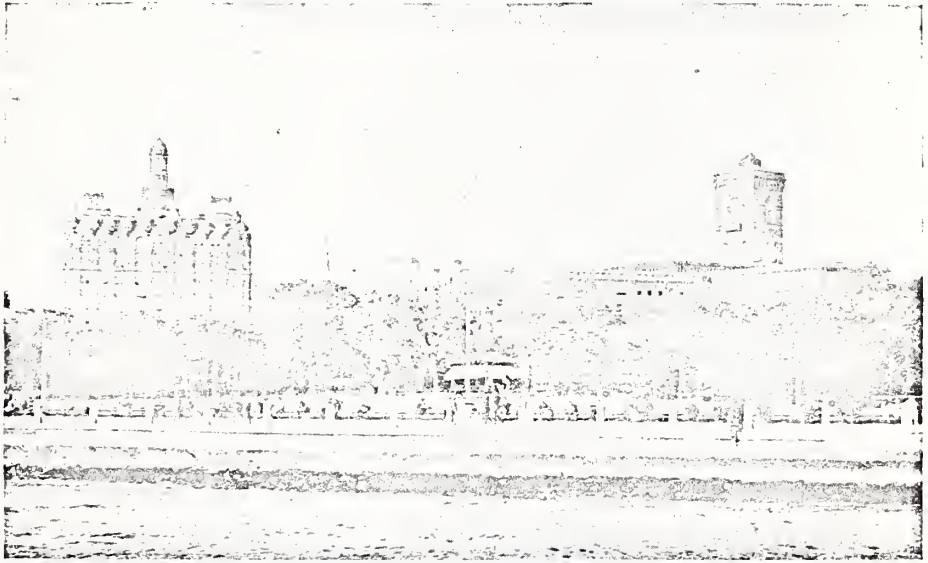
did in 1889 when he retired from his first term as President; so Conkling exchanged New York for Rochester in 1881. One writer easily explains "this well-marked tendency of prominent men throughout the country"—i.e., they select our city because "its life is so intense and so varied and so full of manifold possibilities, that it has a special and peculiar fascination for ambitious and high-spirited men of every kind." The blizzard cost Mr. Conkling his life. He struggled through the drifts in the morning and reached his office. He did not wish to repeat that experience in the afternoon, and wished to engage a cab. The driver charged him \$50, which he deemed a little too steep, and therefore once more addressed himself to labors which have made arctic explorations so perilous. The over-exertion, made worse by a cold contracted in the head, proved too much for the ex-Senator, and a few days later he died. He was overcome in Madison Square, and on the spot a statue of him has been since erected.

In December, 1885, death removed another prominent figure from among New York citizens; the richest man in the city, in the country, nay, in the world, William H. Vanderbilt. He was the oldest son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who laid the foundation of the colossal fortune. At first the old Commodore did not put much faith in the abilities of his oldest son, and left him to struggle along the best he could on a farm on Staten Island. But after a while his sterling though not perhaps brilliant qualities convinced the father of his mistake, and now he gave him all his confidence. The younger Vanderbilt more than doubled the great fortune left him, and at the time of his death was supposed to be worth \$200,000,000. His wealth was legitimately earned by railroad enterprise of the safest and most beneficial kind, and in no way by speculations which brought ruin upon others. The two handsome private residences he erected for himself and daughters on the block from Fifty-first to Fifty-second Street on Fifth Avenue, while not so showy as Stewart's mansion, were at once more elegant and more homelike. He was a patron of art, owning at least \$1,000,000 worth of paintings. His private benevolences were great, but, of course, unrecorded. He paid for the bringing of the Obelisk from Egypt to New York, as was noted previously. His large gift of half a million to the College of Physicians and Surgeons will not soon be forgotten.

Churches were steadily going up in the wake of population, northward, leaving the poorer districts rather bare of Protestant places of worship at least, according to the complaints of some: these being replaced however by numbers of Mission Chapels, and benevolent enterprises of various sorts. The population had passed the million mark in 1880, the Federal census accrediting us with 1,206,500. The Board of Education was hard put to it to keep pace with this rapid growth in providing school houses, which had now reached very nearly, or passed, the number of a hundred, besides its two colleges for

young men and young women. In 1886 there was established for the benefit of children an institution quite unique of its kind. This was a "Children's Library," at 436 West Thirty-fifth Street. Here were provided a library and reading-room, open to children twelve years of age and under, admission to which was secured by tickets from teachers or friends. It began operations in January, and then had 300 volumes, as well as a store of children's magazines, games, etc. Boys were admitted on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, and every evening, and girls on afternoons of other days. During the first year there was an average attendance of sixty-four per day, and at one time there were only eight volumes left on the shelves. The cost of running it was only \$120, during that first year.

It must not be omitted in a record of social life in New York that the bicycle in the "safety" form made its advent in 1889. Previously



BATTERY PARK, WASHINGTON BUILDING, PRODUCE EXCHANGE.

it had been of the high-and-low wheel pattern, sadly addicted to "headers." The forerunner of all was a clumsy affair attracting attention first in 1868. In the centennial year the high wheel came to the country; but no such conquest was made by it as fell to the lot of the "safety" that dawned upon the world in 1889. Every improvement of the original design has but served to make the machine more and more popular, till to be no "wheelman" or "wheelwoman" is to be quite behind the age. It has revolutionized habits of life, and improved country roads and city streets. People had forgotten all about the topography of their own city or land, by reason of railroads and horse-cars. Now they learned again where hills and dales and rivers and meadows and woodland

prevailed and what street pavements were like. Whatever thoroughfare is lacking in excellence in city or country is apt to be heard from; and the interest of towns and counties is deeply involved in keeping things in good trim. Besides, a generation is coming to the fore with muscles braced and limbs well rounded by exercise; with lungs expanding under the influence of vigorous draughts of good air; and with habits of eating, sleeping, and drinking, that forbid injurious excess, but yet demand a generous supply of what is wholesome.

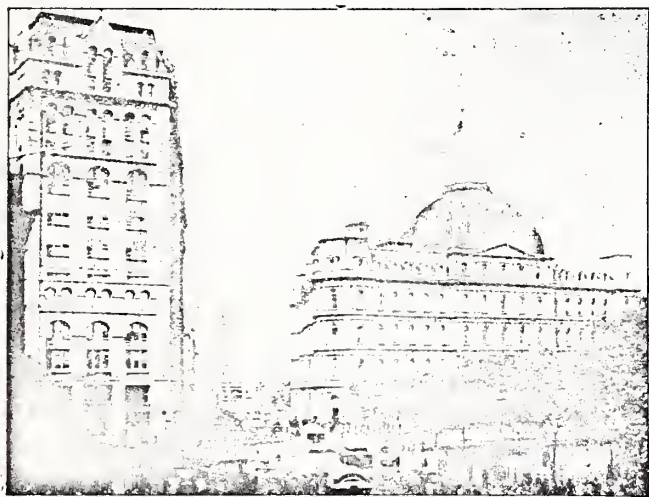
The history of trade was signalized in New York during this period by the opening of the new Produce Exchange, on Bowling Green, in May, 1884, lifting its campanille tower high above surrounding buildings. The orator of the day was Chauncey M. Depew. Just before the exercises commenced whispers went about that Ferdinand Ward's bank, with his Government-contract schemes, had gone to pieces. This involved General Grant in ruin, having been induced to form a sort of partnership with Ward, who wanted his name as an article of trade. The unscrupulous financier was alone responsible for the failure, and Grant himself personally untouched by any suspicions of wrong doing. He had been induced by Ward to make a loan to him of \$150,000, shortly before the crash in 1884. It was secured by a mortgage, and the payment of this sum robbed Grant of nearly all his savings. Mr. Vanderbilt at once offered to cancel the mortgage, but it was twice declined by the General. Mr. Vanderbilt then offered to pay about that sum for Grant's relics or souvenirs secured during his tour of the world. This offer being in a shape that the General could accept without the loss of self-respect, the purchase was effected, and the collection immediately presented by Mr. Vanderbilt to the Government at Washington. This sad event doubtless hastened Gen. Grant's end. He now addressed himself to the task of writing his memoirs, for which a large sale was assured; he labored at this beyond his strength and amid his great sufferings, completing the task a few weeks before his death, a year later. The rascally proceedings of Ward involved many others in ruin, and caused a mild panic during some weeks in the late spring of 1884.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REMEMBERING THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.



Y a judicious choice Tammany Hall had succeeded in placing their candidate in the Mayor's chair in 1886. It was necessary to rally voters against the platform of the Labor Party under the leadership of Mr. Henry George. The fifth plank of their platform declared "that the enormous value which the presence of one and a half million of people gives to the land of the city belongs properly to the whole community." The great capitalists and real-estate owners did not like this doctrine; neither did the poli-



POSTOFFICE AND PARK.

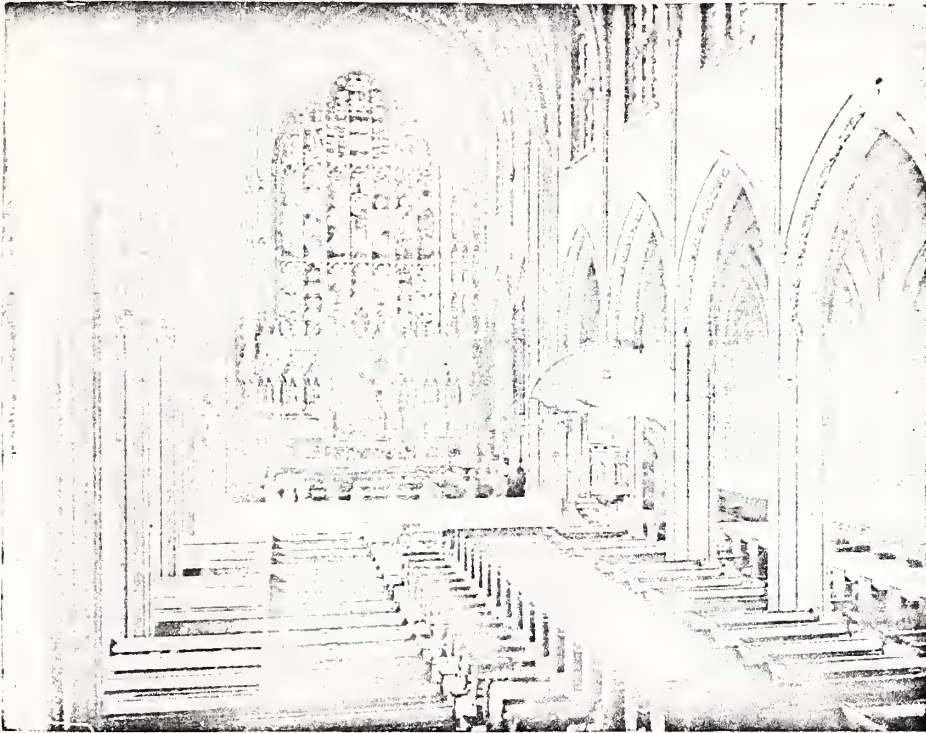
ticians who were in politics for business. They wished the wealth of the city, pouring by taxation into the public purse, to accrue to the benefit of a very limited portion of the community only. Again another idea altogether too radical was the plank in the Labor Party's platform that the city take charge of transit

operations by railways, elevated or on the surface, drawn by horses, cables, steam, or electricity, because private corporations provoked strikes. But then there were other kinds of "strikes" which a city government might organize against corporations, resulting in "boodle" for franchises, which the city could not well get out of itself. Hence, Mr. George must be beaten at all hazards, even though Mr. Hewitt had to be asked to lead the Tammany forces to victory. In spite of Mr. Hewitt's entire "aloofness" from the power that had carried him into the chair, that same victory had intrenched Tammany to a sufficient degree to enable them to cast loose the uncongenial leader forced upon them by circumstances in 1886, and an out-and-out man of their own obtained

the Mayoralty prize in 1888. Two years later (in 1890) a desperate effort was made to get rid of the Tammany power in municipal politics. The independent Democrats, nominated Mr. Francis M. Scott, a Democrat, and the Republicans were wise enough to forego the mistake of former years. They cast party considerations to the winds, and indorsed the nomination of Mr. Scott. The People's Municipal League, organized in the interest of purity in city politics, also gave their adherence to Scott. Against this one candidate of the better element of citizens Tammany did not hesitate to pit their former standard bearer, Grant. A noble fight was made by Mr. Scott, spending evening after evening making speeches in every part of the city. He was a lawyer of fine abilities and eloquent address, and in this respect alone far superior to his opponent, who was a man of little education. There were idle rumors that he could not even write his name, or compose a letter; and some of the newspapers were impudent enough to offer to give \$500 for charity, if the Mayor would write an autograph letter in order to prove his ability to do so. At last came election day, November 4, 1890. It was a good "Republican" day, cloudy or hazy in the morning but without rain, and clearing in the afternoon to fine weather. Thus there was no hindrance to the bringing out of the biggest vote of the better element. On this day, too, the Australian ballot first went into effect, promising to secure the utmost possible purity of the ballot, by preventing or neutralizing the purchasing of votes, since by its provisions there could be no certainty that what was bought would be delivered. Nevertheless Mr. Scott was hopelessly beaten, and Hugh J. Grant carried the day by a majority of twenty thousand. A study of the figures later developed the secret of the Tammany victory. It was estimated that there were at least forty thousand citizens who had neglected to vote, either from indifference to their duty and privilege as citizens, or because as Republicans they would not vote for even so respectable and high-toned a gentleman as Mr. Scott, because he was a Democrat. The stay-at-homes were not residents of the districts which gave Grant their suffrages. It is more than likely that a little more patriotism would have turned the scale against him. The people needed, it seems, rousing up, before they could be marshaled in solid phalanx against the power of Tammany. That rousing came in due course of time. Thomas F. Gilroy was put up as Mayor in 1892, and continued the ascendancy of the forces that had again obtained a hold upon the public offices, after the long interval of a score of years since the downfall of Tweed. Continuance of power made the politicians of this stripe heedless of results, and abuses began again to creep into the administration of municipal affairs. The Society for the Prevention of Crime was now under the Presidency of the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, the successor of Dr. Howard Crosby. It was suspected by the society that the police were in collusion with

houses of ill-fame, and in general derived a revenue from various forms of law-breaking by a system of bribes where offered, or the levying of deliberate blackmail from those reluctant to pay. Accusations to that effect were freely made. Places where debauchery and licentiousness were boldly carried on were pointed out to the police, but the cry was, no arrests without positive proof. By a bold stroke, demanded by the necessity of the case, yet which must have been disgustingly repugnant to his feelings, and for which unthinking men roundly condemned him,—Dr. Parkhurst secured the proof positive thus blandly required, so that he could himself go upon the witness stand and swear to his charges against the Police Department. Public sentiment was roused by the revelations made, and the Legislature was induced to order an investigation of the Department, at the instance of the Chamber of Commerce. Thus came into being the now famous Lexow Investigation Committee, appointed in January, 1894. They began their sessions in February, continuing them with intervals until December, and engaged as counsel Mr. John W. Goff, a gentleman of Irish birth and of the Catholic faith, a lawyer of remarkable ability, who as Assistant District-Attorney had had considerable experience in dealing with the criminal classes. As the proceedings went on facts of the most disgraceful and sensational nature were constantly brought to light. Some six hundred policy-shops, the lowest kind of gambling hells, were actually running under police protection. A keeper of a house of ill-fame had found it worth while to pay the exorbitant sums asked for in order to be left undisturbed, till the aggregate of \$25,000 was reached. People doing honest business were mulcted on some pretext or other, to save themselves from annoyance, or to get the protection they were entitled to. Push-cart venders upon the street were not considered victims too petty to be fleeced. Ignorant foreign shop-keepers were robbed of nearly all their income, on some trumped-up threat of exposure of wrongdoing. The indignation and disgust of the public of New York exceeded all bounds. The wings of Tammany seemed to have brooded as much corruption, although in a new and more contemptible shape, as in the heyday of the Tweed Ring. The Lexow Committee's work, besides this effect upon public opinion, resulted in establishing the complicity with these abuses of two Police Commissioners, two ex-Commissioners, three Inspectors, one ex-Inspector (who managed to sport a private steam-yacht), twenty Captains, two ex-Captains, seven Sergeants, and six Detective Sergeants. But nothing so sadly illustrates the devious course of the law as the fact that, when indictments were brought against these offenders, the trials actually conducted resulted as follows: one conviction, which was reversed; one conviction after two trials, an appeal pending subsequently; two disagreements of juries. Forty indictments were dismissed, and thirty-five not even brought to trial. The cost came to \$76,534.

But one effect could not be averted. The anger and disgust of the citizens aroused them thoroughly to the necessity of ridding themselves of Tammany, and at the next municipal election, which fortunately fell in this very year while the people were still hot for reform, there was a thorough and extensive municipal house-cleaning. As in the days of Tweed, a Committee of Seventy was organized, who nominated a ticket regardless of party. Their nominee for Mayor was Mr. William L. Strong, indorsed by the Republicans, the State Democracy, the Independent County Democrats, the Anti-Tammany Democrats, and the German-American Reform Union. A feature of the campaign, occasioned by the revelations of municipal corruption,



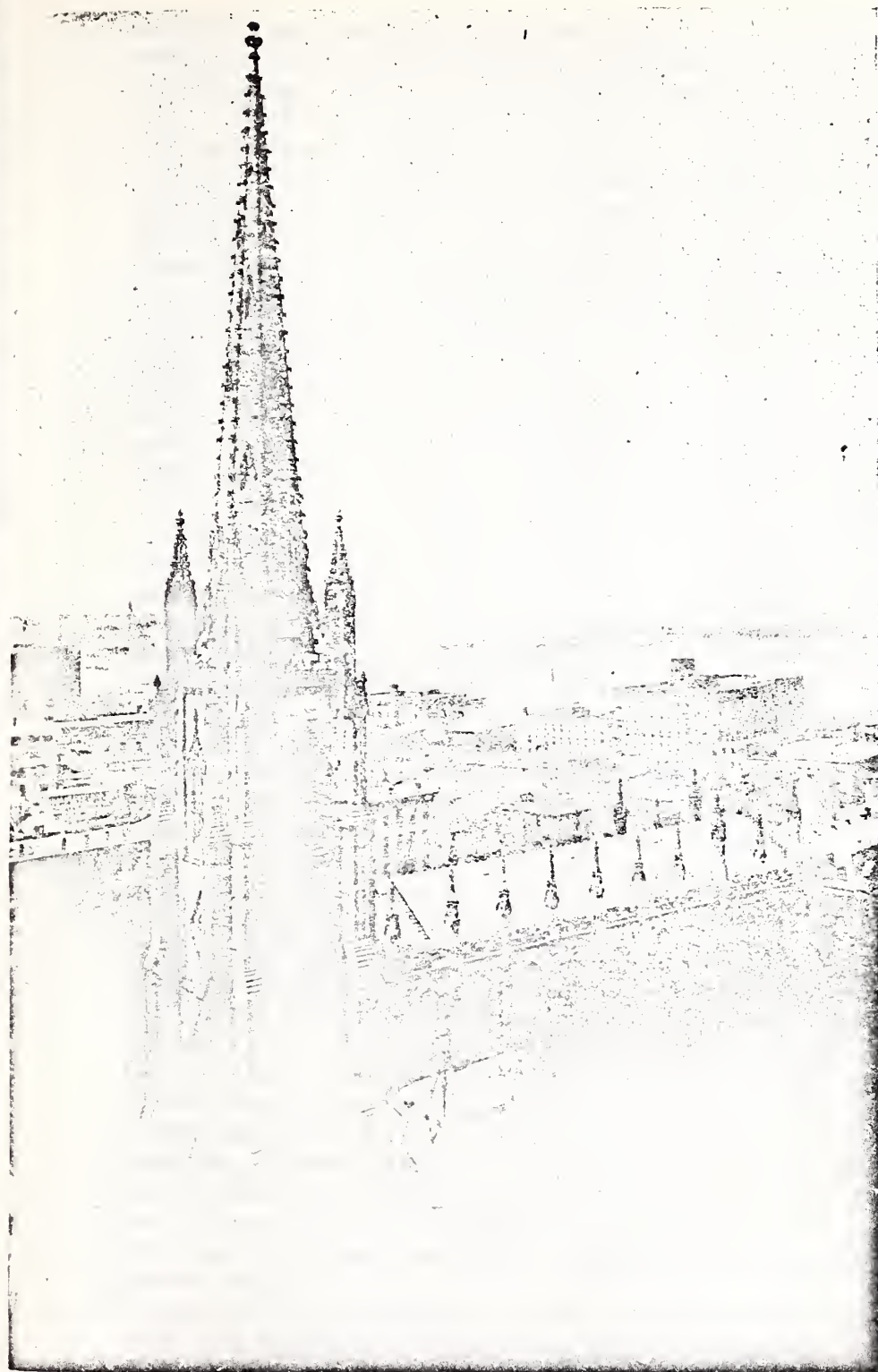
INTERIOR VIEW OF TRINITY CHURCH.

was the establishment of the Good Government Clubs, whose branches in various parts of the city were designated by letters of the alphabet. These confederated clubs also indorsed Mr. Strong's nomination. Tammany imagined that luck might turn their way again if they put in nomination the one who had led them twice to victory, and who had once before foiled the clamors of reformers. But Hugh J. Grant could not prevail this time. Mr. Strong was elected Mayor by a majority of 45,187, and Tammany power for the time being was swept out of existence. John W. Goff was elected Recorder by a still larger majority. At the election of 1894, the people also voted for

Rapid Transit on a larger scale, and on the question of the Greater New York.

In July, 1890, the New Aqueduct, conveying an increased quantity of water from the Croton River to New York City, was first used. The old system was becoming painfully inadequate to the needs of the city, so immensely augmented in population since 1842. Finally in 1883 the Legislature authorized the construction of a new conduit issuing 350 feet above the Croton Dam, and running directly to the large, circular reservoir in Central Park, passing under the Harlem River. It is in the form of a horseshoe 15 feet high and 23 feet wide, being capable of discharging 318 millions of gallons every twenty-four hours. In June, 1891, when it was completed, its cost was estimated at over twenty-five millions of dollars. A little over a year later, in August, 1892, another dam on the Croton was contracted for, to add 21 square miles to the drainage area, and to afford storage for thirty thousand millions of gallons. It is expected to be finished in 1898. In June, 1893, preparations were made for constructing a new storage reservoir for the use of the city above the Harlem River, with a capacity of fifteen hundred millions of gallons, much larger therefore than the circular reservoir in Central Park. When it is considered what multitudes of souls now needed to be abundantly supplied with water, these provisions would appear none too ample. In 1890 the Federal Census made the population of New York 1,513,501. It was claimed by the Democratic politicians who then ruled the city that the Republican administration had tampered with the figures, and the police of the city were directed to take another census: they made the figure 1,710,715. In 1892 the State Census occurred and put the city down for 1,800,891. In 1860 the population was about 814,000: thus in thirty-two years it had increased one million. In 1880 Chicago had, by a series of annexations of contiguous villages miles apart, become possessed of a population of 1,099,850. This made it the second city of the land, which put Philadelphia in the third place, while Brooklyn became number four.

This period saw the beginning of the gaunt and dizzy "sky-scrapers." It is an obvious fact that in a city like New York ground is very dear, increasingly so as business and population increase. But there can be no embargo of cost laid on the air, and above the 100 x 100 feet of some invaluable city lot, story after story might be added with only the cost of building, until the tower of Babel were eclipsed in altitude. Two circumstances combined to make such sky-scraping feasible. First there were the improvements in manufacturing steel, rendering that product much cheaper; and now it became the practice to construct buildings of steel and stone together, a framework of steel inside being supplemented exteriorly by walls of stone or brick. There was practically no limit to the strength of a building thus put together, and it could be carried to any elevation. But this would



TRINITY CHURCH.

have been no advantage without the elevator, which was simultaneously developed in the directions of swiftness and safety, and was gradually perfected so as to be able to run continuously to any height. Hence we find upon the streets of New York those enormous and ungainly office buildings, one seeking to outrival the other in the number of stories. One of ten is now a very low affair; fifteen, twenty, even twenty-five stories are not uncommon on Broadway and in contiguous downtown streets. They hopelessly bury the city's steeples. In earlier days one climbed to Trinity's utmost stretch of stairs to see the surrounding city. Now a person standing on its very cross would stare point blank into the eighteenth or nineteenth story of some near neighbor; having very likely a story or two to spare besides. And Trinity's fate is shared by a good many churches even further uptown, some of which have hotels or business buildings by their side whose roofs, with a surface of thousands of square feet, are quite as high or even higher than the tapering points of their steeples.

Churches were now rapidly going up on both sides of Central Park, particularly the west side, and in Harlem. At One Hundred and Tenth Street between Columbus (Ninth) and Amsterdam (Tenth) avenues, on the site of the former Leake and Watts' Orphan Asylum, it is proposed to build a magnificent Protestant Cathedral. The conception is Bishop Potter's, whose wish is to make it not merely an Episcopal Church, but the expression, in a form worthy of a great and wealthy city, of the general religious sentiment. Two towers are to flank the front and a massive dome and steeple to rise from the intersection of nave and transepts. On December 27, 1892, the cornerstone of this unique edifice was laid with impressive ceremony, at which it does not appear that representatives of the other denominations called upon to interest themselves in its erection were given any active part. The name of the church is to be St. John the Divine. In 1894 a magnificent present was given to Trinity Church, as a memorial of John Jacob Astor by William Waldorf Astor, in the form of three bronze doors with two leaves each, and six panels representing in relief various biblical and historical scenes. The cost was \$100,000. The main or east door, fronting Wall Street, is designed by the sculptor Carl Bitter, the scriptural scenes bearing on the general theme: "Thou didst open the Kingdom to all the believers." The north door is from the hands of the sculptor J. Massey Rhind, the six scenes illustrating the leading thought: "I am the door of the sheep," the deliverance, refuge, rescue, help, that as such the Saviour affords to men. The south door is by Charles Henry Niehans, and represents six scenes in the history of Trinity Parish: 1. The consecration of the present building on May 21, 1846; 2. Washington entering St. Paul's Chapel after the Inauguration, April 30, 1789; 3. Henry Hudson on board the Halfmoon, off Manhattan Island, September 11, 1609; 4. Dedication of the Astor Reredos, June 29, 1877; 5. Consecration of

four Bishops at St. Paul's, on October 31, 1832; and 6. Dr. Barclay preaching to Indians in the year 1738.

The Salvation Army movement, which was begun by the Rev. William Booth, an English Methodist preacher, in 1861, found its way to Philadelphia in 1879, but its headquarters were soon removed to New York, and are now to be found on Fourteenth Street near Sixth Avenue. It was seen that the American metropolis furnished as many



CATHEDRAL OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE.

cases for the peculiar operations of the Army as the worst purlicus of London. Ballington Booth, one of General Booth's sons, was sent over to take command of the American contingent, and with his wife, became exceedingly popular. They adapted themselves to the peculiar necessities of their new situation, and cordially accepted the modifications which the work as developed in this country seemed to suggest. Mrs. Booth especially won hosts of friends, and succeeded in commending her cause in the parlors of some of the most cultured and affluent homes of the city. Indeed, daughters of men prominent

in highest financial and social circles lent themselves to the work among the lowly. This Americanization of the movement, attended by some inevitable independence of spirit or ideas, displeased the General-in-Chief at home; and in 1896 a split occurred in the ranks. Ballington Booth continuing his methods as adapted to the American environment, but organizing a new body calling itself the "American Volunteers."

In 1892 the city's attention was forcibly called to another religious movement, entirely indigenous to America, started in a very humble and unobtrusive way, but now leaping into prominence before the metropolitan public and astonishing it and the world by the colossal proportions it had attained. This was the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor. The Rev. Francis E. Clark was the founder of it, starting a society among the young people of his church in 1881. On July 7, 1892, the annual Convention gathered representatives in New York from over twenty-one thousand societies scattered all over the United States and Canada. No less than thirty thousand delegates were in attendance, and the presence of such an immense army of bright young people of both sexes made a great impression upon the general public. The press cordially welcomed their advent, and vied with each other in giving full accounts of the various meetings. These continued during four days, from Thursday, July 7, to Sunday, July 10, and were held in the great auditorium of Madison Square Garden. The delegations from the various States were assigned to different hotels, which bore upon their fronts upon strips of canvas the names of the particular States whose young people were entertained there, thus facilitating for each group the finding of their quarters in a city so extraordinarily vast to many of them. The gay and thoughtless metropolis seemed converted into a religious camp, and was forced in spite of itself to take notice of and reflect upon the happy significance of this phenomenon.

Madison Square Garden was opened just in time for the accommodation of the vast assemblies brought together at the exercises of this Convention. It was an ideal building for vast assemblages. No other city contains its like. In every city where the Christian Endeavor Society has since met, Cleveland, Washington, and others, these great gatherings had to be held in several tents. In 1890 the space formerly occupied by the depot of the Harlem and the New Haven railroads, and later by Barnum's Hippodrome,—a somewhat crude adaptation of the previous structures to the uses of a circus, partly covered by canvas,—was inclosed within a vast building of light brick, ornamented with white terra cotta trimmings. The whole area measures 200 x 425 feet, consisting throughout of masonry, iron, and glass. Seats rise in steep tiers on three sides, and galleries to the third or fourth story on all of the four sides. The center furnishes a fine space for circus exhibitions, or the Wild West Show, now world-

famous. The tan bark arena can be flooded with water four feet deep and furnish aquatic shows. It is utilized for the purposes already mentioned, for political meetings, for poultry, dairy, horse shows; for walking contests, and bicycle races,—in short an infinite variety of such affairs, which require great areas, not otherwise so safely guarded against the vicissitudes of the weather. Concerts by large bands are also successfully held here. Near the southwest corner rises a campanile tower 300 feet high, surmounted by the figure of Diana twanging her bow, as a weathervane. On the other corner snugly stowed away, so as to make no sensible diminution in the interior space, is a theater. Complaints have recently come to the ears of the public that there is no money in the enterprise, and that the Garden may be abolished. It would be a distinct loss to the city to have this occur.

The United States had long been a convenient dumping-ground for European countries to deposit their incapables and degenerates in mind or character. In more than one instance States or cities have actually paid the passage of these creatures, in order to get rid of them, and populate with them these wild and waste shores. But at last the Republic rose up in wrath against this abuse of her hospitality. In 1882 Congress passed an act forbidding convicts, lunatics, idiots, and paupers to enter the United States. The steamship companies conveying such were compelled to take them back at their own cost, thus compelling them to aid in the effort to weed out undesirable people from the emigrants seeking passage on their ships. It can hardly be believed that with this provision perfectly well known in Europe, and with the steamship companies on their guard for their own interest, yet up to 1893 no less than eleven hundred people, mostly paupers, were annually sent back. Within these later years a decided change is apparent in the proportion in which certain nationalities are represented among the multitudes still flocking hitherward, and arriving at the port of New York. Up to 1860 the Irish largely predominated, so that they formed three-fifths of the foreign-born population. Gradually the Germans forged to the front, and



MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

now the people chiefly in evidence among the new comers seem to be the Italians. We do not see that in the rougher kinds of labor upon the streets or buildings the majority of the men engaged are Irish as in former days: such work has fallen almost entirely to Italians, while the Irish are now found in a more exalted condition, having risen to the rank of bosses, commanding these gangs of Italian laborers. A greater variety of nations now also send forth their subjects: Poles, Bohemians, Russian Jews, Hungarians, have come over in large numbers recently. A curious feature of life in New York City is the tendency of these people of various nationalities to colonize different districts of the city, especially those who do not speak the English language. There are blocks upon blocks on the east side of the city, from the Bowery to the East River, where the inhabitants are all Germans. In another portion, notably First Avenue from One Hundred and Seventh or One Hundred and Eighth Street to One Hundred and Tenth Street, and beyond, stretching westward well toward Third Avenue, there are to be seen only Italians. So there are Swedish neighborhoods, or French, or whatever nation sends out a sufficient number to make such conditions possible. Many individuals strictly keep themselves within these bounds; while many, even if they do emerge at times, have so little occasion to employ any but their own vernacular that they do not pretend even to make an effort to acquire the English. They have newspapers in their own language, their vote is elicited by pandering to their national prejudices, and speakers are assigned during campaigns to address them in their mother-tongue. Thus they live a life apart from the American people, and those who by a knowledge of their language have access to some of their inner circles have learned with regret that frequently they hold in bitter contempt the land which gives them their bread, and the English-speaking element, whose push and enterprise made this country the eldorado whither they were eager to escape from oppressive or depressing conditions in Europe. It is true that this contempt is often as foolishly and groundlessly returned with interest by Americans; but this is never so biting and ill-natured.

No especially prominent occurrence invites attention, which in any way indicates noteworthy advancement in the amusement or entertainment of New York society. Theaters kept on multiplying, and more particular mention will be made later of one or two such edifices as particularly illustrating the appreciation of the art to which they minister. A number of years previous to the period now in hand a curious phenomenon in theatrical life was the popularity of the comic opera of "Pinafore," whose bright, sweet, catching music, innocent raillery and capital humor, held all New York captivated, so that for an entire season it was played simultaneously in a score of theaters. For three successive seasons, also, up to 1894, the beautiful and pathetic play of "The

old Homestead," presenting incidents of homely, everyday, modern life, drew crowded houses night after night; a record closely followed by another drama of contemporary American life entitled the "County Fair." It would seem as if managers might draw the lesson from these facts, that it is quite as profitable to place upon their boards plays pure in sentiment and elevating in moral effect, as those that pander to degrading passions and depraved tastes, and whereby they draw down upon themselves the ill-will and antagonism of good people. In this connection it is also to be observed that New York had grown to be a most attractive summer resort. In the sixties and early seventies, the ocean was as near as now, and cheap excursion boats conveyed people to Coney Island to breathe the salubrious air. But Coney Island was a sandy waste. Here and there stood rows of rude bathing houses, with an occasional shaded platform where people could eat the lunches they brought with them, and, perhaps purchase drinks more or less soft, as well as the harder kind. It was not till after the centennial year (1876) that capital turned its attention to this vicinity and began to create attractions here for the New York public, at the same time bringing it within easy access to the city. A hotel 660 feet long and four stories high was erected; the beach in front was converted into a garden, a music pavilion was built, and the finest musicians in the United States, under the direction of P. S. Gilmore, engaged to discourse the best of music there afternoons and evenings. A railroad was constructed, the rails and rolling stock of the railway (narrow gauge) that ran in the grounds of the Exposition at Philadelphia being utilized. The spot thus wonderfully improved was called Manhattan Beach. Another more exclusive hotel—the Oriental, has been built further east along the shore. The music pavilion has developed into a seaside theater or concert hall. The original railroad was abandoned and the tracks merged with those of the Long Island Railroad. Soon after Manhattan Beach, Brighton Beach was created, also with an immense hotel. Then West Brighton arose, developing into a fair—a perpetual and characteristic Vanity Fair, the continual dread and horror of moralists, needing great watching, yet affording a play-ground for persons of the serving classes with tastes not all too elevated. The original Coney Island still has some of its old primitive features, westward of all these later attractions. In a brief hour the population of New York, according to the degree of its culture, may find itself transported to this seaside resort of fourfold character. Here may be enjoyed the most rollicking and roystering kind of cheer. Here may be heard the most classic music that the great masters ever produced, discoursed by orchestras conducted by an Anton Seidl, or other kings of the baton. Here again may be heard the finest band-music, popular as well as classic. Here pyrotechnics unsurpassed combine with scenic effects to please and instruct the mind, or comic opera by

the best artists pleases and rests the mind bent on a summer vacation. Thus the dweller in New York has the advantages of a seaside resort at his very doors. After business hours a quick run to the seashore gives him a chance for a dip in the ocean, and offers him entertainment of the highest excellence (if he seeks this) to wipe the cobwebs out of his brain. Surely life in the city can not be deemed quite unendurable under such circumstances.

From the piazza of one of these hotels might have been seen in



APARTMENT HOUSES OPPOSITE CENTRAL PARK.

October, 1893, the finish of an exciting race, engaging the enthusiastic attention of two great maritime nations. In a previous chapter has been told the story of the winning of the Queen's Cup by the American schooner yacht *America*, in 1851, sailing against the entire British Squadron. It was not till 1870 that the English yachtsmen sent over a yacht for the purpose of winning back the trophy, called now the America's Cup. This was the schooner *Cambria*. Sailing against the American Squadron, one of its yachts, the *Magic*, won the

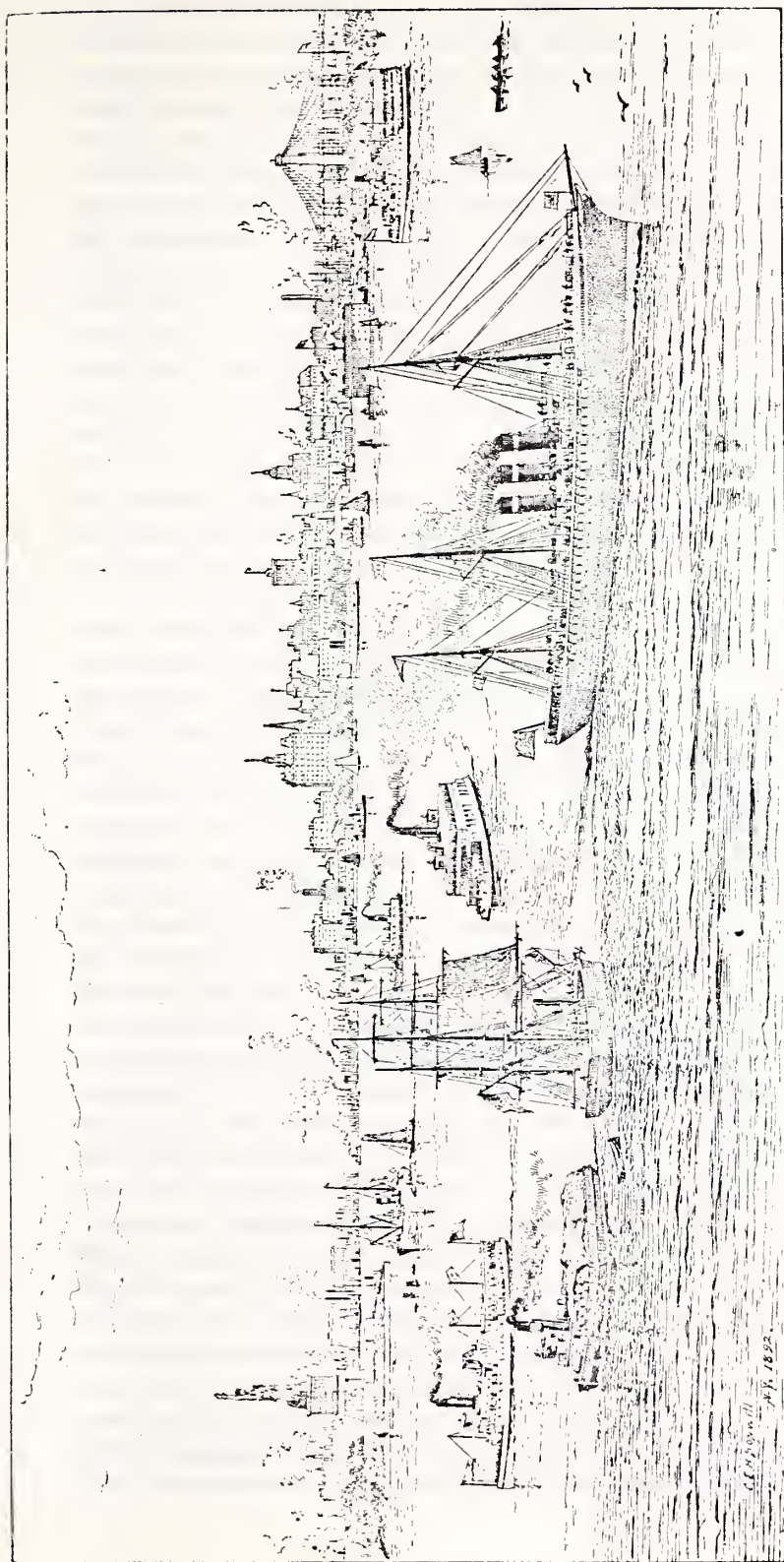
day again for America. The third race was tried in 1871, in which the British schooner *Livonia* sailed against a single American champion, the *Columbia*, fortune again favoring the American yacht. The fourth race was not sailed till 1876, the Countess of Dufferin vainly seeking to wrest the Cup from its defender, *Madeline*. In 1881 there was a change in the character of the racer, thus beginning the era of the "single-stickers," or sloops with one mast. This fifth race, between the *Atalanta*, for England, and the *Mischief*, for America, resulted in the same way. Four years intervened before Great Britain was disposed to try again, when, in 1885, and in two immediately successive years, 1886 and 1887, the *Genesta*, the *Galatea*, and the *Thistle* vainly contended with the *Puritan*, the *Mayflower*, and the *Volunteer*. Evidently discouraged by these failures, six years elapsed before another champion offered to bring back the America's Cup to England. In September and October, 1893, these races occurred, the British boat being the *Valkyrie*, and the American the *Vigilant*. In the first day's race the *Vigilant* won; the second race went to the *Valkyrie*; so that everything depended upon the third day, October 7. The finish could be distinctly seen from the beaches along the south shore of Long Island, on Coney Island and at Rockaway. On came the two swift racers, now one seeming ahead, now another, distancing all other craft and approaching the goal alone and undisturbed. Two clouds of canvas, without visible hull or mast, seemed to be floating along the surface of the water. Suddenly one of these clouds appeared to burst, and to be reduced to half its size, whereupon the other cloud forged ahead and passed the line a couple of minutes before the collapsed one. It proved that the silken spinnaker sail of the *Valkyrie* yielded to the excessive strain at the last moment and split from top to bottom. Thus again was the Cup safe for America.

This was also the period when the newspapers began habitually to furnish information for the eye as well as for the mind, by liberal illustrations in rude outlines of the events described in their columns. At the same time there was a great increase in the number of illustrated monthly magazines, some of them even becoming as frequent as weekly in their issue. The pictures were all most attractive, while the price went steadily down. The monumental monthlies, the *Harpers's*, the *Century*, the *Scribner's* (revived in 1883), with their highly artistic wood-engravings, were sold for twenty-five cents or thirty cents. These later additions to the list of illustrated periodicals, although apparently as beautiful and costly in their make-up, were placed on the market at twelve cents, ten cents, and even at five cents. This sudden facility for presenting cuts in newspapers, and illustrating magazines at low cost, was due to advances in the photographic art. It had been made possible to photograph directly upon zinc or copper plates, prepared chemically so that the photograph was etched or engraved at once upon their sur-

face, whence the impression could be transferred to paper. There were two kinds of this photo-etching: For the rough cuts upon the common paper of the daily journals a pen picture had to be made, which was easily effected by drawing lines over part of a negative and allowing the rest to bleach away. From this line-picture the line-etching was secured upon the plate. The half-tone picture was produced upon the finest-sized paper, after being etched upon the plate directly from nature. When these processes were once perfected printing and photographing could go hand in hand, the one not much more costly than the other, and each capable of multiplying copies for the public *ad infinitum*.

The colonizing of nationalities is matched in New York City by that of various kinds of business or industries. In certain streets or sections we look only for certain kinds of goods. Maiden Lane and John Street have their jewelry stores, their goldsmiths' and silversmiths' wares. Along the blocks west of Broadway to West Broadway, and from Worth to Canal, we look for drygoods houses. Wholesale grocery dealers affect West Broadway, and Hudson Street from Chambers to Franklin Street. Dealers in fruit, produce, vegetables, cluster near Washington Market along Washington and Greenwich Streets. The leather district announces itself to sight and smell as we traverse the Swamp, dank and low, skirting the huge stone approach of the East River Bridge, and descending the hill from Printing House Square and Park Row. Wholesale drug houses are strong along William Street. Even the publishing houses seem to feel the need of each other's company. The Harpers cling to their old quarters. But the Appletons, after migrating from lower Broadway to Bond Street, and the Scribners, after trying two stores on Broadway below and opposite Astor Place, joined their brethren of the craft who had been settling along Twenty-third Street, and on Fifth Avenue below that street. So one might go through the city and locate the larger concerns quite successfully in special districts. An observation-trip along Broadway from Chambers Street to Fourteenth Street would reveal another peculiarity in the business world of New York. From a reading of the signs of the shops, great or small, and presenting a great variety of articles, mostly in the way of clothing and furnishing goods, one could easily be induced to imagine himself passing through a street in Berlin or Hamburg. There is scarcely an American name to be seen, while the preponderance of German names is overwhelming; perhaps here and there a French one, and also a few Japanese and Chinese occur.

In 1893 there was due a periodical panic, to keep up with those of 1873 and 1884. And sure enough it came. It is supposed to have been due to the suspension of the free coinage of silver by the Government of British India. There was a distressful time, especially in industrial stocks, in the New York markets. Partisans attributed the bad



NEW YORK HARBOR—A STEAMER OF THE INMAN (LATER AMERICAN) LINE IN FOREGROUND.

CH. H. G. W. H. 1892.

times to the resumption of the Presidency by Mr. Cleveland. There was a financial panic, at any rate, whatever produced it, "in some respects the most distressing on record," says a recent historian. Mines were closed, factories ceased work or were reduced to half time, banks suspended or failed, and trade was paralyzed. But on the other hand this same year witnessed an event calculated to put hope once more into the hearts of those who had watched with wistful eyes the departure of the carrying trade from our ships, and the inordinate multiplication of passenger and freight steamships, lying with their docks the Manhattan and Jersey shores of the North River and flying only flags of powers transatlantic. By a special act of Congress two foreign-built steamships of the Inman line, the *City of New York* and the *City of Paris*, were admitted to American registry and allowed to fly the United States flag. This company had gradually passed into the possession of American capital, and finally, in 1886, an appeal was made to Congress that the two steamers then building might be registered as American ships. Not until May, 1892, however, did the bill authorizing this become law; as there was nothing partisan about the measure it met with no opposition whatever. The conditions were that the vessels admitted must attain a speed of twenty knots an hour, and that over 90 per cent. of the ownership must be in American hands. The ships were not designated more particularly, but the requirements could apply only to these two at that time. The date selected for the transfer of the flags was Washington's birthday, 1893. The *City of New York*, now to be known as simply *New York*, was anchored off the Battery, and near her lay one of the United States cruisers, the *Chicago*, in holiday trim, ready to blaze away salutes. The President had been invited to perform the ceremony of raising the flag, and he had cordially assented to grace the important event with his personal presence and active participation. In response to Mr. Bourke Cochran, the originator of the bill and the orator of the day, as he was about to raise the flag, Mr. Harrison made a short address in which he said that he was proud to further the hopes of the Nation suggested by the occasion, and he made bold to date from the event of the day the restoration to our merchant marine of "the work of carrying our share of the world's commerce upon the sea." Better than this, there followed soon the two sister ships *St. Paul* and *St. Louis*, not built in England, but upon the Cramps' yards at Philadelphia, whence so many fast cruisers had proceeded. The building of the new navy had encouraged the procuring of a plant there which enabled these shipbuilders to compete with those on the Clyde. The time of these ships between Southampton and New York is about six days and a few hours. The old Cunard line, however, has still kept ahead of all modern competitors. Her two great ships, the *Lucania* and *Campania*, are the largest and the swiftest steamships afloat. They register a tonnage of 12,950, and the indicated horse-power is

30,000. In 1894 the *Lucania* made the quickest passage yet achieved between Queenstown and Sandy Hook, in five days and eight hours, the *Campania* just previously accomplishing the journey in five days and nine hours.

In spite of the panic or the conditions that premonished it, the citizens of New York were not behind others in duly celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. As the time approached it was eminently proper that the thought should have occurred to mark that event by an Industrial Exhibition, or a World's Fair, such as had expressed to the nations our appreciation of the one hundred years of independence in 1876. And it was also natural that as this idea took shape the spot for the holding of such a fair should have suggested itself as unquestionably the metropolis of the continent given to the world by the genius and perseverance of the Genoese discoverer. In Europe such expositions are invariably located in the largest cities of the country inviting the display; Paris, London, Amsterdam, Vienna, have been their scene. Philadelphia was so nearly the largest city that its historic connection with the Declaration of Independence properly turned the scale in her favor in 1876. But in 1892 by every consideration of fitness, as well as historic sentiment—New York representing the acme of achievement realized by that spirit of commercial enterprise which sent Columbus across the Atlantic and made his discovery so significant for Europe—the Fair should have been held there. Besides, as a mere matter of convenience, New York was the place for it. Vessels laden with the precious products of the old world or the new, or bearing the ponderous constructions that were to exhibit their engineering or manufacturing skill, could be brought immediately to the grounds appointed for the purpose without further transshipping their cargoes. Of a sudden, however, a cry arose from the West that Chicago must be the scene of the Columbian Fair; and pressure was at once brought to bear upon Congress, and all the arts of the demagogue and small politicians applied to its members, as if the country were in the midst of a presidential campaign or a local party fight, to induce that body to vote that the Fair be held in the far inland town. As poetic fitness or historic propriety are not considerations of much weight with the average member of Congress, especially those hailing from the crude and breezy West, Congress voted as the West desired, and Chicago won the prize. All the bitterness of the contest, fortunately, was dissipated in the splendid success of the undertaking; and the beauty of the fairyland, created on the borders of Lake Michigan by the aid of its waters, made up for the unrivaled advantages of hill and river scenery which would have furnished the setting for the gems of architecture on the spot intended for the exposition on Morningside and Riverside heights in this city. By reason of the fear that men's minds might be unduly absorbed by an exciting presidential cam-

paign in 1892 (although that objection was equally pertinent in 1876), it was determined to postpone the Columbian Fair to 1893; while still another curious chronological misfit was caused by the excessive astronomical accuracy which seized upon some people, whereby they were led to insist that October 12, in 1492, was really October 21 by the later Gregorian correction of the calendar. Therefore, preferring astronomical exactness to the historical associations, they demanded that October 21, 1892, be proclaimed the anniversary of the discovery, and President Harrison accordingly made official announcement of this date as that for the national celebration. To the credit of New York State and city it must be said that this painful Gregorian correctness was disregarded, and October 12 made a legal holiday by legislative action. The city began the celebration on Sunday, October 8, in the various churches, where discourses, appropriately commenting on the great providential event, were very generally delivered. At

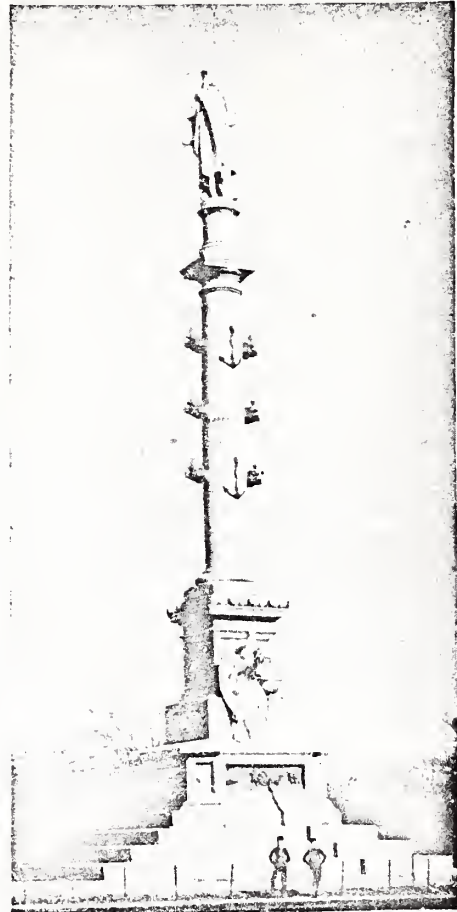


COLUMBIA CELEBRATION MEDAL.

Twenty-second Street, on Fifth Avenue, an arch was built of trellis work, covered with evergreens. From Twenty-second to Thirty-fourth Street, along Fifth Avenue, one hundred standards were placed on either side of the street, bearing gonfalons or pointed banners with the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. Lines were stretched across the street from one to the other of each pair, from which were suspended flags and Chinese lanterns. At Fifty-eighth Street there was another arch painted to resemble marble, adorned with bas-reliefs. The whole structure was 160 feet high and 120 feet wide, the opening 80 feet high and 40 feet wide. There were fountains on either side of it, and the bas-reliefs in the panels represented Columbus at the Convent of Rabida, and Columbus at the Court of Spain. On October 10 the celebration proper began with a school and college parade, in which 25,000 persons took part. The boys of the public schools had been drilled for months, and they marched like trained soldiers. On Octo-

ber 11 there was a naval parade, led by United States ships and a few French, Italian, and Spanish war vessels. The parade passed up the North River; as the United States ships anchored in two lines the others sailed up between, and, returning, sailed between them a second time. In the evening there was a parade of Catholic Societies. October 12 was the high day of the festival. All business was suspended by act of the State authorities; fifty thousand persons marched in the parade on that day, the line of march being from the Battery to Fifty-ninth Street. During the day there was unveiled the handsome statue of Columbus, standing upon a lofty column, on the circle at Fifty-ninth Street and Eighth Avenue, Central Park; this being a gift to the city by Italian citizens. In the evening there was a parade illuminated by gas and electric light devices; fifty floats passed before the delighted spectators, presenting historical and allegorical scenes, and five thousand bicycles ridden by ladies and gentlemen formed a striking feature of the procession.

In preparation for the World's Fair at Chicago the countries of the world had been invited to participate in a grand international naval display at New York in the spring of 1893. The rendezvous for the assembling of this fleet of many nations was appointed in Hampton Roads, Virginia, where the squadron of the United States "new" navy were waiting to receive them. Neither municipal jealousy nor political chicanery could prevent the display from taking place in the only harbor of America where there could be at once ample room for its movements, and ample opportunity for its being seen and appreciated by an unlimited number of spectators. On April 25 the foretaste of succeeding days came in the shape of the three Spanish caravels, made as nearly as possible like the Santa Maria, the Pinta, and the Nina, which constituted the fleet of Columbus in 1492. They had been con-



COLUMBUS STATUE—EIGHTH AVENUE
AND 59TH STREET.

structed in Spain and successfully towed across the ocean by a United States cruiser. On the morning of that day they were towed up the North River and anchored off Ninety-second Street. Meantime, on that same day, the international fleet arrived from Hampton Roads, and anchored in the Lower Bay, just outside the Narrows. On the morning of April 26, the vessels passed up to their anchoring ground in the North River. The procession was imposing and impressive beyond all language to describe. Up between the Narrows, past the Staten Island shore, between Castle William and the Statue of Liberty, past the Battery and between the Manhattan and Jersey banks of the noble Hudson, they steamed in the most stately and steady manner, the huge machines obeying the impulse of their engines and the guidance of their rudders as if they were things of life, keeping distances like files of trained soldiers, without a break or an error. On the west side the line was headed by the United States cruiser Philadelphia, followed by others of the "White Squadron," the Newark, the Atlanta, the San Francisco, the Bancroft, the Bennington, the Baltimore, the Chicago, the Yorktown, the Charleston, the Vesuvius, and the Concord. These were followed by the Nuevo Julio, Argentine Republic; the Van Speyck, Netherland; the Kaiserin Augusta and Secadler, Germany; the line closing with the United States monitor, the Miantonomah. Accurately opposite each ship of this line moved the vessels on the eastern side of the river, hundreds of feet away, led by the Blake, Australia, Magicienne, and Tartar, Great Britain; the Dimitri Donstov, General Admiral, and Rynda, Russia; the Aréthuse, Illussard, and Jean Bart, France; the Etna and the Giovanni Banson, Italy; the Infanta Isabella, Reina Regenta, and Nueva Espana, Spain; the Agnidiban, the Tiradentes, and the Republica, Brazil. Places for anchorage had been carefully marked for each, and as they reached their ground every vessel remained stationary like a sentinel on guard. On the next day, Thursday, the 27th, President Cleveland reviewed the fleet by passing between the two lines in the United States dispatch boat the Dolphin. Just above the two leading vessels, opposite Eighty-eighth street, the Dolphin came to anchor; whereupon the Admirals and Captains proceeded from their several ships to pay their respect to the President. On Friday, 28th, the sailors and marines from the ships formed a parade. Landing at Forty-second Street, they marched down Broadway. Governor Flower, escorted by Troop A, led the way, followed by the United States sailors and marines, and then by those from the foreign ships, the commanding officers riding in carriages. There were 12,000 men in line. In the evening the Chamber of Commerce gave a banquet to the visiting officers, at which four hundred and fifty guests sat down.

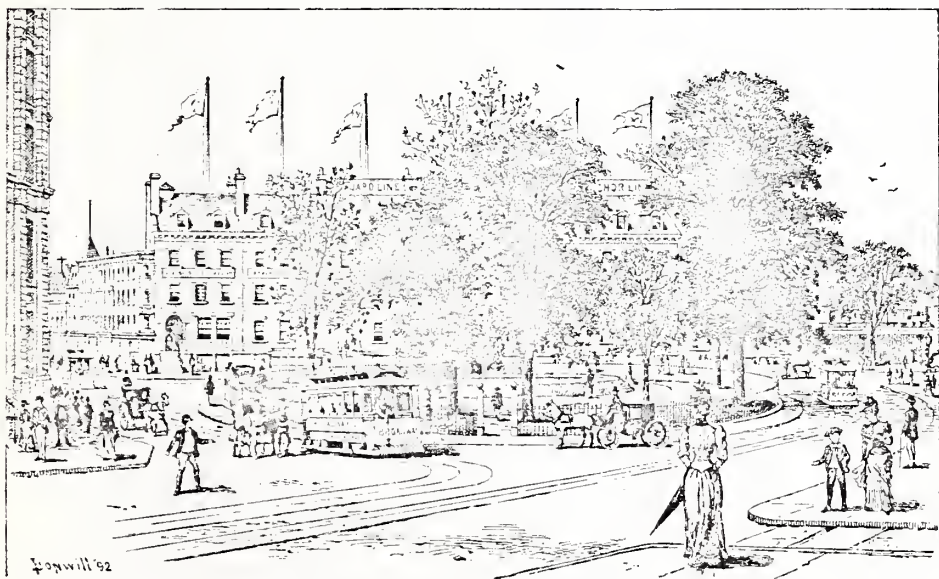
CHAPTER XIX.

THE CLIMAX OF THE GREATER NEW YORK.



S Mayor William L. Strong began his administration on January 1, 1895, the citizens watched with much interest to see what use he would make of his appointing powers.

These had been considerably modified by the new State Constitution of 1894. The Mayor was enabled to get rid, much more quickly and readily than before, of officials whom he deemed detrimental to the service, and left over from the preceding administration. Tweed's charter provided that most of the appointments should



THE BOWLING GREEN TO-DAY.

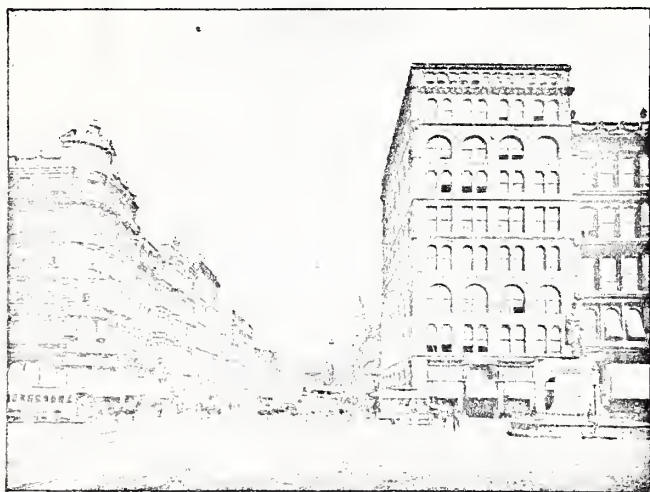
exceed the Mayor's term, so that even a successor out of harmony

with Tammany would be seriously handicapped in seeking to serve the citizens against the politicians. Mayor Strong's appointments gave universal satisfaction. We need mention only a few: Mr. Francis M. Scott, the Democrat who had led the forces of reform in 1890, was made Corporation Counsel; Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Republican candidate for Mayor in 1886, and now an efficient member of the United States Civil Service Commission, was appointed President of

the Police Commission. About him and the Commissioner of Street Cleaning, Colonel George E. Waring, centers the chief interest of the new administration. Mr. Roosevelt, with characteristic vigor, proposed that the police force should do its duty. He soon infused new life into the department, and raised the tone of the service to such a degree that the hang-dog look, resulting from conscious guilt because of their disgraceful practices recently brought to light, was replaced by one of manly pride. Admission to the force was possible only by fitness, and continuance on it only by merit, and merit was ascertained by such searching and unmistakable methods that each man was put on his mettle to do his best in his particular line of duty. It was impossible that under this new régime any laws upon the Statute books should remain unenforced; and here came difficulties. The liquor laws had been left to fall into "innocuous desuetude" under the former system. Their enforcement produced wrath among the citizens of foreign birth. The Germans had nobly stood by the cause of reform and had helped to overwhelm Tammany, but the exertions of the police sadly interfered with their beer-drinking on Sunday. It might have been somewhat more reasonable to find fault with the laws restricting this privilege, and to agitate for a change in them; while at the same time commending that thoroughness and uprightness of administration which conscientiously sought to enforce such laws as were upon the books. But this position was not taken even by such an intelligent leader of opinion as the New York *Staats-Zeitung*, so often found on the side of reform and purity in city politics. It encouraged, rather than allayed, the opposition against the administration, so that at the next municipal election the German citizens supported Tammany, whereby one or two city offices were recovered, and some of their henchmen were sent to Albany. There the Raines law was concocted to deal with the liquor question, and at the same time to save the Republican supremacy. This took the licensing of the traffic out of the hands of the municipal government, making it a State affair, under the charge of a Commissioner. We are not yet through with the Raines law, and whether it has accomplished its double purpose remains to be seen.

People soon began to see that something wonderful had happened in the Department of Street Cleaning. The streets were actually cleaned, the men employed really worked, whereas before these humble functionaries had merely posed at working, flourishing brooms and shovels with no reference to their base mundane uses, but only as badges of office, as guarantees for the right kind of vote before election, or reward for the same thereafter. Now "White Angels" took their place, an affectionate and grateful title bestowed by the happy New York public upon the men employed by Colonel Waring. He had devised a uniform for his laborers consisting of a white jacket or coat and white pants, which made the cleaners at once conspicuous. The

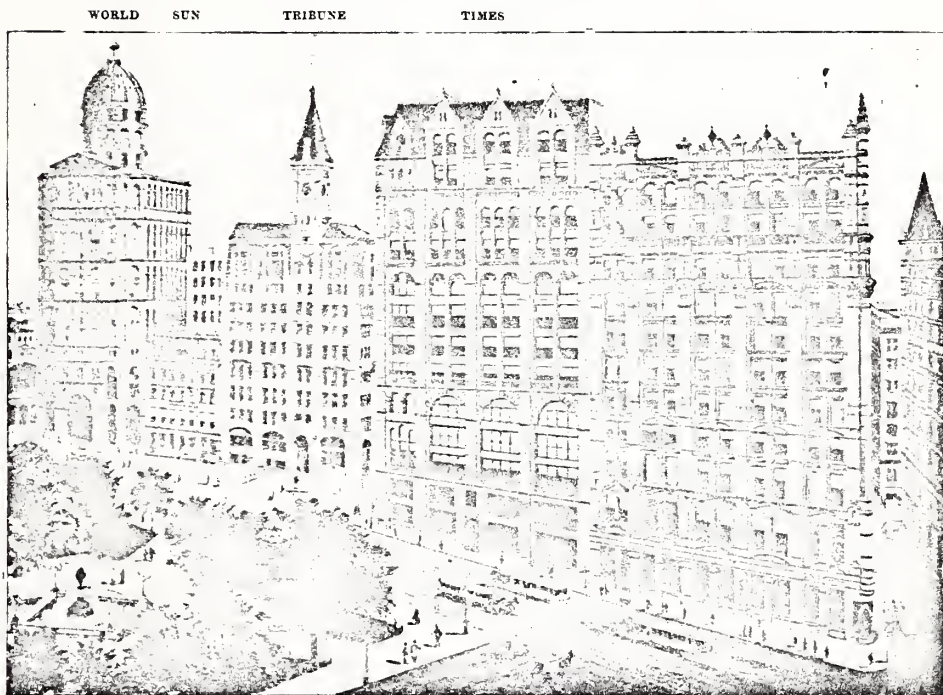
men were chosen as in the police department for their efficiency to do the work required, and on no other ground whatever, and an *esprit de corps* soon awoke among them born of self-respect and pride in their work. Tremendous was the pressure brought to bear upon the Commissioner to make him yield to political influences in his appointments. But he trusted to the thorough accomplishment of the purpose of the department to win the support of public opinion. At one time the next in command under him, alarmed by the threats of politicians, said: "Colonel, we will have to do something to pacify them." "Certainly," was the reply; "go right out and do something: *clean the streets!*" The streets were cleaned, and the public sustained the Commissioner enthusiastically. It was a unique event when the department turned out in parade for the first time. The citizens obtained thereby ocular evidence of the excellent discipline and the almost military organization of the force. The health of the city was materially improved by the cleanliness of the streets, and even the children in the poorer districts of the city have been roused to a sense of pride in the condition of the thoroughfares in their vicinity, and second the efforts of the department to keep things tidy. In winter the heavy snowfalls are not allowed to render the city difficult for traffic or disgusting to the sight. In an incredibly short time the snow is gone, and the streets as clean and dry as in summer. Altogether, therefore, the result of the upheaval against Tammany proved satisfactory thus far, and the municipal housecleaning was fitly symbolized by this efficient cleaning of the city's streets. But it is nevertheless a sad commentary on what things were before, that we are all so heartily congratulating ourselves and so eagerly surprised to find this department simply performing the duties assigned to it, and realizing for our streets what has long been the commonest and entirely expected condition in European cities.



FOURTEENTH STREET WEST OF UNION SQUARE.

The happy event of 1851 had rather a sad ending in 1895. The same sportsman who had so gallantly come to race for the America's

Cup in 1893, and had borne his defeat so royally that he won all hearts, came over again in 1895 with a sloop-yacht called *Valkyrie* III, the second boat of that name having been sunk in a collision during the races off the English coast in 1894. The Americans pitted against her a new boat, the *Defender*, built on an entirely different plan. The American yachts in former races had all been provided with a center-board. The *Defender* was without one, but her keel was run down into the water thin and sharp so as to have very much the effect of a permanent centerboard. This was more in accordance with the British ideas, which had never tolerated that feature. It was thought, therefore, that the results of the race, whatever nation they might



NEWSPAPER OFFICES DOWN TOWN.

favor, would be all the more satisfactory from the similarity of construction between the two champions. The first race was sailed off Sandy Hook on September 7, 1895. The *Defender* won in eight minutes and twenty seconds. There was a good breeze, and all circumstances contributed to make the event a fair test. On September 10 the second race took place. It began badly. An excursion boat was in the way of the *Defender*, and to avoid her she ran too closely to the *Valkyrie*. Although the *Defender* was to leeward of her, and, therefore, had the right of way, the *Valkyrie* did not give her sufficient room, and in turning struck her and carried away her topmast rigging, compelling the lowering of the topmast. The *Defender* crossed

the line and started on the race, but raised a signal of protest. The race was won by the Valkyrie by a very few minutes. Lord Dunraven, the owner of the Valkyrie, insisted on calling it a race, which was the more surprising as he had generously refused to take advantage of a mishap in 1893. The third race was set for September 12. Everything was favorable for the contest: a good breeze, and no excursion boats in the way. When both yachts had crossed the line to the amazement of all Dunraven put his boat about and went back to his anchorage off Bay Ridge. On his return to England he published charges of gross fraud against the owners of the Defender. These were investigated at a regular trial, assisted by most eminent counsel, before a committee composed of ex-Secretary of the Navy Whitney, Captain A. T. Mahan, the author of "Sea Power," ex-Minister to England E. J. Phelps, J. Pierpont Morgan, and George L. Rives. The charges were proved utterly without foundation. Dunraven, however, made no apologies, and therefore he was expelled from the membership of the New York Yacht Club. His conduct placed British sportsmanship in a most extraordinary light. The only inference is that the man saw that defeat was inevitable, and he wished to rob the Americans of the satisfaction of a fair test. In such international contests, prejudice will always take sides and be ready to believe the grossest accusation against the opposite party. Enough thorough Britishers would cling to the conviction that Dunraven was right, and the Yankees wrong, to rob the Americans of an indisputable title to the trophy, no matter what any committee would decide.

The Presidential campaign of 1896 had again a special interest for New York City, because it touched so closely the question of finance. The platform of the Democratic party, advocating the free coinage of silver and repudiating the single gold standard, was looked upon as a blow at "sound money," and men and newspapers lost sight of questions of civil policy in their alarm at the threat to the financial policy of the republic, so that party affiliations were quite disregarded. Several journals, hitherto strongly Democratic, supported the Republican nominee. New York, too, as the financial center of the Union, was looked upon and frankly declared to be the "enemy's country" by the Democratic nominee, Mr. William J. Bryan. Wishing to carry the war into Africa, he decided that he would receive the formal notification of his nomination, and delivered his speech of acceptance in New York. Accordingly he came to the city, Wednesday, August 12, having been fixed upon for the ceremony, and Madison Square Garden engaged to accommodate the audience. Unfortunately, the date fell during that frightful heated spell, of which we shall speak below, and this, with other circumstances, perhaps contributed to make the affair not so brilliant a success as was hoped. Another event of the campaign worth recording was the McKinley parade, which took place on the Saturday before election day. The

people had been requested to make this a "Flag Day," and everywhere flags were hung out by householders of either party. The parade itself was remarkable because of the absence of distinctive or obtrusive party emblems or mottoes. The organizers of the campaign were shrewd enough to encourage the idea that patriotism required the sinking of party lines. It is estimated by some authorities that 120,000 people marched in the procession. A feature worth notice was that there were no breaks or gaps in the line, although it took eight or ten hours to pass any given point. This was due to the fact that each division of the parade was told, with great accuracy, the precise hour they were to fall into line, and were not required to repair to the point of assembly till a little while before. This obviated that endless waiting, which is apt to take all enthusiasm out of paraders, and render them weary even before the march begins.

When the remains of General Grant were deposited in the little brick vault on the banks of the Hudson in August, 1885, active measures were already under way for erecting there a splendid mausoleum that should worthily express a nation's estimate of the dead hero's service to his country. The work of collecting the cost, \$500,000, was in itself a task of no small difficulty. The design adopted promised to place within the bounds of New York a memorial outrivaling that reared to any other great character in any of the cities of the world. Work upon it was begun on April 27, 1891; the cornerstone was laid on April 27, 1892, and on April 27, 1897, it was formally dedicated, and Grant's remains removed from their humble resting-place to this splendid tomb. The monument covers a space one hundred feet square on the ground line. In front, facing southward, a portico projects, supported by six fluted columns, which is to be surmounted by four equestrian statues of the most prominent generals associated with Grant. On the path near the broad flight of steps is to be placed a pedestal and equestrian statue of General Grant himself. From the main portion of the structure rises a circular dome, surrounded by columns forming a colonnade, and supporting an outer gallery, one hundred and thirty feet above the ground line, affording a splendid view of the surroundings. The total height is one hundred and sixty feet, which places the topmost point more than three hundred feet above the level of the river. Within, the ceiling is finished in the style of the Pantheon at Rome. The center of the interior rises to the full height of the dome, and light penetrates in abundant measure to the circular crypt, beneath the level of the main floor. Everything here is finished in white polished marble, in harmony with the pure white of the exterior. The body is placed in a black granite sarcophagus, space being reserved on one side for a similar sarcophagus for the deposit of the remains of Mrs. Grant. The monument, superb in itself, is superbly located. The unrivaled Palisades of the Hudson begin about opposite its site; the view sweeps up and down the river for

miles and miles of bewitching or imposing scenery. From the South front and porch no view can be obtained of the busier portion of the great city: but a glimpse is caught of the opposite shores of Jersey, and these are abundantly suggestive of the traffic that lies behind the hills and woods intercepting the view. The place where stood the little vault which held the body of Grant for twelve years is not left entirely unmarked. It is directly in the rear of the mausoleum, fenced off, and contains two trees, one of which was planted by the Chinese Ambassador. Upon the South front we read those simple words, no mere platitude when Grant uttered them; big with the promise of a reunion of hearts and of a national being then hardly hoped for; always his desire and aim when he had sheathed his sword; the words that lent glory to his first inaugural address as President: "Let us have peace."

As on General Grant's birthday the work had been begun, and



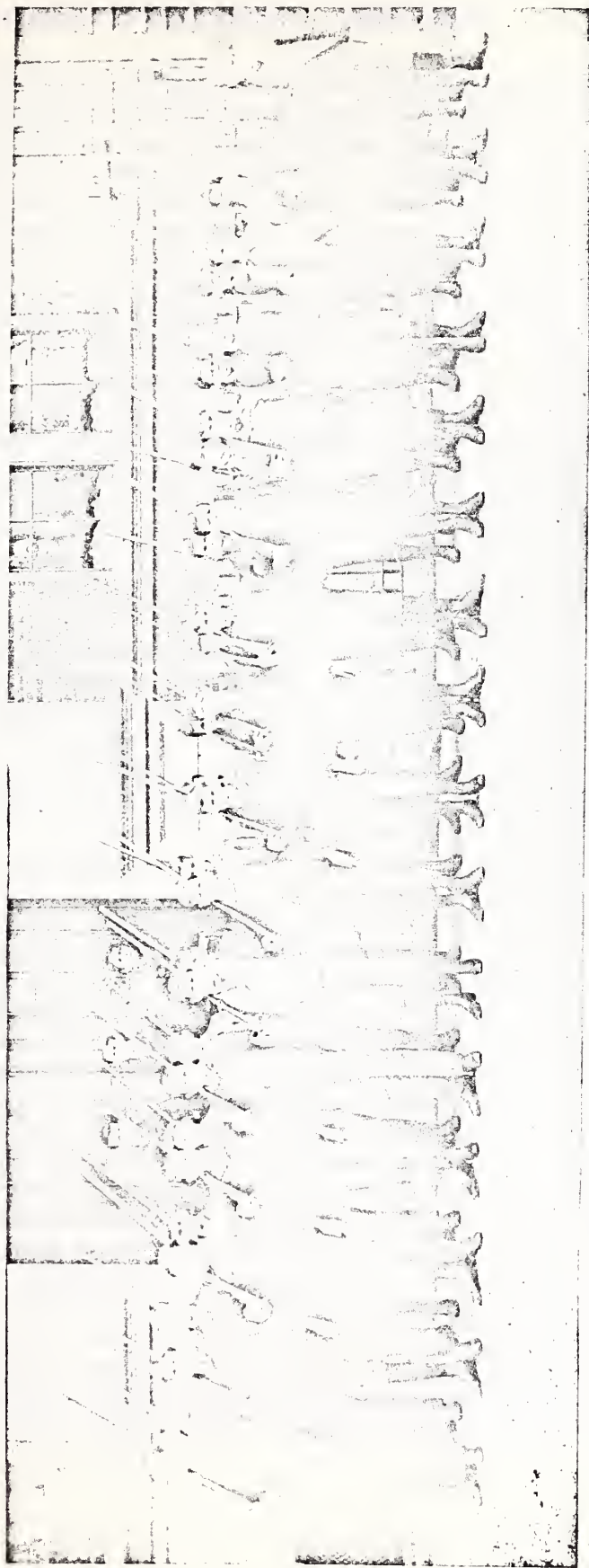
THE BATTERY—VIEW OF THE BAY.

again the cornerstone had been laid, so now was this day selected to celebrate its completion and the formal transfer of the mausoleum and its precious contents to the keeping of the city of New York. The exercises while conducted on a grand scale were yet marked by a severe simplicity fully in harmony with the character of the man in whose honor and to whose memory the monument was reared. At about nine o'clock in the morning President McKinley and party were escorted from the Windsor Hotel by the Mayor, in carriages, attended by Cavalry Troop A. The tomb was reached about ten o'clock, and upon the speaker's stand were assembled Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, the General's widow, his sons and their

wives and children; ex-President Cleveland, several foreign ambassadors, members of Congress, and other distinguished people. The exercises here were opened by the singing of "America" by a chorus under Damrosch's direction, in which thousands of the spectators joined. Bishop Newman, Grant's pastor, then offered a prayer, after which Mayor Strong introduced the President. Mr. McKinley spoke briefly, dwelling on the homely virtues of the man whose public achievements were known to all the world; recalling the men in civil life, and the heroes of the land and sea service, who had preceded Grant to the grave, or had passed away since the mausoleum was begun; referring to the union of the Blue and Gray in the honors of the hour; and saying at the close: "Let us not forget the glorious distinction with which the metropolis, among the fair sisterhood of American cities, has honored his life and memory. With all that riches and sculpture can do to render the edifice worthy of the man, upon a site unsurpassed for magnificence, has this monument been reared by New York as a perpetual record of his illustrious deeds, in the certainty that as time passes around it will assemble, with gratitude and reverence and veneration, men of all climes, races, and nationalities." The President's address was followed by the oration of the day, delivered by General Horace Porter, to whose energy and perseverance were mainly due the successful completion of the building, and the raising of the large amount of money needed. His oration was an eulogy on the dead chieftain and a résumé of his career. He reminded the auditors that Grant was not a dead memory; pointed out the majesty of his achievements; dwelt on some of his personal characteristics, the evidences of his foresight, the policy of mercy and forgiveness he always advocated and himself pursued, proving his statesmanship, and explaining the tribute of grateful affection that rose from hearts all over the Union. Speaking of the monument the orator said among other things: "It will overlook the metropolis of the Republic which his efforts saved from dismemberment; it will be reflected in the noble waters of the Hudson, upon which pass the argosies of commerce, so largely multiplied by the peace secured by his heroic deeds. The tolling of passing bells will replace the echo of his hostile guns." In presenting the monument Gen. Porter, addressing Mayor Strong, said: "And now, Mr. Mayor, it becomes my official duty on behalf of the Grant Monument Association to transfer through you to the City of New York this National memorial. Its construction has been the work of willing hands and generous hearts. About 90,000 patriotic citizens have been contributors to the building fund, their subscriptions ranging in amounts from 1 cent to \$5,000, so that it has been an eminently popular subscription. The entire fund with accrued interest amounts to about \$600,000." Then referring in complimentary terms to his several colleagues in the Association; to Mr. John H. Duncan, the architect and

designer of the structure; to the sculptor J. Massey Rhind, from whose hand came the high-relief decorations; and others, engineers and builders, who aided in completing the splendid work, the orator said in closing: "And now, Mr. Mayor, it only remains for me to formally transmit through you to the custody of the Nation's metropolis this memorial tomb, which henceforth is to remain in the custody of the city over which you have the honor to preside." In a few appropriate words Mr. Strong accepted the custody thus honorably imposed, saying in part: "Erected as it was by the voluntary contributions of nearly one hundred thousand of our fellow-citizens, mostly from the territory of the Greater New York, it will forever perpetuate the name and fame of one of the bravest military chieftains of the country. . . . Here will be the shrine where his old comrades will worship and whither the people of a grateful nation will journey to offer the silent tribute of admiration. Let it be the Mecca where posterity for ages to come will gather fresh inspiration for patriotism. Great in war, greater in peace, let his memory never fade from the heart of a grateful Nation."

While these exercises were being conducted at the tomb itself, a grand procession was on the march from the lower parts of the city, and approaching it as the objective point. The parade started sharply at half past ten o'clock, from the corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street. The route was along Madison Avenue to Fifty-fifth Street, to Fifth Avenue, to Fifty-ninth Street, skirting Central Park to the Boulevard; along this to Seventy-second Street, then westward to the Riverside Drive, and so to the Tomb, fifty blocks further up town. By actual count at the reviewing stand at the Tomb, 58,467 men passed by it; the head of the column coming up at a few minutes after 1 o'clock, and the last rank marching by at 6.52 P.M. The procession was composed mainly of the military, cadets from West Point in the lead, United States land troops and sailors and marines from the war vessels, the militia of New York State and of several others, headed by their Governors and staffs, in some cases where no militia had come the Governor and staff alone being in line. Three thousand boys of the public schools of the city also were in the parade, and as the result of the regular military organization into companies and regiments, with the accompanying drills, which had by this time become a prominent feature of the public-school system, these boyish soldiers marched with all the dignity and steadiness of veterans. Not till near the end of the march did they show any signs of fatigue, but not a boy dropped out till the order to disband came. The boys wore medals inscribed "Grant Monument Parade, 1897, P. S. of N. Y.," which were kept as souvenirs. Another division of special interest was that made up of the Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic. The veterans were drawn up waiting for their turn to fall into line along the Boulevard from Fifty-ninth Street to Seventieth



MILITARY DRILL OF PUBLIC SCHOOL BOYS.

Street, with General O. O. Howard at their head. All the divisions that passed them gave them a marching salute. At 3.30 the command to march was given them, and a little after half past four they passed the reviewing stand; but much to their chagrin the President was no longer there, as he was forced to leave to review the naval parade. A never-to-be-forgotten feature of the procession was the part in it taken by veterans from the South. A detachment of Sons of Confederates formed one of the divisions, and among them marched also many of the Confederate veterans themselves. In carriages closely following these were General John B. Gordon, and many other Confederate officers. During the long wait until the time to fall in, the General's carriage was surrounded by numerous Grand Army men. The greetings between the old antagonists were very hearty. The Sons of Confederates and the veterans who paraded with them wore broad-brimmed light hats. They attracted instant attention. They had two mounted color bearers, one carrying a broad United States flag of handsome silk; the other a pennant bearing the name of the association. Just after they fell into line they passed between the ranks of the Sons of Union Veterans, who cheered them heartily and repeatedly. They responded by lifting their hats. On passing around the tomb one of their officers dismounted, took a wreath of evergreens and roses, with crossed swords and an inscription in scarlet blossoms, "From Sons of Confederates," from Gen. Gordon's carriage, and, handing it to a park policeman, asked him to place it on the sarcophagus, at the same time their bugler sounding "taps." Next to Lincoln the best friend the South ever had was Grant, and this tribute of affection was in recognition of that fact. The view of the procession along Riverside Drive was very fine. At certain elevated points before the Tomb was reached the column could be seen for a long distance up and down the road, and from the hill crowned by the monument itself, up to which all the others led, the long-drawn march of the three score thousand men could be observed with magnificent effect. As the head of the column came in sight, a signal corps on the lofty bank communicated the fact to the cruiser New York, lying opposite, and a salute of twenty-one guns burst from her battery. Two lines of battle ships, of our own navy, with representatives from those of Spain, Italy, France, and England, lay anchored in the river, and between them passed a long array of craft of every conceivable kind, mainly tugs, excursion steamers, with a few private yachts, which had started from the Battery at 2.30 P.M. At five o'clock the President boarded the Dolphin; in this he steamed down between the parading vessels. But the cold gusts of wind which had emptied the stands on shore, made the naval display even more difficult, and hence no great satisfaction attended this portion of the ceremonies. The weather had been mild and beautiful a few days preceding the 27th. Rain fell on the 26th and spoiled some of the decorations. On the day

of the celebration the sun came out brightly, but there was a serious drop in the temperature, and the wind blew a gale all day, so that heavy overcoats and horse-blankets were put into requisition to protect the persons of distinguished guests, and people descended from the seats on stands for which they had paid one or more dollars in order to get into their shelter on the pavement.

The history of New York City, as we have had abundant occasion to note through several chapters, is largely a history of parades. From that first fine pageant in honor of the Federal Constitution in 1788 to the one just described the people of New York have displayed a remarkable aptitude in presenting effective spectacles in their streets, emphasizing by marching multitudes their interest in public events, their appreciation of great enterprises for the common good, their admiration for benefactors of the Nation. And in many of these parades great skill and taste were exhibited in symbolizing by allegorical groups the sentiments germane to the occasion, or by historical representations events especially deserving recollection. Again, where the claims of trade, industry, commerce, needed remembrance, as particularly sharing the benefits of the occasion honored, or promising to further the enterprise just initiated,—they knew how to illustrate these various occupations and interests of men, by vivid tableaux showing them in actual operation. Can this taste, and the aptitude in gratifying it, so conspicuous a trait of New Yorkers, be an evidence of the abiding influence of the combined Dutch and Flemish—the Netherlandish—character impressed upon the population of the city at its very foundation? Many a stately pageant does Motley tell us of in his “Dutch Republic,” that passed in gorgeous array through the streets of Ghent, or Leyden, or Brussels, or Utrecht, or Amsterdam. Commenting upon the fondness for these shows and their success in representing classical, mythological, and historic episodes, Motley is led to say that “the Netherlanders were nothing if not allegorical.” The spirit of the Netherlander therefore must somehow have clung to New York all along, and be hovering over her people even now. We have diligently sought to bring that city and her people before the reader in every period of her history; as it was when Christiaensen wintered there in his huts of bark; as it was when the Directors came, and the Dutch flag waved over it; as it was when the English came, and when American Independence claimed the soil for itself; as it was when the Federal Pageant marked the beginning of Republican Government. A last lingering glance will regard the city as it was when Grant was laid to rest in the mausoleum, reared as a worthy monument to his deeds in saving the Republic and perpetuating the Union.

New York is, of course, first among the cities of the Republic, and yet she can not claim quite the position of a London, a Paris, a Berlin, which those capitals occupy in their own countries. That is con-

trary to the genius of our land and people, where no such preponderating or dominating influence would be tolerated, or can in the nature of things be accorded, to the habits, the opinions, the manners of any collection of citizens, whatever may be their advantages of location or success in municipal being. Such things are only possible where a Court sets the tone of living, as in London, Berlin, Vienna; or where the traditions of such influences abide, as they do still in republican Paris. In this again New York is singularly like to its old namesake, Amsterdam. That city, though a metropolis, is not a capital, as the others are; and Holland, with its democratic instincts, in spite of its monarchical form of government, as little tolerates a dominating court or capital as the United States.

But while New York has no court she has her palaces. It is something to stimulate the pride of her poorest citizens, that mansions adorn her streets, that may well vie with the homes of emperors and kings in splendor or beauty. We look upon the marble walls of the Stewart mansion, or the homes of the Vanderbilts, the massive pile of C. P. Huntington's residence, Tiffany's peculiar but magnificent domicile, the Astor's and other houses that here and there break the conventional monotony along Central Park,—and it should awaken satisfaction, not envy, that our fellow citizens by their own brains and capabilities in commerce, finance, railway enterprise, development of the country's natural resources, or what not else of useful and honorable industry, have been enabled to rear for themselves dwellings which even some pampered scion of royalty would have to deem fit for his habitation, whereas he occupies palaces and lives in indolent luxury without the turning of a hand in useful occupation, or the exertion of a mind in exhaustive planning of great enterprises. The plain burghers of Amsterdam, in 1648, thought themselves as good as kings and erected the City Hall (now misnamed and misused as a royal residence), equal to any imperial palace then in Europe. So are our citizens sovereigns and princes and kings in the realms of useful human activity. They are of our kin, before us as before them the world, with all its chances and its prizes.

Quite as satisfactory a feature, if we look to the appearance of the city, are the splendid hotels that grace many of our thoroughfares. We may linger fondly over the old names, and mourn the departure of the noble hostleries that once bore them. We miss the Irving House and the St. Nicholas (hidden away somewhere on another street quite foreign to our associations), and the Metropolitan, and the huge brick structure of the New York, beloved of Southerners; we are glad to find the "semi-moderns" still with us, the Sturtevant and Gilsey House and Grand Hotel. We comfort ourselves particularly because we find the ancient Astor and Brevoort and Saint Denis still on the sites that knew them thirty or forty years ago. But consolation and compensation do not fail to possess us when we behold a

Windsor, or an Imperial, or a Plaza Hotel. Thus we glory also in a Savoy, with its magnificent banqueting hall, decorated in gold and



THE NETHERLAND, SAVOY, AND PLAZA HOTELS.

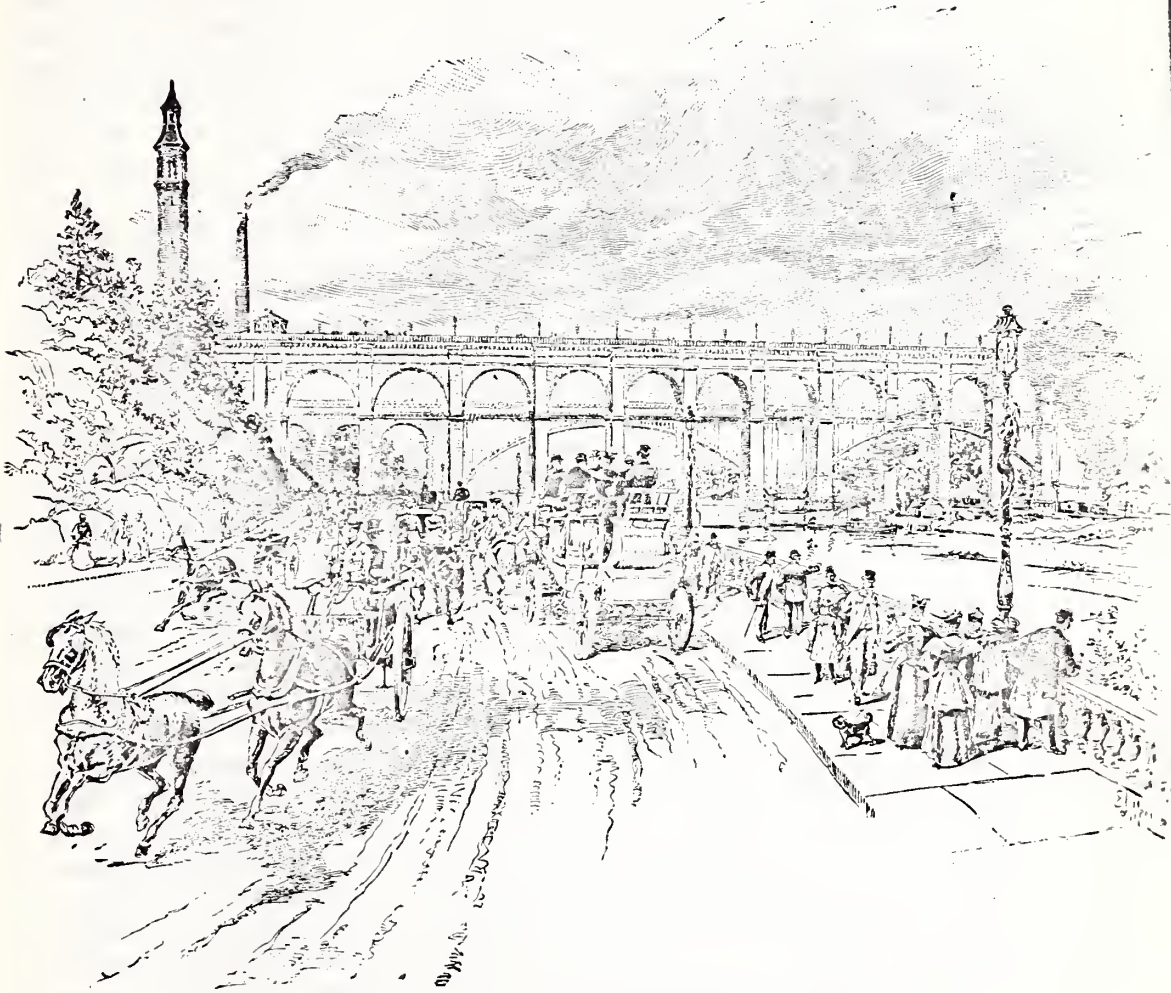
white, with glorious frescoes, and fairy effects by means of hidden electric lights. Then there is the Netherland, which was saved from

calling itself the "New Netherlands" by a judicious friend, and then flopped over into another mistake by leaving off the "New," which omission would have rendered the plural form correct. And again, language shrinks at its own inadequacy when it wants to tell of a Waldorf, and its enormous and magnificent neighbor, greater than itself, the creation of the same colossal fortune, the two amalgamated in name and identity as the Waldorf-Astoria. The wonder is that such huge resorts for the temporary home of strangers, or the easy convenience of citizens who have a horror of housekeeping, can possibly make both ends meet while so many of them cluster together in close proximity.

The stranger is drawn to New York, however, by many inducements. There are the mammoth stores, often occupying a whole block, apparently devoted only to the sale of drygoods, but in reality emporiums where can be purchased everything from a clothes-pin to a horseless carriage; where one can go and buy a handkerchief, and also stock a dwelling from garret to cellar with all the appurtenances of housekeeping. These stores, multiplying in every part of the city, are raising serious questions of economics. They are crowding to the wall small shopkeepers, many of whom indeed have already given up the struggle, glad of the chance to become mere salesmen behind the counters of their unmerciful rivals. Making their profits on the sale of drygoods mainly, sold for cash, these concerns can buy immense quantities of groceries, or furniture, or shoes, at bottom prices, and sell them at no profit at all or at so little profit as to ruin the small dealers if they must compete with them. The general public, however, usually hails with joy the reduced prices regardless of economic effects.

Strikingly impressive again, sure to attract the visitor's admiring attention, are the armories that are now to be found in various parts of the city. The first of any pretense to architectural grandeur was that of the Seventh Regiment, on Fourth and Lexington Avenues, and Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh Streets. The drill room measures two hundred by three hundred feet. On April 19, 1893, the regiment placed a bronze tablet on the building on the corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets, the site of the old Shakespeare Tavern, where on August 25, 1824, the Seventh was organized, then known as the Twenty-seventh. The tablet represents the tavern in bas-relief, and has upon it a monogram with the figure "7" as the central part. The Eighth Regiment Armory is of plain brick, and standing upon the lofty hill at Ninety-fourth and Ninety-fifth Streets and Park Avenue, its great round towers reminding one of some exaggerated mediæval castle, are seen far and wide. The armory of Cavalry Troop A is placed directly against its rear, facing Madison Avenue, so that the two buildings occupy the whole block; the later structure was completed July 10, 1894. The Twenty-second Regiment has a fine armory

on the Boulevard and Sixty-seventh Street, and the Twelfth's is near by on Columbus (Ninth) Avenue and Sixty-second Street. The Ninth has recently moved into its new armory on the old site in Fourteenth Street, a little west of Sixth Avenue. It is still commanded by Colonel William Seward, who gave way only for a short time to that tinsel soldier James Fisk, who so disliked the bullets and brickbats of the Orange Riots in 1871. The Sixty-ninth is still in the old



THE SPEEDWAY ALONG THE HARLEM RIVER.

Seventh's armory over Tompkins Market at Third Avenue and Seventh Street, but it is to have the site of New York City College when that institution moves up town. A splendid and lofty stone edifice is the home of the Seventy-first Regiment, on Thirty-fourth Street and Park Avenue, which was completed and occupied in March, 1894. Here are the offices of the headquarters of the First

Brigade, commanded by General Louis Fitzgerald, to which all the New York regiments belong.

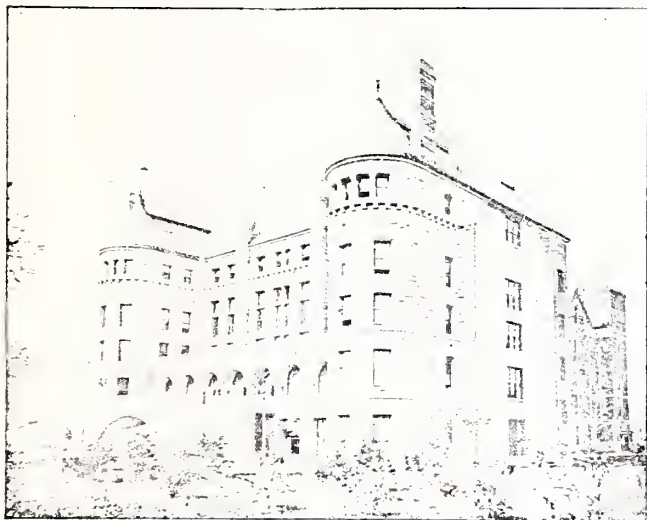
It must be a source of great satisfaction to the National Guardsmen when on the march, that so many of the streets of New York are now provided with asphalt pavements. There is also a distinct military advantage about the circumstance, which the authorities of Paris clearly appreciated. It reduces the facility for throwing up breast-works or barricades, and quite deprives a mob of the convenient ammunition of paving stones. Thus both for holiday exhibitions, and because of the more serious utility, the soldiers of the militia must regard the increasing number of asphalted streets greatly to their advantage. The bicyclist may imagine that they are made for his special benefit, but they have a deeper design; and the ordinary mortals who own no bicycles may also possibly put in a word of approbation on the merely sentimental score of affording a handsome appearance to the city of their habitation. The horseman may likewise modestly put forward a tribute of gratitude, although he must restrain his steed from a too tempting swiftuess over the smooth surface. The city has not forgotten that some people still love horses, and that a horse that can go ought to have a chance to prove his mettle. A Speedway for fast driving is now under construction at great cost, running from One Hundred and Fifty-fifth Street, at the head of the viaduct, down along the steep bluff at as moderate a declination as possible, until nearly the level of the Harlem River is attained, where it will stretch without rise or fall for two and a half miles, as far as Dyckman Street. It has afforded a curious illustration thus far what patriotic citizens are willing to make out of the municipal treasury. The property to be acquired, or to be damaged, for the construction of the Speedway, was valued by sworn appraisers at \$200,000. The aggregate of the claims of the owners of the several portions amounts to the nice round figure of \$3,000,000. The bridges over the Harlem have been noticed in a preceding chapter. On February 28, 1896, plans were approved for a second East River bridge, to cross from South Fifth Street, Brooklyn, to Delancey Street, New York. - In June, 1894, the President signed the bill authorizing the construction of the New Jersey and New York Bridge over the North River, to land in New York between Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Streets, for the use of railways mainly. Work is going on upon both these bridges at the present time, but as yet very obscurely. Rapid transit, a problem once thought solved by the elevated railways, and again by the cable-roads, has been thrown back upon the people by the very effectiveness of their operation, causing an increase in the inhabitants. In 1894 the people voted that \$50,000,000 be expended on the solution of the problem by some new plan. The Commission went to work bravely and then were stopped suddenly by a court decision in 1896, because their designs threatened far to exceed the cost voted on, and the

excess would render their action unconstitutional. The plans adopted (and which may yet at some future day be unhampered by legal injunctions) involved an underground railway starting near the foot of Whitehall Street, to run beneath State Street and Broadway to Fifty-ninth Street, under the Boulevard to Ninety-third Street, by viaduct to One Hundred and Twenty-third Street, again by viaduct to One Hundred and Fifty-first Street, under the Boulevard to One Hundred and Fifty-sixth, viaduct to One Hundred and Fifty-ninth, under the Boulevard to One Hundred and Sixty-ninth, and under Eleventh Avenue to One Hundred and Eighty-fifth Street. A branch was to start at Broadway and Fourteenth Street to Fourth Avenue, under Fourth Avenue to Ninety-eighth Street, by viaduct to the Harlem River, crossing the latter by a bridge. The city is still busy, as was noted before, with the extension of its water-works and the increase of the water-supply. In 1890 the consumption of water was 110 millions of gallons per diem; in 1895 it had increased to 200 millions daily.

The necessity of an ample water-supply for cleanliness, comfort, and health can hardly be overestimated. Compared with former times the city is singularly free from epidemic diseases. Not only every decade, but several times each decade, the smallpox or yellow fever was wont to devastate the little city below Chambers Street or Canal Street, until the middle of this century. Now with a population approaching two millions no serious outbreak of pestilence has occurred for a score of years. Never was the city's sanitary condition put to a severer strain than during the summer of 1896. On Wednesday, August 5, four deaths occurred from the excessive heat, and the newspapers the next day announced in headlines that it was the "worst day" of the season thus far. But matters grew incredibly worse before another week had elapsed. On the 6th five deaths were reported; on Saturday, the 8th, there were ten. Then there was a sudden leap to forty-five deaths on Sunday the 9th. The next day (10th) seventy-two deaths occurred, and two hundred prostrations. On the next, Tuesday, August 11, the citizens were appalled by a record of one hundred and twenty deaths from the heat, and three hundred prostrations. Even yet the death angel was not through with the afflicted city; ninety-three deaths on Wednesday (12th), with three hundred and fourteen people prostrated; and sixty-eight deaths on Thursday, the 13th, closing the awful list. Thus the nine days had carried off four hundred and twenty victims, the temperature for the nine days averaging 90.77 degrees Fahrenheit. The heat did not reach 100 degrees at any time during this period. It was rather the continuance of it night and day, the absolute stagnation of the air, and the oppressive humidity, that made these days so trying to all and fatal to so many. Yet it was the heat pure and simple and no disease produced or fostered by the high temperature that caused the death-record to rise to such alarming figures. As was intimated be-

fore, the remarkable cleanliness of the streets, by the thorough work of Col. Waring's department, prevented the steaming atmosphere from breeding the pestilence that usually attends.

It is in the poorer districts on the east side, between the Bowery and the East River, that the greatest sufferings prevail during heated terms. Here people are huddled together in tenement houses, containing four families on a floor, and mounting up floor after floor to the fifth story. Not content with choking people to death in this manner, with a narrow street in front, some of the landlords have put up rear tenements on the same lots, separated from the front building by scarcely twenty feet. So crying is this evil, in its cruelty to those dwelling in such places, and in its peril to the general health of the



MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

city, that a movement has been lately organized compelling the tearing down of these rear tenements. Yet in spite of the discomforts and miseries besetting them, the multitudes who crowd these districts cannot be induced to leave the city for the country, or to dwell in airy homes in towns bordering on the city. The fascina-

tion of the city holds these people. The instinct of segregation possesses them; in a blind, unreasoning way they feel it is good to be near others of their kind. The brilliant lights, the gayeties, pageants, shops, bustle of a great city, all have a charm for them. They want to be participants in the great throb of life around them, though often their own individual breath is drawn with pain. For the criminal classes too the multitude is a hiding place, and the serried masses their proper prey. Thus there is indeed, as one thoughtful student of city life expresses it, a "threat" about great cities. They act as loadstones upon the surrounding country, drawing indeed its best, but also its worst, and apt to make its average material worse rather than better. Religious principles weaken as religious associations are abandoned, and in the crowd men and families are lost to religious surveillance and pastoral care. The threat of New York city life, as compared with that of London, is greater because the masses here are not homogeneous as they are there,

either in nationality or faith. In New York the preponderance of the foreign element, divided into a score of vastly differing peoples, makes it difficult to deal with the "submerged tenth," and there is no one church, not even the Catholic, that can go in among the masses, as the Anglican Church can do in London, and claim as its lost lambs or sheep the miserable creatures that need redemption or rescue. A dozen must enter the field at once, often at cross purposes with each other, and rendering confused and indirect the efforts to reclaim; as constantly some hostile creed repudiates the work already done because not done along its own cherished lines or because upsetting some of its own peculiar tenets.

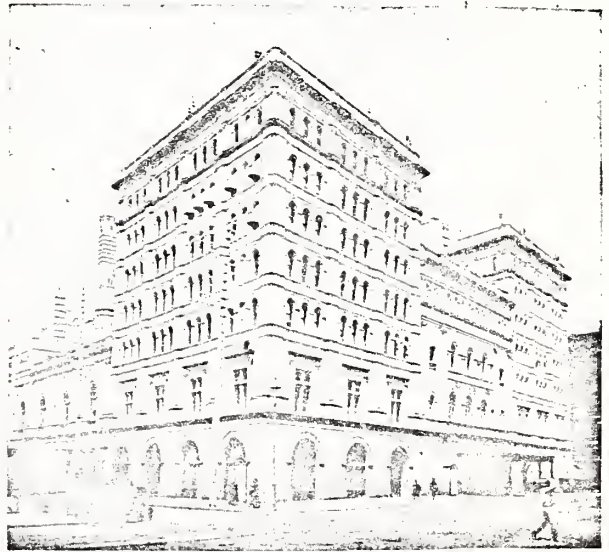
From this darker picture, which it behooves us not to forget, we may well turn to a brighter, lest gloom overwhelm the sympathetic soul. Ere we close this volume we must not fail to indulge in a brief glance at the later higher life of the city. And as a natural transition from the one view to the other, we begin with the University Settlement, or University Extension, as the movement is variously styled. Placing themselves right in the midst of the poor and wretched, at 26 Delancey Street, here, as in London, men and women of education, with University training, endeavor to elevate taste and enlist sympathy for the pure and the good by direct contact with the people and earnest instruction in that which is highest in thought or art or nature. As an evidence of the late higher life and its connection with the past, the extension of the Park system deserves a share of our attention and commendation. The people's pleasure grounds are an important factor in the people's elevation, and New York has gone far ahead of any city in the world in providing these in amplest measure. The new territory north of the Harlem has been utilized to furnish several large parks possessing by nature many of the advantages which art was compelled to supply on this side of the river. Jerome Park, Claremont Park, Van Cortlandt Park, Bronx Park, Crotona Park, Pelham Bay Park—combine attractions of hill and dale and woodland and bay scenery, which the hand of the landscape gardener can aid in rendering all the more bewitching. Four thousand acres, or five times the area of Central Park, are thus reserved for the purpose of promoting health and taste, ends usually not greatly emphasized where commerce reigns supreme. Historic associations also lend their charm. The Van Cortlandt Park contained the old family mansion, and this has been set aside as a historical cabinet. Again, science claims as her own parts of these beautiful reservations. In Bronx Park there is to be laid out a Botanic Garden, with a museum having a front of 304 feet and 50 feet deep, to be later supplied with two wings two hundred feet long. In another part of the Park a Zoölogical Garden is to be provided, far surpassing the extempore affair in Central Park. At the Battery, what was once Castle Garden, squalid and malodorous, is now a handsome Aquarium, opened on December 10, 1896, con-

verted to its present uses at a cost of half a million dollars, and endowed with a quarter of a million; no entrance fee is charged, so that the display of these inhabitants of the deep, not otherwise accessible to study, is open alike to rich and poor. In Manhattan Park, the annex of Central Park, at Eighth Avenue and Seventy-seventh Street, stands the large and handsome structure of the Museum of Natural History, containing a marvelous collection of shells presented by Miss Catharine L. Wolfe, whose benefactions to the Museum of Art have also been most munificent. Birds and beasts are here shown in the forms of life by the taxidermist's art; a notable feature being the representation of great varieties of birds with their nests and eggs as in real life. Skeletons also furnish data for the student and observer, among them being those of primeval mastodons.

Free to the people also are the treasures of art stored in the extensive galleries of the Metropolitan Museum in Central Park. Here the possessors of great wealth have vied with each other to bestow upon the city the most rare and costly canvases. Meissonier's "Friedland, 1807," was bought by Judge Henry Hilton for \$69,000, and presented to the Museum. Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair," famous all over the world, and familiarized by engravings, painted by order of A. T. Stewart, was bought by Cornelius Vanderbilt for \$55,500, and given to the people's art gallery. "Champigny," the scene of the last stand made by the Paris Commune in 1871, by Détaillé, costing \$35,000, is also a gift of Judge Hilton's. Josef Israel's "Maternity," an exquisite life-size interior, representing a fisherman's hut, with a young woman seated by a cradle and daintily preparing garments for the great event awaited, also a canvas worth its tens of thousands, is another gift by a liberal citizen's hand to his fellow citizens of less fortune but equal love of art. Here Rubens and Rembrandt and Jan Steen, and a host of noble old Dutch and Flemish masters educate the eye to estimate the true merits of the painter's brush. Miss Catharine L. Wolfe at her death left all her rich collection of paintings (and \$200,000 besides to take care of them), so that an additional wing had to be built to contain them properly. But besides paintings the people here may look upon specimens of architecture that are world-famous. Models of the Parthenon, the Pantheon, the Notre Dame of Paris, reproduce these structures on a small scale, but furnish sufficient evidence of their original grandeur. In cabinets without number specimens of the ancient glass maker's art abound; the Egyptian sarcophagus gapes to show its rifled interior, and a hall of sculpture shows what W. W. Story and some others of our land have done to win the admiration of older adepts.

To the art of music two noble temples have been recently erected in the city. On Broadway, between Thirty-ninth and Fortieth streets, stands the Metropolitan Opera House, a huge structure of brick and iron, with a stage ninety-six feet wide, seventy-six feet deep, and one

hundred and twenty feet high; big enough, therefore, to contain a good-sized church. It was opened in 1883, and has been devoted to the highest class of opera. Most of the Wagner operas have here been produced with telling effect. But it has never been exclusive in its education of the people; during the season of 1891 to 1892 it presented the best examples of Italian and French opera. Sometimes when it appears questionable whether a season can be made profitable with the costly settings and the vastly expensive singers, there are always found citizens of wealth and culture who generously come forward with their subscriptions to secure success. In September, 1892, the interior of the Opera House was quite ruined by fire. It seemed doubtful if the place could be restored, but after a year's delay, in 1893 it was put into condition again to minister to its grand purpose of lifting up the public's taste to the very highest achievements in the musician's art. Another immense building distinctly set apart in the interest of music is the Carnegie Music Hall, intended only for concerts, vocal and instrumental, having no stage settings. It was opened on May 5, 1891, its cost being \$1,250,000. It will seat 3,000 people, and give standing room to 1,000 more. With so great a number of representatives of nations noted for musical genius among our citizens, it is not to be wondered at that there are evidences here of an earnest pursuit of that art. In June, 1894, a *Sacngerfest* was held in New York for five days, which proved to be the largest singing festival ever held in America or Europe. There were delegates from societies in twenty-five cities of the Union, in which there are from six to thirty-six associations each, and whose membership ran from fifty to one hundred and fifty. Madison Square Garden was made the scene of the concerts, at which some of the most famous singers of the world were heard. On one of the evenings there was a torch-light procession enlivened by open-air serenades. In 1889 the Manuscript Club was founded, constituted by American composers, having for its object "the advancement of musical composition in this country and



METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE.

the development of honest and intelligent musical criticism." Besides private meetings it gives occasional public concerts, at which the programs consist of pieces rendered from the original manuscripts, no music being performed that has ever been heard in public before.

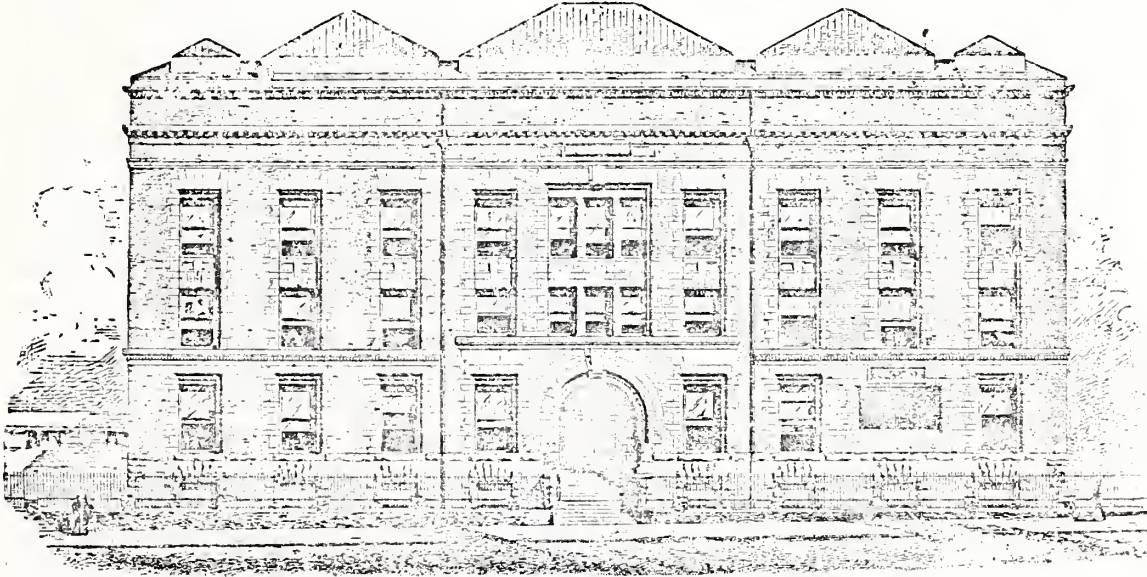
In the service of learning is soon to be reared the New York Public Library, which is to be one of our most conspicuous architectural ornaments. In 1886 ex-Governor Tilden died, and by will left seven millions of dollars, or the greater part of his fortune, to administer which a corporation called the Tilden Trust was to be created, who should take steps to found and maintain a public library in New York City. The heirs at once began litigation on the ground that this beneficence was excessive, and in 1891 the court decided the case in favor of the testator's natural heirs. One of these, however, had the grace to respect Mr. Tilden's wishes. The Trust having in the meantime organized with the remnant of half a million from the seven millions, the heir above mentioned added to this two millions of dollars. In 1895 it was resolved to consolidate with the Lenox and Astor Libraries, to form one great Public Library. The old reservoir at Fifth Avenue and Forty-second Street will be removed, and the library erected on that site.

It was a New York citizen, Mr. James Gordon Bennett, proprietor and son of the founder of the New York *Herald*, who sent forth Henry M. Stanley upon the quest after David Livingstone, lost in the jungles of darkest Africa, in 1869. Again, in 1874, the New York *Herald* and the London *Daily Telegraph* combined, dispatched him on the second expedition, which resulted in his descent of the Congo River from the interior, and thus in the ultimate establishment of the famous Congo Free State in 1884. Explorations in the exactly opposite zone—the Arctic—had interested New York citizens in 1851 and 1853; and again in this decade enlisted the sympathy and support of the metropolis, when Lieutenant Peary, with his heroic wife, left our port to repeat his Arctic triumphs in 1894.

An evidence of higher life again is the multiplication of societies for the express purpose of fostering ancestral memories and historic associations in a city so apt to overwhelm everything of that kind beneath the onward rush of its immense business interests. The St. Nicholas Society and the Holland Society were formed to recall the days of the beginning of the city, linking lovingly and reverently the present generation with the fathers that came from the brave little republic of Holland. The Holland Society, while quite as convivial as its older sister, does something more than enjoy banquets. It has devoted time and means to mark historic spots that tell of the Dutch occupation. In September, 1890, it put up bronze tablets on the building at 4 Bowling Green, the site of Fort Amsterdam; at 39 Broadway, where Christiaensen spent the winter of 1613 to 1614; at 73 Pearl Street, the site of the City Tavern in 1642, which became the City Hall

in 1653, continuing such till 1700; and at 115 Broadway, the Boreel Building, the site of Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey's house, later the City Hotel. The Society have under serious consideration the raising of funds to place among the many memorials to great foreigners presented by their countrymen or descendants among our citizens a statue of William the Silent, the founder of the Dutch Republic.

Benevolence has also many noble examples of the munificent scale whereon citizens of New York are in the habit of practicing it. The Hospitals are legion, and it may seem invidious and unjust to the others to mention the Roosevelt, or the Maternity, or St. Luke's. As was noted before, to secure buildings for the better pursuit of its



COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS, 1887.

excellent instruction, the College of Physicians and Surgeons received a gift of \$500,000 from Mr. William H. Vanderbilt before his death. Other members of his family have added large sums for the erection of a hospital (the Maternity) and other adjuncts necessary to the training of medical and surgical experts.

The public school system has recently added a new feature of excellence. For some time men who gave much thought to the city's educational problem had come to the conviction that several high schools should be established in various parts of the city, to relieve the pressure upon the City College. Young men who could not continue through the course, and did not intend so to do, crowded the Introductory and Freshmen classes to excess. This gave them practically the high school education they wanted, but hindered the work of those who wished to achieve a full college course.

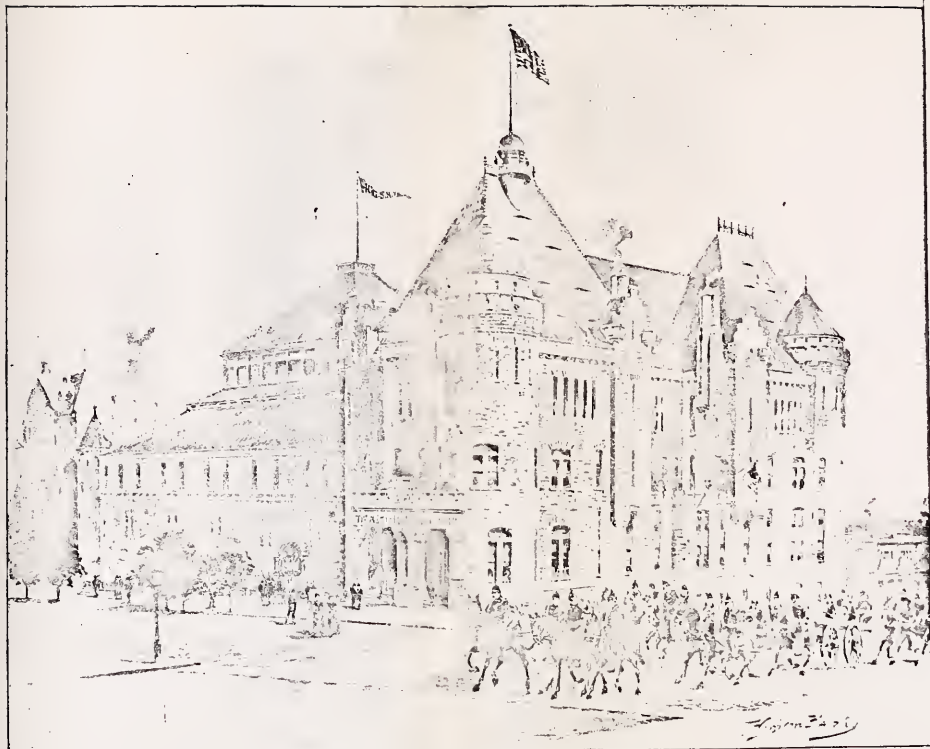
Hence by act of Legislature, at its session closing in the spring of 1897, several high schools were authorized, and principals and teachers for the same have already been appointed. In 1896 an act of the Legislature abolished the Ward Trustees, a system giving to uneducated men many of the most important functions of educators, and paid inspectors, experts in school matters, have taken their places. For the sake of keeping pace with the times, and with the growing needs of the city's increasing bounds and population, the expenditure of over a million dollars was authorized to remove the College of the City of New York to a more suitable location, and to erect buildings for its use. The site chosen is at One Hundred and Thirty-eighth Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, the grounds to extend to One Hundred and Fortieth Street northward, and Amsterdam (Tenth) Avenue westward. On the heights south of the valley of the Harlem Plains (now Manhattan Avenue) are already seen the splendid proportions of the new Columbia University buildings. The center is occupied by the Library, the cost of which is \$1,000,000, given by President Seth Low as a memorial to his father. It is of marble, and flanked on either side by great structures of brick, with stone trimmings. The grounds stretch from One Hundred and Sixteenth Street to One Hundred and Nineteenth Street, and between Amsterdam (Tenth) Avenue and the Boulevard. A fine wooded campus in the rear is inclosed by a splendid iron fence ten feet high, with massive Scotch granite posts, surmounted by urns, at every fifty feet. Barnard College, its annex for women, stands on the Boulevard opposite One Hundred and Nineteenth Street, fronting on the Boulevard, and with a quadrangle opening on One Hundred and Eighteenth Street, whose piazzas seem to be intended to resemble cloisters. On One Hundred and Nineteenth Street, near Amsterdam Avenue, stands the Teachers' College, erected in 1893. The New York University has also left its historic pile on Washington Square, and is erecting numerous buildings upon Fordham Heights.

This, then, is the city in the year of grace 1897. To this it has grown from its days of small things in 1614, when white men first made a habitation on Manhattan Island; or in 1626, when it became the seat of Colonial Government; or in 1653, when it was incorporated as a Dutch municipality; or in 1789, when it was made the capital of a budding Republic. It has grown to an immensity of physical magnitude, covering the island whose utmost southern tongue it barely filled with houses even up to the commencement of the nineteenth century; and adding an equal territory across the Harlem on the mainland. It has grown to a vastness of population, numbering in March, 1896, no less than 1,916,891 souls, which places it alongside of the few greatest cities of the world. It has grown to a fullness of life, in commerce, industry, art, intelligence, benevolence, which has won for it a commanding position among the capitals of Christian civilization. But

even this showing does not do justice to the real New York; hers is a city greater than that covered by that name. Brooklyn was a part of her, with a population of a million souls, for several years the third city in the Union. Jersey City, with one hundred and seventy thousand inhabitants; Hoboken, with fifty thousand; Yonkers, with forty thousand; even Newark, with two hundred thousand, and more distant Elizabeth and New Brunswick, must all be counted as part of New York, made possible by her greatness. All that territory, with cities, towns, and villages, within a radius of at least thirty miles of the City Hall, is the real extent of the City of New York. These places are dependent upon her commerce and industry; they exist by the business done in her streets; they furnish residences to her business men.

Hence for many years it had been the thought of public spirited men that justice should be done to the real state of affairs; that by the name of New York a somewhat larger extent of that territory owing its population and business to the city on Manhattan Island should be designated. The proximity of another State on the west side of the Hudson forbade the incorporation of the communities there existing with the mother city. But on the south and east and north no State barriers interfered; and a movement was started to include in one great municipality Brooklyn, part of Queens County, Staten Island or Richmond County, and a portion of Westchester County. The originators of this scheme may be said to be Mr. James S. T. Stranahan, Brooklyn's "first citizen," as he is fondly called, and the Hon. Andrew H. Green, who was made Comptroller when the Tweed Ring collapsed. In 1890 the project had advanced so far as to obtain legislative action. The Legislature appointed a commission of eleven, of which Andrew H. Green was made President, to inquire into the expediency of consolidating into one municipality New York, Brooklyn, and contiguous towns and villages, and to submit a report with recommendations. As a result of their work a bill was prepared and introduced into the Legislature of 1893, calling for the submission of the question to a vote of the people of the cities, towns, and villages involved. No action was reached at this session upon the bill, but it was passed at the session of 1894, and on November 6, 1894, as already related, the people gave their vote. It will be interesting to present a record of this vote:

New York County.....	for	96,938	against	59,959
Kings County.....	"	64,744	"	64,467
Queens County.....	"	7,712	"	4,741
Richmond County.....	"	5,531	"	1,505
Mt. Vernon (City).....	"	873	"	1,603
East Chester (Town).....	"	374	"	260
West Chester (Town).....	"	620	"	621
Pelham (Village).....	"	251	"	153
Total	"	177,043	"	133,309



ARMORY OF THE SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

While this larger consolidation was thus pending, by act of the Legislature of the preceding spring, on June 1, 1895, West Chester, East Chester, Pelham, and Wakefield (or South Mount Vernon) were annexed to New York City, adding another 20,000 acres to her territory, and making void the plurality of one against consolidation in West Chester township. But the overwhelming adverse vote of Mt. Vernon seems to have been respected. This annexation carried the city line up to the limit in Westchester County contemplated by the commissioners on the Greater New York. On January 6, 1896, the first consolidation act was passed. The small excess in the number favoring the project in Brooklyn was considered, and an amendment was proposed granting a referendum of the bill to the people of that city, but this was lost. By the constitution adopted by the State in 1894, a certain degree of home-rule had been conceded to cities by giving their Mayors the privilege of vetoing bills referring to matters in which they were specially concerned. The Consolidation Bill was therefore sent for approval or disapproval to the Mayors of New York, Brooklyn, and Long Island City. It was returned with the vetoes of Mayors Strong, of New York, and Wurster, of Brooklyn, with messages giving reasons for their objection. The Mayor of Long Island City, with its straggling population of about thirty thousand, approved the bill. It was again passed over the vetoes of the Mayors, and the Governor approved the bill on May 11, 1896, and it became a law. The Governor thereupon carried out the provision requiring him to appoint a commission to draw up a charter for the new municipality. It was to include the Mayors of the three cities, and certain State officials, together with "nine other persons, residents of the localities under consolidation." Of these nine, appointed on June 9, 1896, Hon. Seth Low and General B. F. Tracy, ex-Secretary of the Navy, formed a part. The Commission was to have its charter framed and reported to the Legislature by February 1, 1897, the same to be adopted by that body before it adjourned. When it had been presented and approved by the Legislature, the bill doing so was again sent, accompanied by the charter, to the three Mayors. The Mayors of Brooklyn and Long Island City sent it back with their approval; Mayor Strong again with his veto. This was disregarded by the Legislature, who passed the bill adopting the charter, and on Wednesday, May 5, 1897, Governor Black affixed his signature. The act of consolidation and the charter of the greater city is to go into effect on January 1, 1898, the Mayor and Council to be elected in November, 1897. The charter divides the city into five Boroughs: 1. Manhattan, covering the whole of Manhattan Island, the original extent of New York. 2. The Bronx, embracing all the annexed territory in Westchester County. 3. Brooklyn, covering all of that city, embracing the original territory of Kings County. 4. Queens, embracing that part of Queens County included within the territory of the city. 5. Richmond, embracing all

of Staten Island. The legal title of the city is to be "The Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York." Besides the Mayor, the city is to be under the control of a Municipal Assembly consisting of two houses; the upper, to be called the Council, and composed of a President and twenty-eight members; the lower, to be called the Board of Aldermen, composed of sixty-one members. The whole area needs a radius of twenty miles, with the City Hall in New York as a center, to circumscribe it, its precise measurement being 317.7 square miles. The population is estimated to reach on January 1, 1898, 3,430,000 souls, making New York the second city in the world. Thus will be realized the climax of municipal existence in the Western Hemisphere by that quaint little town on Manhattan Island, lying back of the palisades on Wall Street, which began life two hundred and forty-five years ago as the City of New Amsterdam.

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